

Progressive humanitarian and social
mobilisation in a neo-apartheid Cape Town:

A REPORT ON CIVIL SOCIETY AND THE MAY 2008 XENOPHOBIC VIOLENCE

by Mazibuko K. Jara and Sally Peberdy



The
ATLANTIC
Philanthropies



Mazibuko Jara is an independent researcher and co-editor of Amandla

Sally Peberdy is an Associate Professor in the Department of Geography and Environmental Studies at the University of the Western Cape

Progressive humanitarian and social mobilisation in
a neo-apartheid Cape Town:

A REPORT ON CIVIL SOCIETY AND THE MAY 2008 XENOPHOBIC VIOLENCE

by Mazibuko K. Jara and Sally Peberdy

Part I: Executive summary	1
Problems and recommendations.....	5
Part II: Introduction	7
Terms of reference	9
Methodology	9
Limitations of the study	10
Structure of the report	11
Part	12
Part III: Setting the scene	12
Cape Town: a neo-apartheid city	13
Migrating to Cape Town	22
Experiencing xenophobic violence in Cape Town	25
Causes of the violence	27
Gendered experiences of xenophobia and displacement.....	32
Part IV: Responding to the xenophobic violence	33
Characterising the response	48
Forming coalitions	49
Coming together?	51
Organisational legacies.....	53

Part V: The Treatment Action Campaign (TAC)	58
The Western Cape TAC response.....	58
Khayelitsha TAC	64
Nyanga TAC	66
How should the TAC role be understood?.....	66
Part VI: Masiphumelele	69
Part VII: Conclusions, Lessons, and Recommendations	81
Recommendations.....	85
Part VIII: References	87
Part IX: Appendices	91
Appendix A.....	91
Appendix B	93

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY



The civil society response to the xenophobic violence of May 2008 in Cape Town was an effective channel that harnessed resources, provided food, shelter, and other material help, pressured government, mobilised hundreds of people as conscious volunteer, sought and managed donations from the public, and triggered renewed political consciousness and action in response to the xenophobic violence and subsequent displacement of people in the city. In the first days of the crisis, civil society essentially replaced the absent, incapable and dysfunctional state. In subsequent weeks and months it continued to provide humanitarian assistance, monitor conditions in the displacement camps and advocate for the rights of migrants challenging the state when it failed to meet basic minimum standards of care.

The wave of xenophobic violence that swept South Africa started on 11 May 2008 in Alexandra, Johannesburg. On 22 May attacks started in earnest in the Western Cape. In the following four days between 20,000-30,000 people were displaced in Cape Town following violence and threats. Thousands of others left the city. Almost all were black Africans from the rest of the continent but Indian, Pakistani and Chinese nationals were also affected. Violence occurred across the city, but mainly in informal settlements and townships. Smaller towns in the Western Cape were also affected.

The violence sits against the backdrop of a city marked by spatially and racially expressed deep socio-economic inequalities which reproduce apartheid geographies. In South Africa's second largest city with a population of over 3 million, most working class and poor black and coloured residents live in overcrowded, under-serviced marginalised townships and informal settlements often far from economic and employment opportunities. Despite its relatively strong economy, in 2001 unemployment rates in informal settlements ranged from 50-60%. In 2005, nearly 40% of the population of Cape Town lived below the poverty line and 400,000 households lacked adequate formal housing. The situation has been exacerbated by insertion into the global economy, economic recession and neo-liberal economic and urban policies.

In the last 30 years the socio-economic geography of Cape Town has undergone major change as a result of internal migration. Since the removal of its status as a Coloured Labour Preference Area in 1985 over 800,000 black South Africans (mainly from the Eastern Cape) have moved to the city. Cross border migration from the rest of the continent has progressed at a slower pace, perhaps because of distance and the city's history. There is no way of knowing how many foreigners live in Cape Town. Census 2001 found only 3% of the population were born outside South Africa and 1.2% in other African countries. These figures account for those who avoided enumeration and recent movements from Zimbabwe and elsewhere. African cross border migrants come from across the continent and include migrants, immigrants, asylum seekers, refugees and undocumented migrants. They work in elementary occupations and the service sector, are entrepreneurs, professionals and students.

The **origins of the violence were symptomatic of wider problems** in the South African socio-economic and political environment and **not just xenophobia**.

The violence was seen to be underpinned by long-standing and unchallenged xenophobic attitudes and discrimination; lack of social cohesion and tolerance of diversity; perceived competition for resources in the face of deep inequality, poverty and slow service delivery; lack of leadership and competition for power in communities; lack of effective communication between the state and communities; a 'culture of impunity' in the use of violence to resolve disputes and crimes against foreigners; and exclusion of foreigners from participation in civil society; and a state which has been complicit in the victimisation of foreigners in part through its denial of the problem. A unique and longstanding feature of xenophobic violence in Cape Town has been its association with protecting the interests of South African shopkeepers in townships and informal settlements (e.g., Masiphumelele, Gugulethu, Khayelitsha).

Displaced African migrants and refugees fled to shelters provided by civil society, police stations and community halls. Many lost their homes, possessions, jobs, and businesses and children missed school. The city set up six camps to which some people were moved immediately and to which others were moved over the following weeks. With the exception of Youngsfield Military Base all were located at the edge of the city and far from peoples' home and work. The policy of consolidating displaced people in camps (mega-sites), and conditions in the camps, was controversial and divisive. The experience of violence and displacement was gendered.

Civil society in the form of non-governmental organisations (NGOs/NPOs), Christian, Jewish and Muslim faith based organisations (FBOs), refugee and migrant organisations, COSATU and the SAHRC

played a pivotal role in the response to the violence. They provided humanitarian, advocacy and legal assistance, sustaining the basic needs of displaced people even after the city and provincial governments had ostensibly started to act. One important attribute of the civil society response in Cape Town was how the Treatment Action Campaign (TAC) brought to bear its well-organised social presence and a more advanced lobbying and advocacy strategy linked to using the law. The UNHCR played a significant role in the establishment and maintenance of the camps and their dissolution. The response of civil society can be characterised as humanitarian. Attempts to challenge xenophobia and wider issues underpinning the violence were limited. Legal challenges to improve conditions in camps and activities challenging xenophobia were controversial and created points of cleavage. The ANC, the SACP, the DA and other political parties were largely absent. The ANC seems to have played a contradictory role in different localities, at times possibly being active in the xenophobic violence and in others the contrary seems to be the case.

Tension between the city and the province **hampered the impact of the civil society effort.**

For a month the Western Cape and Cape Town Disaster Management teams worked separately although both responded. However, not only was the state slow to respond at provincial and city levels it was at times obstructive reflecting the nature of the South African state as xenophobic, dysfunctional and ineffective. In retrospect, the state appreciates the role played by civil society. Since the crisis subsided from September 2008, the provincial government has developed a humanitarian assistance framework. However, it has not addressed its core failures in response to the crisis and migration issues in general.

Civil society participated in seven committees/ forums formed during the crisis to facilitate and coordinate the response. **Only one survives.**

Legacies include strengthened relationships between organisations and cooperation between ILRIG, COSATU and the Ogoni Solidarity Forum to organise migrant workers. One of the most direct outcomes was the formation of the Social Justice Coalition (SJC). This was built on the back of significant social and political capital accumulated over 10 years of social mobilisation and other campaigning work done by the TAC. However, it has not sustained its initial momentum. Successful coalitions seem to need clear and accessible goals around which to initiate concrete campaigns.

Despite the impressive levels of civil society intervention, there is little integration of xenophobia and integration of migrant and refugee issues or migrants themselves in work done by the majority of civil society organisations in Cape Town – except among the limited number of organisations which were already working with migrants and refugees and refugee organisations. The majority of these efforts are limited when viewed against the systemic foundations of xenophobia.

The Treatment Action Campaign played a massive role in the response of civil society to the xenophobic violence of May 2008, not only in its own activities but in coordinating the response of civil society. For the first few days their disaster relief operation was the main and largest response to the crisis in the city. Key features of their role included: initiating the establishment of, and leading

a broader civil society task team; responding to developments in the camps and government (municipal and provincial) decisions and failures; interacting with “refugee leadership”, other NPOs, the government and media; mobilising thousands of its members; organising public political action; ensuring international standards were met in the camps.

The response of TAC, and particularly its Khayelitsha District branch reflect the importance of principles – promotion of and respect for social equality, human rights and dignity; consultation with displaced people; giving displaced people a voice; and operating in a culture of non-violence to effective humanitarian response which because it does not only look at “basic needs” but addresses the socio-economic and political context is most effective. Furthermore, the role of the TAC branch in Khayelitsha in the response demonstrates the importance of having organisations which are rooted in communities as well as “what a group of organised citizens can do.”¹ However, it should be noted that their response caused tensions among sections of the organisation who were concerned that the core work of the organisation was being lost as well as between TAC and some other civil society organisations who felt the role they played was too politicised and too strong.

Masiphumelele is a poor and small township and informal settlement close to wealthy Fishoek and Noordhoek and the previously coloured township of Ocean View in the southern Peninsula. It is a fraught locality with high unemployment, low incomes and where over 90% of households live in informal dwellings. It demonstrates how the social crisis of reproduction is located in working class zones. The importance of small business associations and the targeting of Somali shopkeepers indicate how circuits of capital are also of concern. Masiphumelele experienced violence in 2006 as well as in 2008. The experience of reconciliation in 2006/7 while it did not prevent the violence of 2008, meant that the attacks in 2008 were short-lived and the displaced people were among the first to return to their homes, invited to by a delegation of community leaders Masiphumelele. Unlike many other communities in Cape Town, the ANC, the ANCYL, the YCL and the SACP have a history of good anti-xenophobia activism in Masiphumelele, but it is not universally supported in each of these organisations.

Civil society responded by meeting humanitarian needs of displaced people and advocating to ensure minimum standards of care and to protect the rights of the displaced.

Attempts to develop **a more progressive politicised activist response to challenge xenophobia were controversial** reflecting the characterisation of the crisis by most of civil society and government as a humanitarian disaster.

Yet this characterisation to the need to reflect on the underpinnings of the humanitarian crisis caused by the xenophobic violence in May 2008 and the effectiveness of solely relying on a humanitarian response. The response highlighted a general lack of integration of citizens and foreigners within civil society organisations and their activities. Many of the issues raised by this exploration of the response of civil society to the xenophobic violence point to lessons to be learned about mobilisation for social change on a wider scale and provides points where South Africans and foreigners can act

¹ Interview, Mandla Majola, TAC Khayelitsha District Coordinator.

together. These issues include lack of social cohesion, intolerance of diversity lack of progressive activist organisation and leadership to channel the voices and frustrations of communities, and disturbingly high levels of violence in poor communities, which sit against the deep inequalities, marginalisation and poverty found in South African urban areas, the reproduction of neo-apartheid urban geographies.

The report is based on research undertaken in 2009. It involved a review of relevant literature and newspapers, interviews with members of civil society organisations and provincial and city government involved in the response as well as focus group discussions with TAC members and community members in Masiphumelele.

Problems & recommendations

Xenophobia and intolerance of diversity (including gender, race, sexuality) are prevalent and often expressed through violence. They may be used as channels or scapegoats to express frustrations with socio-economic conditions.

- Xenophobia and intolerance need to be acknowledged before they can be challenged
- Long-term support for systematic programmes aimed at cultural integration, learning about others, the universal application of rights to all human beings, identifying common needs & interests, solidarity.
- Need for community based programmes involving citizens and migrants to promote integration and focusing on the positive contribution of migrants to communities.

Amongst the majority of Cape Town civil society organisations, there is a lack of systemic work focusing on integration between locals & migrants. There has been no integration of xenophobia & migrant issues in the strategies & programmes of the majority of civil society organisations in Cape Town or recognition that migrants are part of their constituency.

- Creation of spaces & forums for civil society reflection, discussion & action planning on systemic & thorough-going integration linked to socio-economic justice struggles
- Long-term support for systemic lobbying, advocacy & mobilisation focusing on addressing past inequalities & social justice based on integration & equity in terms of access to services, economic opportunities
- A Cape Town civil society Conference held under the theme: "Two years after xenophobic violence: lessons, strategies, programmes and social mobilisation for an equitable and integrated Cape Town."

Integration efforts do not address the systemic reasons & triggers of the xenophobic violence. Ongoing integration efforts, where they exist, are isolated from a wider social mobilisation and are largely led by organisations representing refugees and migrants.

- Lessons to be learned from nascent attempts to foster integration by organisations like Africa Unite.

The strength of refugee and migrant organisation is weak and cooperation between them, in part because of lack of funding.

- Systemic support for coalitions of migrant organisations in Cape Town like Tutamike to enable them to function
- Participation of Cape Town migrant organisations in CORMSA (Consortium of Refugees and Migrants of South Africa) located in Gauteng

There is little local-migrant and intra-racial unity. There is extremely limited effective mobilisation on socio-economic justice issues that trigger and underpin xenophobia. Leadership and community organisation is weak. Social mobilisation on common issues would foster integration.

- Mapping of civil society work on socio-economic justice focusing on the extent to which it fosters intra-racial & local-migrant integration, unity & solidarity
- Long-term support for systematic programmes aimed at building intra-racial & local-migrant unity on socio-economic justice struggles focusing on integration & equity when it comes to housing, employment conditions & economic opportunities
- The need to fight chauvinistic and exclusionary notions of who 'belongs' and who has rights here
- The need to reject attempts to convert national, racial, ethnic, religious or language identities into political capital
- The need to rebuild self-agency and civil society in communities that are poor and marginalised
- The need to put the ideals and vision of non-racialism back in the spotlight of social mobilisation.

The need to foster social mobilisation and government action to drastically reduce income and other inequalities;

- Systemic support to take forward the ILRIG-COSATU-Ogoni Solidarity Forum to organise migrant workers (regularising the legal status of all workers within SA's borders, & to build relations, unity and solidarity amongst all workers);
- The need for civil society and wider social action for inclusive cities moving away from violent spatial and material inequalities.
- Support for local social mobilisation & organisation – focusing on self-agency/people's power, inequalities, diversity, integration, conditions that reinforce separation, etc. (as strategic case studies to then upscale).

There are still extreme levels of mistrust between the state & civil society when it comes to issues affecting migrants & xenophobic attacks. This mistrust extends to civil society organisations involved in issues of migrants.

- Need for ongoing civil society work (lobbying, advocacy, litigation & social mobilisation) that focuses on the role & responsibilities of the state when it comes to migrants.
- Need for civil society efforts to promote ongoing communication between civil society & the state
- Programs by the state to ensure the protection of the rights of all regardless of nationality or status, particularly workers rights.
- Need for forums to create dialogue between civil society & the state. The HANSA (Humanitarian Assistance Network of SA) initiative is a good opportunity in this regard.

Further research is needed in all these areas to enable good policy and decision making and to enable civil society organisations.

- Research to be funded through civil society organisations, independent researchers and educational institutions.
- Civil society organisations and researchers to define research agendas.
- Funding for civil society organisations to analyse and organise information gathered, either themselves or through independent researchers.



The wave of xenophobic violence that swept through South Africa from 11 May 2008 reached Cape Town in earnest on 22 May. Foreigners, mainly black Africans, as well as some South Africans were threatened, attacked, assaulted, robbed and raped, homes were burnt and shops and businesses looted. Four days later over 20,000 black Africans from across the continent had fled to churches, mosques, community halls and camps as well as the homes of friends and well-wishers. Thousands of others had left the city.³ People lost their homes, possessions, businesses and jobs, others were prevented from going to work and children were uprooted from their schools.

² In order to avoid confusion, the report uses the black, coloured, Indian/Asian and white to describe different racial groups. African includes South Africans and other Africans as specified. Foreigners who fled their homes referred to as displaced people and internally displaced people. The UNHCR prefers the use of the former as they say internally displaced people usually applies to nationals of a country where the state is unwilling or unable to protect them. However we use both as the South African state has an obligation to protect all regardless of nationality. The term refugee is used to refer to people who have refugee status (or are claiming it – asylum seekers) and not to displaced people. Similarly to avoid confusion the term refugee camp is not used to refer to the camps which housed displaced people as not all had refugee status. The terms undocumented or irregular migrants are used to describe people often referred to elsewhere as “illegals.” Camps and displacement camps refer to the six ‘mega-sites’ established by the city of Cape Town for displaced people.

³ Mbangson, L. 2009. “The solutions strategy on refugees living in Bluewaters and Youngsfield,” UNHCR, Cape Town, 25/03/2009.

Attacks, and threats of violence occurred across the city, from Masiphumele and Vrygrond in the southern peninsula to Du Noon to the north, from the city centre in the west to Bellville, Delft and Kuilsriver to the east, and across the Cape Flats in Gugulethu, Nyanga, Khayelitsha and Phillipi. Attacks on a smaller scale also occurred in other parts of the Province, the Hermanus, Knysna, Mossel Bay, Strand, Somerset West, Stellenbosch, Worcester, Hermanus and Knysna.

The civil society response to the violence in Cape Town was an enormous, urgent, plural and humanitarian effort that ensured that thousands of people were reasonably well fed and sheltered during and after the “after the worst pogrom in [South Africa’s] post-freedom history.”⁴ Diverse organisations and ordinary people worked together across the city in townships, informal settlements, the city centre and suburbs as well as in the camps set up for displaced people. Volunteers, organisations and companies lent a hand. Food distribution schemes and warehouses for donations were set up. Habonim Dror, made several thousand sandwiches in one day. Volunteers cooked huge pots of food. Muslim, Christian and Jewish organisations and their congregations worked together. Mosques, usually closed to women and girls and where eating and sleeping are not normally allowed, sheltered and feed people. Bo Kaap mosques helped many of the women and children staying at Caledon Square. His People sheltered up to 800 people at their N1 City church. Methodist and other churches opened their doors to displaced people. St. George’s Cathedral was the venue for a large anti-xenophobia rally addressed by the Chief Justice.

Although the violence in Cape Town broke out over a week after it had started in Gauteng, and meetings had been held involving law enforcement (SAPS and Metro Police) the city and provincial governments between 19-22 May, initially the response of the provincial and national government was slow and inadequate.⁵ City and provincial governments battled over territory and strategy. The DA mayor of Cape Town, Helen Zille, and the then ANC provincial premier, Ebrahim Rasool, would not meet or work with each other in the face of Cape Town’s biggest disaster.⁶

The attacks sat against the background of a city with deep socio-economic inequalities and poverty which are spatially expressed. Cape Town has been the site of numerous protests against lack of service delivery and housing. It was often, but not always, in the areas of greatest deprivation, neglect and contestation over limited resources that the worst violence was seen.

Violence and harassment continue, although not on the same scale. **Foreigners, particularly black Africans continue to be attacked, thrown from trains, and threatened in their homes and businesses.**

⁴ Most interviewees; see also Geffen, N. 2008. *Shattered Myths: The xenophobic violence in South Africa*. June 2008, (www.tac.org.za).

⁵ South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC). 2008. “Western Cape Provincial Office/Parliamentary Programme Crisis meeting on Preventing Xenophobic Violence in Western Cape, 21 May 2008, notes on meeting” SAHRC.

⁶ Geffen, N. 2008. *Shattered Myths: The xenophobic violence in South Africa*. June 2008, (www.tac.org.za). See also Igglesden, V., Monson, T., and T. Polzer. 2009. *Humanitarian Assistance to Internally Displaced Persons in South Africa: Lessons Learned Following Attacks on Foreign Nationals in May 2008*, Forced Migration Studies Programme, University of the Witwatersrand.

In some areas (Gugulethu and parts of Khayelitsha) business associations continue to threaten foreign shop owners and try to limit their activities. In November 2009, xenophobic violence flared up in De Doorns 140km outside Cape Town forcing over 2,000 people, mainly Zimbabweans to flee to a camp established by Western Cape Provincial Disaster Management Centre (PDMC). South Africans alleged Zimbabweans were taking seasonal farm jobs and accepting lower wages from labour brokers although there have now been allegations that the violence was instigated by labour brokers and an ANC councillor.⁷ Also in November 2009 in the city of Cape Town, foreigners were forced to leave the informal settlement of Imizamo Yethu, following the rape of a 3 year old child, allegedly by Malawians.

Terms of reference

The report explores the response of civil society organisations to the outbreak of xenophobic violence of 2008 in Cape Town. Undertaken over a year after May 2008, the paper focuses on the nature of the response; the impact on civil society organisations and organisation; possibilities for tackling xenophobia and strengthening social cohesion and civil society; and lessons learned from the experiences of the civil society, including for mobilising for social change. To contextualise the discussion the report provides a brief overview of the urban geography of Cape Town and migration to the city as well as of the violence and its possible causes.

Three case studies were selected to explore these questions in more depth. The first focuses on the response of civil society organisations to the violence and its nature; the impact on civil society; the development of networks and coalitions. The second provides an in-depth examination of the Treatment Action Campaign (TAC) which played a pivotal role in the civil society response in the Western Cape. The third is a geographically specific case study of Masiphumelele. Masiphumelele was chosen as it is an informal settlement which experienced xenophobic violence before and during the crisis of May 2008, and where isolated attacks on foreigners have continued. On each of these occasions attempts have been made by sections of the community and others to negotiate, reduce the violence and promote integration.

Methodology

A review of relevant grey and published literature was undertaken and compiled. Relevant media reports were located in the: Cape Argus, Cape Times, City Press, Mail & Guardian; Sunday Times, Sunday Independent, People's Post and the False Bay Echo.

Interviews were undertaken with relevant members of civil society organisations which participated in the response to the violence. These included: non-governmental organisations (NGOs)/not for profit organisations (NPOs) - including refugee/migrant organisations, faith based organisations (FBOs), COSATU, and international organisations. Members of provincial and city government were also interviewed as well as the South African Human Rights Commission Western Cape. Appendix A provides a list of organisations interviewed. These were supplemented by interviews with TAC

⁷ Sowetan, 10 December 2009.

members in Khayelitsha, Gugulethu, Nyanga and Phillipi as well as TAC national leaders and officials. A focus group discussion was held with activists from Gugulethu, Nyanga and Phillipi in order to draw generalised perspectives. In Masiphumelele interviews and a focus group were held with individuals and organisations in the township as well as others who had been part of the responding to violence in May 2008 and before. The authors participated in a Goegedacht Forum in July 2009 which reflected on the lessons of May 2008 for improving humanitarian disaster risk management. The participants in the forum provided valuable insights which informed and helped shape this study.

Interviews were undertaken using a guiding list of questions to ensure similar ground was covered in interviews but to enable interviewees to highlight issues that they saw as important. Where interviewees agreed, interviews were taped and subsequently transcribed. Interviewees could ask for all or sections of their interviews not to be cited or not to be attributed to them.

Research assistants were employed to assist with the media search, the literature review, arranging and transcribing interviews. Meetings were held with the research assistants so that they were aware of the purpose of the study and learn from the research process. All but one of the research assistants were students at the Universities of the Western Cape and Stellenbosch. The other was a trade unionist and community activist resident in Khayelitsha. We are, therefore grateful to those who helped us in the research process: Nyasha Garaba, Monde Nqulwana, Mandla Tsikata and Marion Wilton as well as Lameez Eksteen, Winston Harris, Sinethemba Mbazana and Sinovuyo Mbazana who assisted with transcription.

Limitations of the study

It was not possible to interview all the organisations identified as possible sources during the time period allocated for the research. This was due to: a) clashes in time schedules and/or the unavailability of interviewees; b) unwillingness to participate in the research (Zachie Achmat of the TAC and SJC and the UCT Law Clinic); c) the limited size of the research team to undertake interviews. Nor was it to cover all the civil society organisations which could have contributed to the wider debate, e.g., the Anti-Eviction Campaign. However, the range of organisations interviewed and the common threads that emerged suggest that further research is likely to reinforce the conclusions drawn here. It was not possible within the scope of this study, including the TOR, to interview community based organisations including township churches which may have responded and been able to contribute to our understanding of issues of social cohesion and civil society organisation on a community based scale.

The geographical scope of the research was limited to Cape Town and in particular to activities of organisations working in Khayelitsha, Masiphumelele and the camps. Although organisations interviewed also responded across the city through providing support to displaced people in community halls, churches and mosques. The focus group discussion with TAC activists from Gugulethu, Nyanga and Phillipi provided some background in other areas of the city.

We were not able to undertake the civil society and all the planned Masiphumelele focus group discussions as there were concerns over their possible impact. In Masiphumelele for much of the research period there were simmering tensions in the community over the ongoing housing crisis.

Structure of the report

The report starts with an overview of the urban geography of the city of Cape Town and the xenophobic violence that occurred in May 2008 including interviewees' assessments of the causes of the violence and its intensity. This is followed by an examination of the response of civil society to the violence. This section explores the character of the response, its impact on civil society organisation and organisations in Cape Town, issues emerging from the response and the possibilities for building lasting coalitions for social change. The report then provides a case study of the role of TAC and the impact of its interventions on civil society as well as the organisation itself before moving to the case study of Masiphumelele. It concludes with a discussion of lessons learnt and recommendations.



When the xenophobic violence erupted in South Africa in May 2008 between 20,000 and 30,000 people were displaced in less than five days in the Western Cape. Thousands of others left the city, some for their home countries, others for elsewhere in the country. Almost all were black Africans. By August 2008, 5,000 people were still in camps and halls who were “scared of reintegration or [had] no where to go to or [had] no money for rent or [had] lost their businesses and possessions.”⁸ In May 2009 over 400 people were still in Blue Waters displacement camp refusing to leave, fearful of what might happen to them.

Cape Town is South Africa’s second largest city. Since 1994 the population has grown rapidly, increasing from 2.5 million in 1996 to over 3 million in 2006.⁹ The city, like South African urban areas, is the site of massive inequality which is expressed spatially, consigning the mainly black and

⁸ TAC. 2008d. *TAC Launches Litigation on Behalf of Persons Displaced by Xenophobic Violence in the Western Cape: TAC Press Statement*. 5 August, 2008, (www.tac.co.za).

⁹ Small, K. 2008. “General household survey analysis for Cape Town” City of Cape Town (www.capetown.gov.za), p. 6.

coloured working class and poor to the geographic margins of the city, most living in overcrowded, marginalised and under-serviced townships and informal settlements. It is in these places and conditions that the majority of migrants and refugees become part of South African communities. It is against the backdrop of these inequalities and what can be called a neo-liberal and neo-apartheid city that the attacks took place.

Internal migration overshadows cross border migration to Cape Town. Census 2001 found that around one million of its nearly three million residents were not born in the city, but only counted around 100,000 people born outside South Africa (3% of the total population of the city). Of these 35,000 (or 1.2% of the total population) were born in other African countries, many of whom were whites who had left newly independent African countries.¹⁰ However these figures do not include more recent movements to South Africa from the rest of the continent, including Zimbabwe or the undocumented migrants who are likely to have avoided enumeration.

Cape Town: a neo-apartheid city

“Cities are not just to do with housing people and economic activity, or building streets and architecture; they are also places of struggle for social and spatial justice and equitable distribution of resources as well as places of art, culture and civilisation. (Malik, A. 2001).”¹¹

After more than 15 years of the transition to post-apartheid democratic local government, social and spatial relations in the City of Cape Town still reproduce the features of an apartheid city structure where largely black and coloured poor and working people are included as providers of cheap labour but are excluded living in spatially peripheral townships, informal settlements and suburbs characterised by marginal economies, high unemployment and social crises. The spatial configuration of inequality of the city has barely changed for most residents since 1994. As McDonald argues “Cape Town’s reinsertion into the global market economy has trapped it in an unequal pattern of crisis-ridden urban development, entrenching rather than mitigating the enormous inequalities and instabilities of the past.”¹²

Urban socio-spatial structures do not evolve at random and innocent of human or social intent. Apartheid policies were instrumental in shaping urban Cape Town. Their legacy reverberates today. In 1950 the Cape was declared a Coloured Labour Preference Area. Black South Africans were excluded, and where possible moved out. They needed permits and passes to live and work in the city. This policy sitting against the longer history of the city was abandoned in 1985 but left Cape Town with a different racial profile to other metropolitan areas. So in 2006, 49% of the population was coloured,

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 9.

¹¹ Cited in Pieterse, E. 2004. “Recasting urban integration and fragmentation in post-apartheid South Africa,” *Development Update*, Vol. 5 (1), p. 81.

¹² McDonald, D. 2008. *World City Syndrome: Neoliberalism and Inequality in Cape Town*, Routledge: New York and Oxford, p. 49.

33% black, 18% white, and 1% Indian/Asian.¹³ During the apartheid years black, coloured and many Indian/Asian residents were systematically excluded from wealth accumulation which kept large numbers in dire social and economic conditions.

Most of Cape Town's less affluent population live on the Cape Flats, where the majority of the coloured and black population were moved to in the 1960s. Starting in the mid-1980s they were followed by flows of black (mainly from the Eastern Cape) and coloured (mainly from rural Western Cape) South African internal migrants. Black migrants ended up living in townships and informal settlements (Langa established in the 1920s, Nyanga, in the 1950s, Gugulethu in the 1960s, Crossroads). Indicating the contribution of internal migration to the urban fabric of the city, Khayelitsha, which sits on the very edge of the city and the Cape Flats, was only established in the 1980s, but is now the third largest township in the country. Pockets of informal settlements, like Masiphumelele, developed in other parts of the city in the 1970s and 1980s. Numerous studies demonstrate how the combined effects of social engineering, spatial planning and rural-urban migration have contributed to urban sprawl and the expansion of racialised socio-economic geographies.

Cape Town has a strong and relatively varied economy based on the manufacturing, construction, commercial, financial and service sectors.¹⁴ Despite the strength of the economy unemployment grew from 17.7% of the population in 1996 to 23.4% in 2004.¹⁵ Rates of unemployment in informal settlements and amongst the black population ranged from 50-60% (higher in some places) and in low income housing areas from 20-30% in 2001.¹⁶ Rates of unemployment are likely to be even higher now the economy has entered recession. Reflecting the insertion of Cape Town into the global economy, employment opportunities for the semi-skilled and unskilled are located in the low-paid service, construction and dwindling manufacturing sectors.¹⁷ Employment and economic opportunities are spatially polarised and often located far from the Cape Flats, other marginalised settlements and new housing developments.¹⁸

The Gini coefficient of Cape Town of 0.67 indicates the level of inequality.¹⁹ However, it masks the spatial and racial expressions of socio-economic difference in the lives of the population of the city (see Maps 1 to 3 and Appendix B which show the socio-economic status, the service level and the levels of living indexes for the suburbs of the city). In 2005, almost 40% of the population lived below the poverty line and Census 2001 found between 60-80% of households in informal settlements and 20-50% in low income areas had incomes less than the subsistence level at the time (R1,900pm).²⁰

¹³ Small, K. 2008. "General household survey analysis..." p. 6.

¹⁴ South African Cities Network. 2006. *State of the Cities Report 2006*, SACN: Johannesburg, p. 3-11.

¹⁵ SACN. 2006. *State of the Cities Report 2006...*, p. 3-11;

¹⁶ Romanovsky, P. and Gie, J. 2006. "The spatial distribution of socio-economic status, service levels and levels of living in the city of Cape Town 2001" City of Cape Town, p. 6.

¹⁷ McDonald, D. 2008. *World City Syndrome...*, p. 49.

¹⁸ Turok, I. 2001. "Persistant polarisation post-apartheid? Progress towards urban integration in Cape Town, *Urban Studies*, Vol. 38(13), pp. 2349-2377.

¹⁹ SACN. 2006. *State of the Cities Report 2006...*, p. 3-45.

²⁰ www.capetown.gov.za; Romanovsky, P. and Gie, J. 2006. "The spatial distribution..." pp. 4, 6.

Around 400,000 households do not have access to adequate formal housing.²¹ In 2006 an estimated 22% of all households lived in informal dwellings. But, almost 60% of black households lived in informal dwellings (37% in informal settlements and 22% in backyards) and 7% of coloured households (2% in informal settlements). Some 18% of households live in overcrowded conditions (29% of black and 21% of coloured).²² Meeting housing needs is like hitting a moving target as the population and households increase. The number of informal dwellings swelled between 1996 and 2005 from 60,000 to almost 100,000. In 2005, the housing backlog stood at 260,000.²³ The following year the city said that they could only deliver approximately 7,500 “housing opportunities” per year and that the actual delivery rate was 4,500.²⁴ Reflecting city policy, most of the “opportunities” are “serviced sites” in informal settlements, housing upgrades and subsidies – for instance in 2003-2004 only 342 were new homes.²⁵

When it comes to services 21% of households relied on water on site and 18% on a public tap in 2006. Figures for black households were 46% and 18% respectively. In 2006, a quarter of households used flush toilets on site (50% of black residents of whom 55% were sharing with other households), and 3.5% the bucket system (10% of black residents).²⁶ Some informal settlements (including Masiphumelele) are relatively well serviced. Others are not. So in Du Noon, 90% of households do not have access to water on site, flush or chemical toilets or electricity.²⁷

Poor and low-income communities also suffer from other types of stress and deprivation. HIV infection rates in ante-natal clinics were 18.2% in 2006.²⁸ Drug use and associated crime are rife on the Cape Flats, particularly in low income neighbourhoods.²⁹ The 2008 National Poverty Hearings found similar concerns over employment, housing, services, access to health care, education, crime and policing and community mobilisation as in the hearings of 1998. But new issues emerged in 2008 including concerns over lack of food and hunger, corruption and red tape, the breakdown of social fabric, access to economic empowerment programmes, and, migration and competition for resources.³⁰

The apartheid regime and its neo-liberal allies laid the foundation for post-apartheid housing policy in ways that undermined post-apartheid integrationist aspirations.

²¹ City of Cape Town. 2006. *5 Year Plan for Cape Town: Integrated Development Plan (IDP) 2007/8-2011/12*, City of Cape Town.

²² Small, K. 2008. “General household survey analysis...” pp. 22,28.

²³ Rodrigues, E., Gie, J. and C. Haskins. 2006. “Informal dwelling count for Cape Town (1993-2005), City of Cape Town (www.capetown.gov.za), p. 5-6.

²⁴ City of Cape Town. 2007. *5 Year Plan for Cape Town...*, p. 62.

²⁵ McDonald, D.. 2008. *World City Syndrome...*, p. 146; See also City of Cape Town IDPs.

²⁶ Small, K. 2008. “General household survey analysis...” p. 28.

²⁷ Romanovsky, P. and Gie, J. 2006. “The spatial distribution...” p. 8.

²⁸ www.capetown.gov.za

²⁹ McDonald, D. 2008. *World City Syndrome...*, p. 46.

³⁰ African Monitor. 2008. *The People have Spoken: Where do we go from here?*, African Monitor: Cape Town, p. 28.

However, Cape Town's unequal, fragmented, sprawling urban geography is not just a result of its apartheid past or recent and rapid population growth, but also post-apartheid urban policies and practices.³¹ Despite official policy commitments to spatial restructuring, housing policy is focused on "upgrading" existing informal settlements and housing. New housing projects are largely located where land is cheap and where there is least resistance from surrounding ratepayers. The emphasis on economic growth has also restricted the use of well-located land for housing as it competes with business for space. So, with a few exceptions, most new housing projects are located in peripheral areas where increased transport costs and lack of economic opportunities can be a severe burden on poor households (Map 4).³² The city itself acknowledges that 'the fragmented urban landscape remains largely unchanged, with new housing developments generally located on the city's periphery, far from work opportunities, amenities and facilities (Map 4).'³³

The extent to which policies implemented by the post-1994 alternating DA and ANC administrations in the City of Cape Town were pro- or anti-poor is not merely a matter of land prices, capacity constraints, pace of delivery, poor implementation or the legacy of apartheid. But it is because of the underlying structure, "capital fundamentalism" and the promotion by both the DA and ANC of neo-liberalism that inequalities persist.³⁴

The unequal urban geography of Cape Town is more than a spatial conundrum. History, experience, class interests and spatial relations influence, mould and mediate social relations and political consciousness.³⁵ Expressions of territoriality and everyone having a place linger long after the end of apartheid.³⁶ In part and in different ways, the same logic applies across the city and including in black townships. By sustaining and even promoting exclusionary spaces, post-apartheid urban planning has not nourished urban 'social capital' or social cohesion. Socio-economic crises persist. Exclusionary urban spaces have an impact on access to social capital in South African cities and an adverse effect on the fabric of society as a whole.

³¹ See: Parnell, S., Boraine, A., Crankshaw, O., Engelbrecht, G., Gotz, G., Mbanga, S., Narsoo, M. 2006. "The state of South African cities a decade after democracy" *Urban Studies*, 43: 337-356; Parnell, S. 2005. "Constructing a developmental nation – the challenge of including the poor in the post-apartheid city," *Transformation*, 58: 20-44; Parnell, S., Mabin, A., Oldfield, S. 2004. "Engagement and reconstruction in critical research: negotiating urban practice, policy and theory in South Africa," *Journal of Social and Cultural Geography*, 5: 285-29; Pieterse, E. "Untangling 'Integration' in Urban Development Policy Debates" *Urban Forum*, Vol. 15(1) 2004; Pillay, U., Tomlinson, R., du Toit, J (eds.) 2006. *Democracy and Delivery: Urban Policy in South Africa*. HSRC Press: Pretoria.

³² Turok, I. 2001. "Persistant polarisation..."; McDonald, D. 2008. *World City Syndrom...*; Watson, V. 2003. "Planning for integration: The case of metropolitan Cape Town" in P. Harrison, M. Huchzermeyer and M. Mayekiso (eds.) *Confronting Fragmentation: Housing and Urban Development in a Democratising Society*, UCT Press: Cape Town, pp. 140-152; Graham, N. 2006. "Informal settlement upgrading in Cape Town: Challenges, constraints and contradictions within local government," in M. Huchzermeyer and A. Karam (eds.) *Informal settlement...*, pp. 231-249.

³³ City of Cape Town. 2007. *5 Year Plan for Cape Town*, p. 62.

³⁴ McDonald, D. . 2008. *World City Syndrom...*

³⁵ Kgara, S. 2007. 'Cape Town a Neo-apartheid city,' unpublished paper; Zegeye, A. (ed.) 2001. *Social Identities in the New South Africa After Apartheid – Volume 1*. Kwela Books: Cape Town.

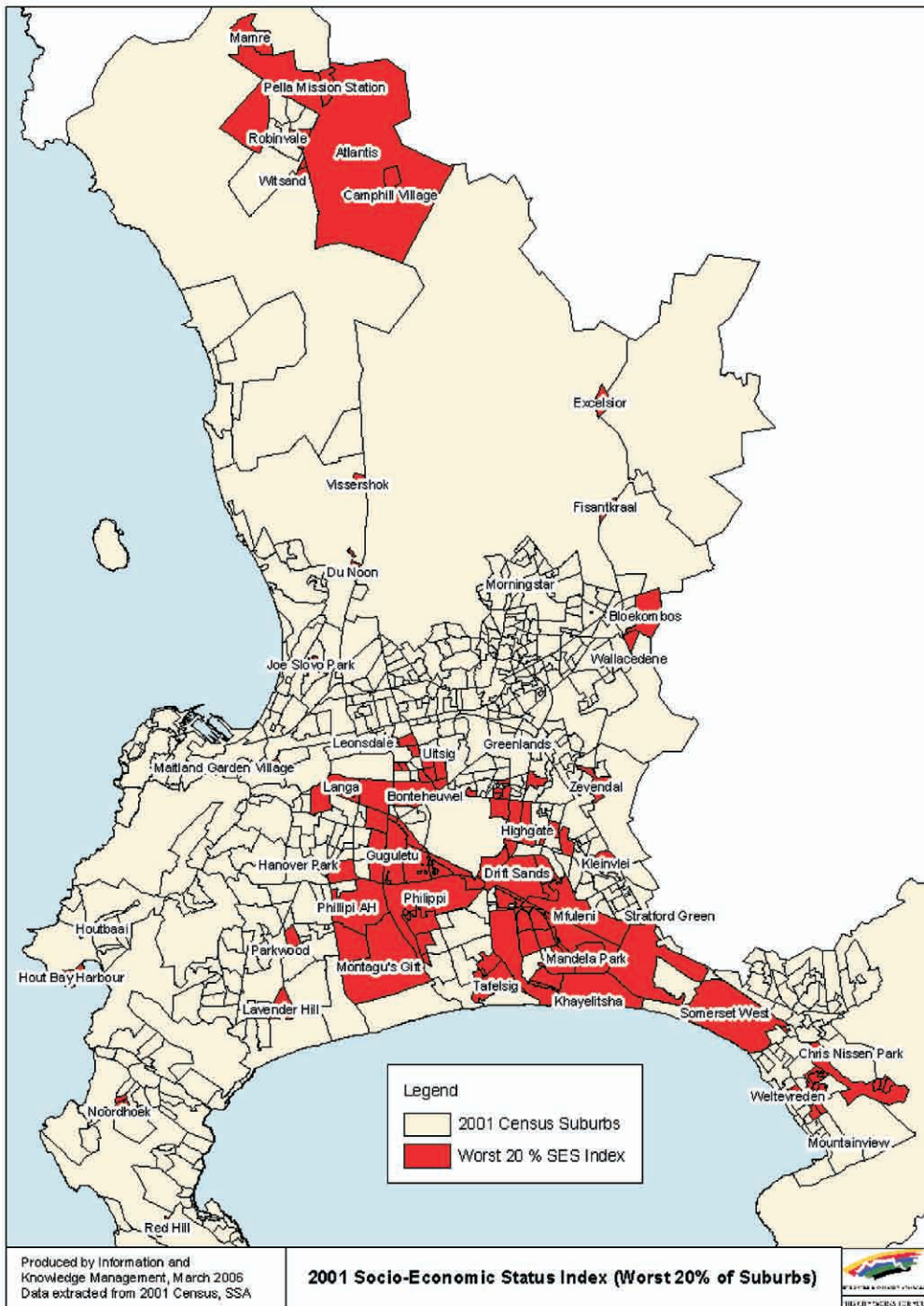
³⁶ Interview: George Pambason, Afri-South, August 2009;

Post-apartheid Cape Town can be described paradoxically as “deracialised apartheid”: **one without legalised racism and discrimination but with a continuation of working class exclusion, marginalisation and exploitation** that benefits a new multi-racial elite.

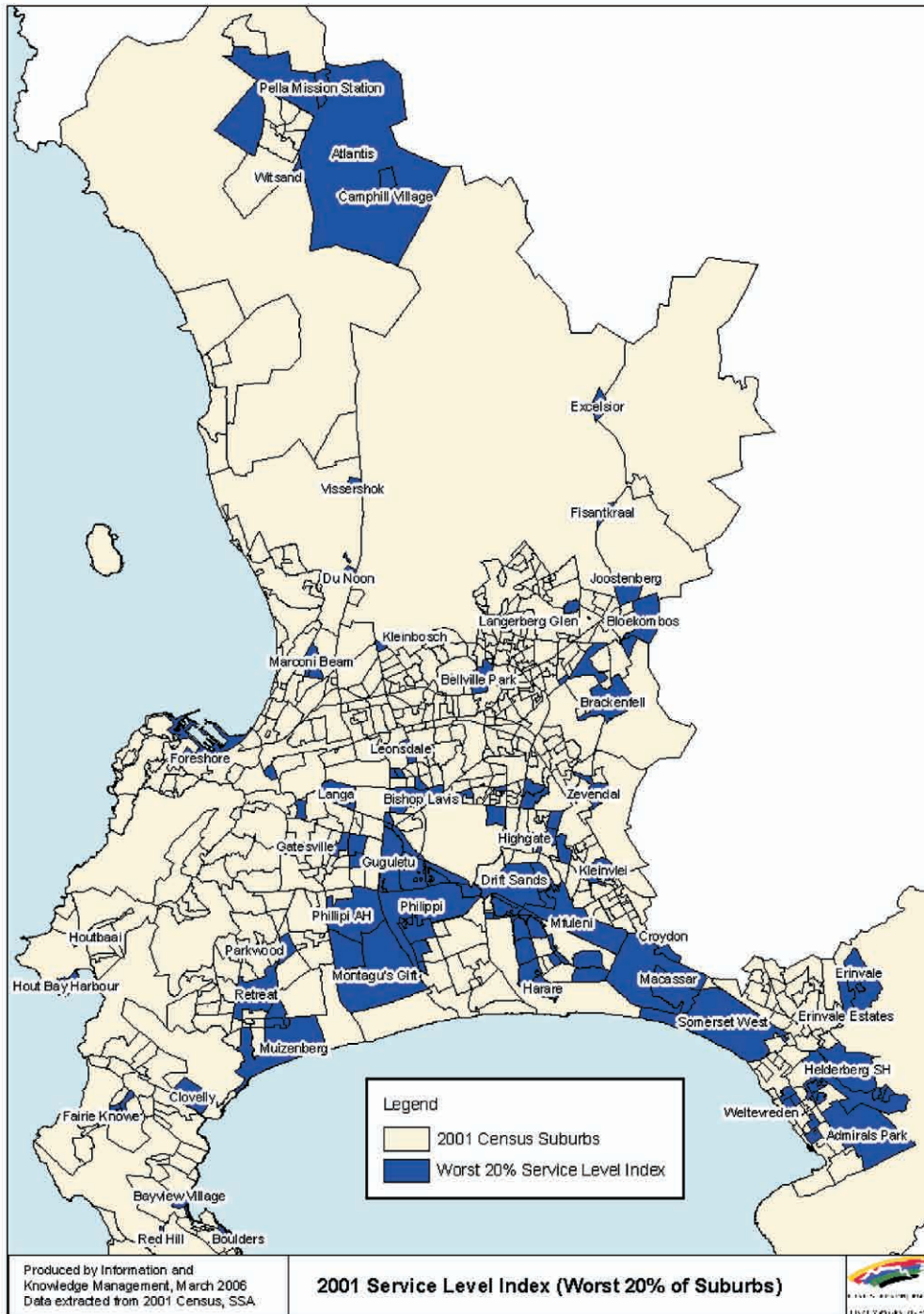
Apartheid social and spatial patterns remain firmly in place in Cape Town. It is therefore unsurprising that the post-apartheid urban form perpetuates exclusion as its apartheid predecessor and has developed new patterns of segregation.³⁷ Xenophobia is one part of this segregationist, exclusionary and marginalising continuum. The xenophobia that still exists and erupted in May 2008 in of the Cape Town was an expression of destroyed social capital and social cohesion in oppressive, unequal and exploitative urban spaces.

³⁷ Landman, K and Ntombela, N. 2006. *Opening up spaces for the poor in the urban form: trends, challenges and their implications for access to urban land*, Urban LandMark Position Paper 7, paper prepared for the Urban Land Seminar, November 2006, Muldersdrift.

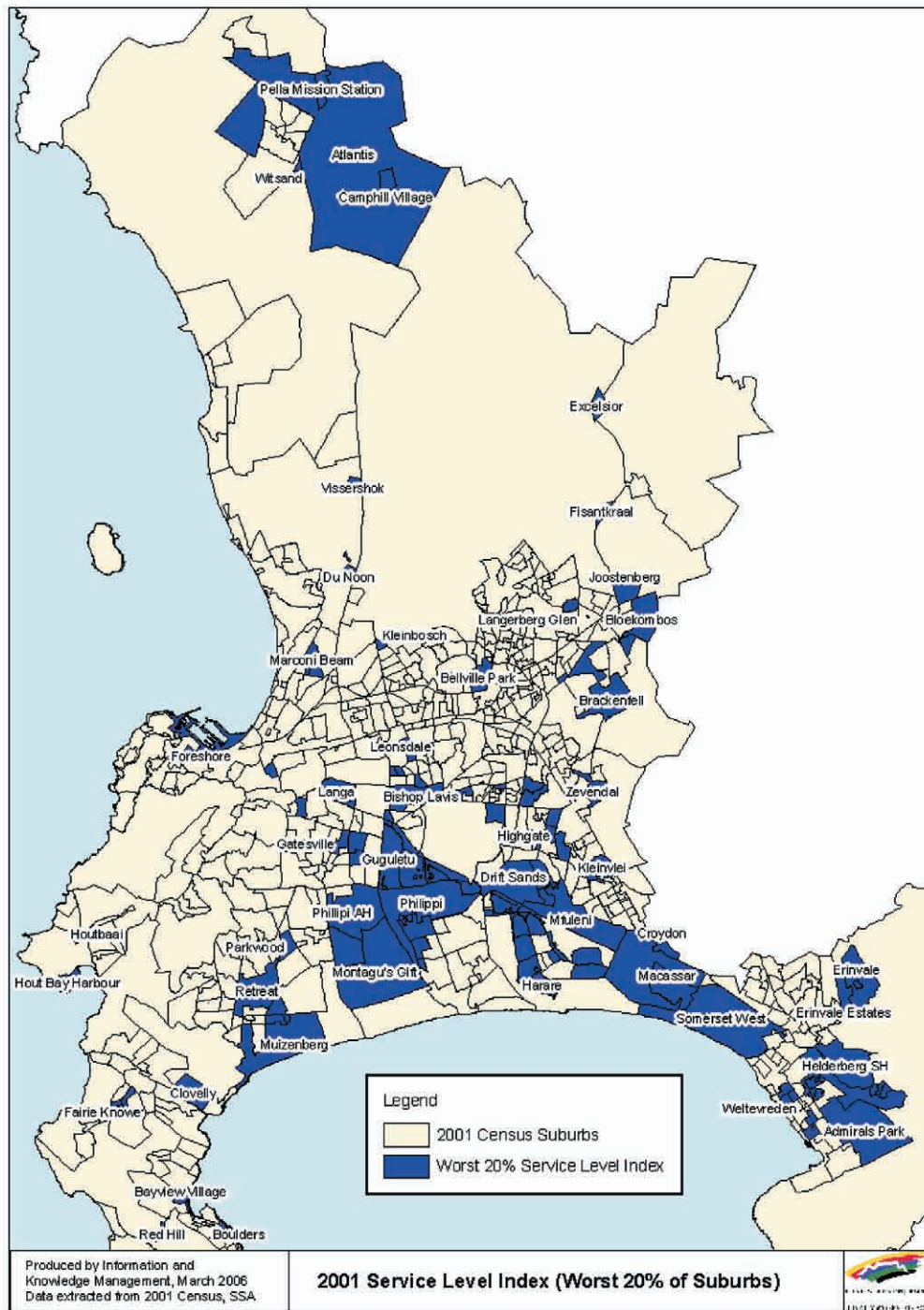
Map1



Map2: Service Level Index 2001

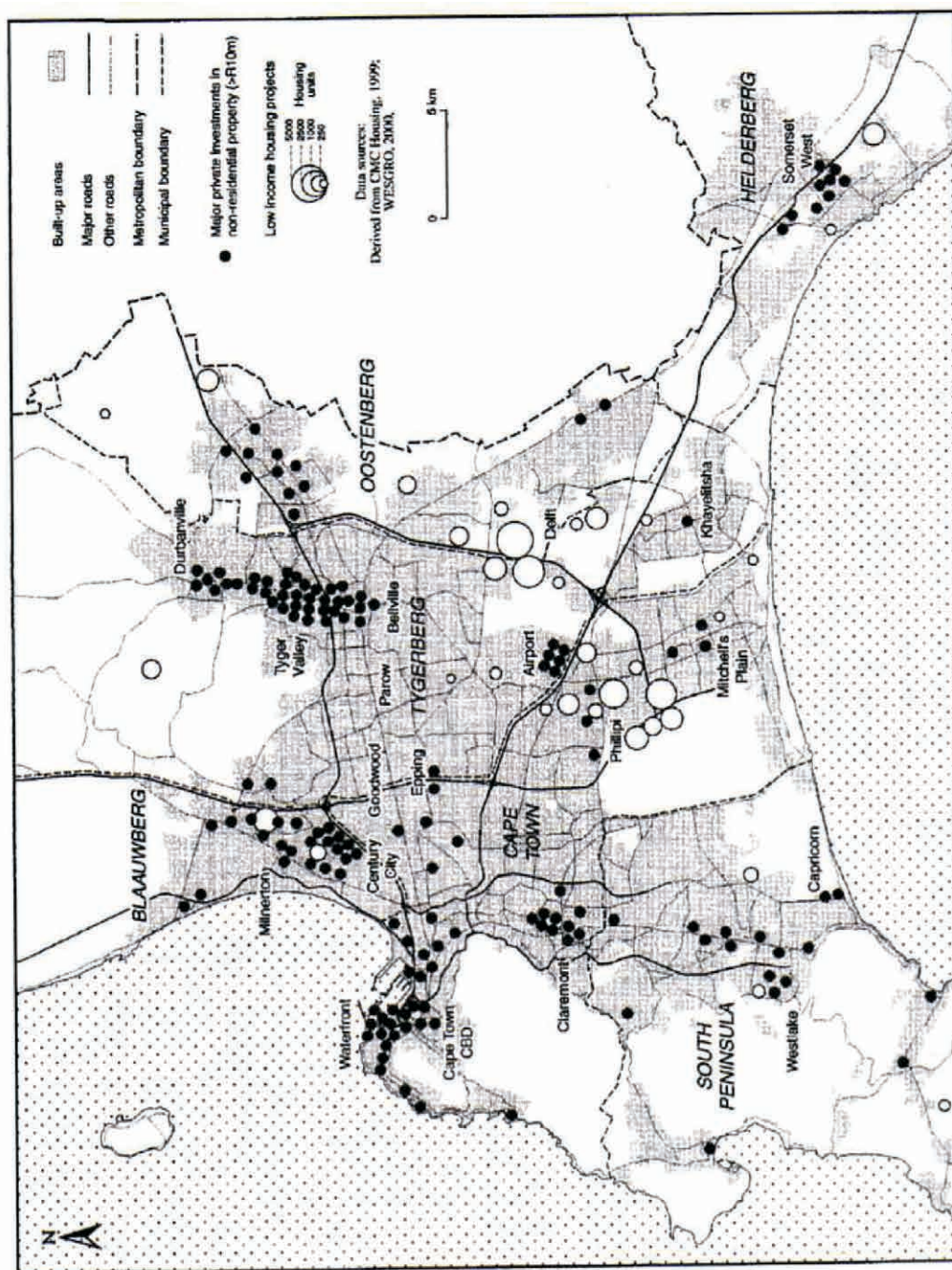


Map 3: Levels of Living Index, 2001



Source: Source: Romanovsky, P. and Gie, J., 2006. *The Spatial Distribution Of Socio-Economic Status, Services Levels And Levels Of Living In The City Of Cape Town 2001 – To Highlight Suburbs In Need*, City of Cape Town, p. 5, 8, 15.

Map 4: Location of Economic Development and Low-Income Housing



Source: Turok, I. 2001. "Persistant polarisation post-apartheid? Progress towards urban integration in Cape Town," *Urban Studies*, Vol. 38(13), p. 2366.

Migrating to Cape Town

Many of Cape Town's poor are black and coloured internal migrants. Over a third of the city's population are internal migrants. Almost 60% of the population growth of the city between 1996 and 2001 was due to internal migration as almost 200,000 South Africans arrived in Cape Town.³⁸ Between 2001 and 2006 net internal migration to the city amounted to almost 130,000.³⁹ Black migrants, mainly from the Eastern Cape, started to arrive in the mid-1980s and in greater numbers since 1994. Between 1985 and 2005 the black population of the city increased from less than 200,000 to over one million. Coloured migration to the city, mainly from other parts of the province started in earnest in 1945 and continues today.

Notwithstanding public perceptions and the inflammatory language often used in the media, **cross border migrants form a relatively small proportion of the population** of the city.

Census 2001 only counted 100,000 people born outside South Africa (3% of the total population). Of these 35,000 (1.2% of the population) were born in other African countries, some of whom were whites who had left newly independent African countries.⁴⁰ However these are undercounts and do not include more recent movements to South Africa from the rest of the continent, including Zimbabwe, and undocumented migrants are likely to have avoided enumeration.

It is difficult to put a number on the number of foreigners, including those from other parts of Africa in South Africa, let alone Cape Town. Census data is the only data available but migration statistics give an indication of changing patterns. In the years 1994-2000 the number of immigrants entering the country declined steadily but has risen steadily since. Between 1994 and 2005 around 76,000 people were granted permanent residence through normal channels. Of these, almost 30,000 (40%) were Africans.⁴¹ However, recognising racially exclusionary practices of the past, three amnesties since 1994 gave approximately 260,000 long standing SADC residents (including mineworkers and Mozambican refugees) permanent residence.⁴² The post-apartheid era has also seen a significant increase in movement of temporary migrants between South Africa, SADC and other African countries. It is difficult to know how many irregular or illegal migrants there are in South Africa but estimates suggest around 1-2 million.

³⁸ Parnell, S., Cousins, B. and A. Skuse. 2006. "Migration and urban governance: The case of Cape Town," paper presented at the SAMP/COJ/SACN/MDP Workshop on "Migration and Urban Governance: Building Inclusive Cities in the SADC" Johannesburg, 21-23 August 2006, p. 4.

³⁹ SACN. 2006. *State of the Cities Report 2006*, SACN: Johannesburg, p. 2-18.

⁴⁰ Ibid., p. 9.

⁴¹ Peberdy, S. 2009. *Selecting Immigrants: National Identity and South Africa's Immigration Policies, 1910-2008*, Wits University Press: Johannesburg, p. 149.

⁴² Peberdy, S. 2009. *Selecting Immigrants...*, Wits University Press: Johannesburg, pp. 156-157.

South Africa's first refugee legislation was passed in 1998 and came into force in 2000, although after 1994 asylum seekers were issued special permits under immigration legislation. Between 1994 and 2004 around 150,000 claims for asylum were made. Since then over 50,000 claims have been made each year.⁴³ The majority have been from African countries; the DRC, Somalia, Angola, Rwanda, and more recently Zimbabweans and to a lesser extent Malawians have entered the list. The slow pace of adjudication means that the asylum system is used by some people who do not qualify for entry under immigration legislation to regularise their stay. In 2009, recognising the situation in Zimbabwe and to relieve pressure on the asylum system, a special temporary residence permit was introduced for Zimbabweans to allow them to stay, work and study.

Cross border migrants **enter South Africa for a multitude of reasons and have to negotiate the immigration and refugee legislation** to do so.

The legislative framework favours the entry of the highly skilled, but even within this context African nationals tend to be disadvantaged.⁴⁴ With the exception of contract mineworkers, seasonal farm workers, some refugees, and now Zimbabweans on special permits, the semi-skilled, unskilled and poor have no route to enter and reside in South Africa legally.

Reflecting global patterns of migration, internal and cross border migration flows are increasingly feminised as women migrate in their own right as well as with their partners.⁴⁵ Census 2001 found 48% of SADC migrants and 35% of migrants from the rest of Africa in Cape Town were women.⁴⁶ African cross border migrants are more likely to be of working age and travel without children, although the crisis in Zimbabwe is leading to increasing numbers of unaccompanied children travelling to South Africa.

The history of African migration from the region to South Africa stretches back to the late-1800s (and before). However, the Western Cape and Cape Town, possibly because of its distance, economy and the establishment of the Coloured Labour Preference Area did not experience the levels of in-migration from other southern African countries that other provinces and cities did during the apartheid and early post-apartheid years. However, black Africans from Zimbabwe, Malawi, Mozambique, Angola and Namibia have been part of the city's landscape for over 100 years. The Namibian liberation movement, the South West African People's Organisation (SWAPO), was formed by Namibian dockworkers working in the city's port.

⁴³ Crush, J., Peberdy, S., and Williams, V. 2007. "Towards a fairer deal for migrants in the South African Economy," unpublished report for the Department of Labour, p. 11.

⁴⁴ Peberdy, S. 2009. *Selecting Immigrants...*

⁴⁵ Dodson, B. 1999. 'Women on the move: Gender and cross border migration to South Africa.' Migration Policy Series no. 9. Southern African Migration Project: Cape Town; Lefko-Everett, K. 2007. 'Voices from the margins: Migrant women's experiences in Southern Africa.' Migration Policy Series no. 46. Southern African Migration Project: Cape Town; Peberdy, S. 2008. "The invisible woman: Gender blindness and South Africa's immigration policies and legislation" *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, Vol. 33 (4): 800-807; Peberdy, S. 2009. *Selecting Immigrants...*

⁴⁶ Parnell, S., Cousins, B. and A. Skuse. 2006. "Migration and urban governance..." p. 11.

1994 saw a significant change in patterns of migration to South Africa as the country opened to refugees and migrants from the rest of the continent and world. This is reflected in the foreign migrant population of the city which is now home to migrants from all over the continent not just SADC countries. But, census data shows that with the exception of the Eastern and Northern Cape all other provinces are home to more SADC nationals than the Western Cape. The province is the third most popular for nationals of other African countries (after Gauteng and KwaZulu Natal).

› NB: This doesn't make sense? Zimbabwe first to leave or stayed longest?

Reflecting the long-standing migratory and social networks in the city, **migrants from Zimbabwe, Malawi, Mozambique and other SADC countries were the first to leave the displacement camps**, some for their home countries. Refugees and new arrivals from **Zimbabwe were not so lucky and stayed longest** in displacement camps.

Cross border migrants, refugees and new internal migrants are inserting themselves into the deeply unequal landscape of the city. Many Africans from the rest of the continent, particularly SADC nationals and Somalis, make their homes in the informal settlements and townships of the city. Others live in the centre of the city, in the central business district, Seapoint and older working class suburbs like Woodstock and Salt River. Skilled Africans like other wealthier residents are found in the leafy suburbs. Some are workers (particularly in construction and domestic work), others entrepreneurs and shop owners, and some are skilled professionals and students. African cross border migrants are part of the rapidly changing face of the city. Although part of the city's landscape for over a century, alongside rural migrants from the Eastern Cape and elsewhere in South Africa they are reshaping the configuration of the city. Arrivals from further north than traditional countries of origin in Africa, like Somalia and the DRC, are often visibly different from South Africans and have introduced new churches, cultural practices, foods and dress.

It is in the context of the particular features of the unequal urban geography of Cape Town and migration to the city that the violence that occurred and must be understood. This is not to say it was unique and different from the violence elsewhere. Indeed there are many common features and foundations as argued by Marais.⁴⁷

By targeting 'Them', we assert a particular idea of 'Us', of who has rights and can make legitimate claims on the state. At play are quite specific notions of belonging and citizenship – a pinched and sour nationalism is being assembled. These boundaries of in- and exclusion usually coincide with the geopolitical frontiers that separate nation-states. But the attacks on people deemed Shangaan, Pedi or Venda (in fact, almost one in four persons killed were South African citizens) reminded that those margins are as easily drawn along lines of ethnicity, language, religion or race.

⁴⁷ Marais, H. 2008. "Learning from the pogroms," *Amandla*, Vol. 1(3), www.amandla.org.za

The pogroms were an episode, an engagement in the larger, unresolved business of nation-building, of assembling a particular myth of 'South Africanness'. In a society forged in a cauldron of outrageous discrimination, they have the feeling of a curtain-raiser. What's uncomfortably 'South African' about these episodes is how similar the discourse of the pogroms is to that of apartheid (difference, separation, expulsion) and how closely the slurs picturing persons from elsewhere in Africa as 'lazy', 'thieving' and 'disease-carrying' match the staples of white racism.⁴⁸



Experiencing xenophobic violence in Cape Town

Experiencing violence, threats and day to day harassment is not new for black African foreigners living in the city of Cape Town. Attacks have encompassed physical assaults, stabbings, shootings, being thrown from trains, rape and murder.⁴⁹ Somali refugees have been frequently the victims of xenophobic attacks, often murderous ones, in the last few years (including in Masiphumelele). The African Disabled Refugee Organisation works with over 20 people who have been thrown from trains.⁵⁰ Over 200 Somali nationals were murdered in South Africa, most in the Western Cape, between 2000-2004. Media reports and anecdotes show that migrants have been targeted by youths in Phillipi, Khayelitsha, Du Noon, Gugulethu, Nyanga and Masiphumelele townships for years. The situation is sometimes made worse by politicians, particularly local councillors, making comments which exacerbate xenophobia and racism, inflammatory or at the very least overly dramatic language in the media, as well as the systematic oppression of immigrants by the state.⁵¹

The xenophobic violence of 2008 started on 11 May in Alexandra in Johannesburg and spread across and from Gauteng over subsequent days to Durban, the Free State, Limpopo and the North West. The first physical attacks and threats on Africans from the rest of the continent that led to significant displacement in started in Du Noon and Masiphumelele on 22 May 2008 and spread rapidly across the city and to other parts of the province. On 26 May, the Minister of Safety and Security, Charles Nqakula declared that the violence was under control although threats of violence and isolated attacks continued.

Africans from the rest of the continent were attacked and threatened across Cape Town. Although those living in informal settlements and townships were most vulnerable to violent harassment, residents of some formerly white as well as coloured suburbs were also threatened and attacked. Particularly notable were attacks in Du Noon, areas of Khayelitsha and Gugulethu, Nyanga, Masiphumelele, Delft and Phillipi. Given what people had seen happening in other parts of the country, as well as in

⁴⁸ Marais, H. 2008. "Learning from the pogroms..."

⁴⁹ Interview Christina Henda, Cape Town Refugee Centre, August 2009 and others.

⁵⁰ Interview, Anaclet Mbayagu, African Disabled Refugees Organisation.

⁵¹ Geffen, N. 2008. *Shattered Myths...*

the city itself, at times only threats were needed to get people to flee to shelters. Violence was also experienced in other parts of the Western Cape including the informal settlements and townships of Hermanus, Knysna, Mossel Bay, Paarl, Strand, Stellenbosch, Wellington and Worcester.

The areas most affected by the violence in Cape Town and the rest of the province confirm the observation by Marais that the attacks “occurred mainly on urban peripheries, in informal settlements or in zones of intense informal trading – in other words, settings where scarcity and intense competition converge. All had visible concentrations of foreigners, were largely ‘out of bounds’ for the police, were poorly integrated into local governance systems, and appeared to have weak political structures.”⁵²

During the course of the violence an estimated 20,000-30,000 people were displaced in Cape Town and it is thought that as many as 30,000 may have left the city.⁵³ It is not possible to provide exact figures as people not only fled to community halls, mosques and churches before being moved to camps, but also sought refuge with family and friends in safer areas. Others relocated or returned to their homes before being enumerated in camps and shelters while some left for their home countries. Numbers staying in shelters exceeded 20,000 at their highest. The violence in Cape Town does not appear to have been as extensive, intensive or as extreme as in Gauteng and may be a reflection of the smaller size of the migrant and refugee population of the city and province. However, it caused immense damage to the lives and livelihoods of African foreigners living in the city. Thousands lost their homes, jobs, businesses and possessions.

Given the xenophobia experienced by Africans from the rest of the continent prior to May 2008 interviewees in this study concurred that an intensification of xenophobic violence could have been foreseen. Organisations working directly with refugees and migrants had been voicing concerns over levels of xenophobia. However there was also general agreement that the scale and intensity of the violence of May 2008 was unforeseen. This perhaps reflects a lack of awareness of collective violent attacks where communities acted against foreigners in late 2007 and early 2008 in Gauteng and recognition of the ongoing attacks on foreigners in townships, particularly Du Noon and Masiphumelele.

Attacks on foreigners have continued since May 2008. Somali shopkeepers have been threatened and killed, including one in Masiphumelele. In Khayelitsha and Gugulethu, South African business associations have threatened foreign owned business in an attempt to reduce the number of foreigners operating shops and direct where they are located.⁵⁴ In November 2009, over 2,000 African migrants (mainly Zimbabweans) have been forced from their homes in De Doorns. Similarly in Imazimi Yethu African foreigners have been chased from their homes. Some are not being reported.⁵⁵

⁵² Marais, H. 2008. “Learning from the pogroms...”

⁵³ Mbangson, L. 2009. “The solutions strategy on refugees...,” p. 1; Igglesden, V., Monson, T., and T. Polzer. 2009. *Humanitarian Assistance to Internally Displaced Persons in South Africa: Lessons Learned Following Attacks on Foreign Nationals in May 2008*, Forced Migration Studies Programme, University of the Witwatersrand, p. 20.

⁵⁴ Interview, Dr Lawrence Mgbangson, UNHCR.

⁵⁵ Interview, Dr. Hildegaard Fast, Western Cape Provincial Disaster Management Centre.

Causes of the violence

Let me say at the outset, we are all to blame for the xenophobic violence sweeping SA. Opposition parties can blame the ANC or government until they are blue in the face- the truth is they are equally culpable. Why? For the last 10 years South Africa we have allowed an incompetent Department of Home Affairs (DHA) --as confirmed yesterday by the Public Protector in its report about the DHA-- to make SA as unwelcoming as possible. We have allowed people to become vulnerable because we embraced quiet diplomacy that has now simply failed. We forced people enter our country through lion parks, broken fences and by bribing border police with sex or money. We have and burnt and shot Somalis, ridiculed and harassed Nigerians and retreated from helping Zimbabweans accusing them of taking 'our jobs' and 'our women'! We have allowed people fleeing persecution to stand in queues for days on end without shelter, food or toilets. We underpay for long hours of work on farms, homes and construction sites. We allowed people seeking refuge to be treated as sub-humans forgetting that our Constitution prohibits that. We have refused protection, we have harassed, we have raided at midnight, we have denied housing and health care and we deport daily without due process. And then we offer people transport to 'go back home' to countries of fear, displacement and mayhem. And now we have killed 62, injured hundreds and further displaced at least 10 000 people. International agencies too have played their role. While millions seek refuge in SA, the UN cautiously only recognises about 40 000 people as 'refugees' because regrettably it regards many Zimbabweans as 'economic migrants', and the IOM has assisted with improper deportations. But yes, it is our government that must take the blame for failing to implement the provisions of the Constitution when it adopted a bureaucratic and unrealistic immigration regime, and then refused to take any decisive action when it became clear that the system was ill designed to fit the problem. Of course, our government is mostly to blame because it defines our policies and it decides to what extent we implement our laws or not and whether anyone will face the chop if laws are broken—a government, I might add, made up of all political parties not just the ANC. And of course we now allow

Mugabe to defend his dictatorship until June --at the cost of human lives in Zimbabwe and the region.⁵⁶

...were they simply ordinary citizens whose daily conditions of grinding poverty and unemployment, exacerbated by rising petrol and food prices, had fuelled popular resentment against "strangers" living in their midst? For some observers, this violence was a long time coming, as township residents were living in a socioeconomic pressure cooker. Most media, NGO, and academic commentators agreed that the violence was the product of a combination of structural and contextual factors. They included the state's criminalization of "illegal" foreigners through arrests, detentions, and deportations; widespread xenophobic attitudes and resentment toward foreigners in poor communities; growing poverty and inequality; the lack of integration of nonnationals into local communities; widespread criminality; poor service delivery; increased migration streams of foreign African nationals, especially as a result of the Zimbabwe crisis; and the failure of the state to adequately police its borders and develop a coherent immigration policy⁵⁷

The prevalence and depth of xenophobic attitudes since 1994 in South Africa is well documented. The extreme violence of May 2008 has spawned various reflections as to its causes and triggers. Studies and analyses published subsequent to the attacks identify some common themes:⁵⁸

- › Lack of political leadership and/or competition for power (sometimes violent) and among organisations and individuals in communities where violence occurred;
- › Lack of effective communication between communities and the state and conflict resolution mechanisms;
- › Lack of effective policing and justice mechanisms leading to a 'culture of impunity' particularly in the use of violence and vigilantism to resolve disputes and crimes and violence against foreigners;

⁵⁶ Personal reflections by Fatima Hassan (undated) sent to authors on email.

⁵⁷ Robins, S. 2009. "Humanitarian aid beyond "bare survival": Social movement responses to xenophobic violence in South Africa," *American Ethnologist*, Vol. 36(4), pp. 637-650. However care needs to be taken not to take the view, espoused by many, including the DA, that if there were no foreigners, or less foreigners, then there would not be xenophobia.

⁵⁸ See for instance: Misago, J.P., Landau, L. and T. Monson. 2009. *Towards Tolerance, Law and Dignity: Addressing Violence against Foreign Nationals in South Africa*, International Organisation for Migration, Johannesburg; Hadland, A. 2008. "Shooting the Messenger: Mediating the public and the role of the media in South Africa's xenophobic violence," paper for CODESRIA 12th Annual Assembly, Yaounde; Crush, J. (ed.). 2008. *The Perfect Storm: Realities of Xenophobia in Contemporary South Africa*, SAMP Migration Policy Series No. 50, SAMP/Idasa: Kingston and Cape Town (www.queensu.ca/samp/); Zondi, S. 2008. Xenophobic attacks: Towards an understanding of violence against African immigrants in South Africa. *Africa Insight*, 38(2): 26-35; Department of Social Development. 2009. "Concept paper for exploring the impact of Xenophobia on the mandate of the Department of Social Development," unpublished paper; Robins, S. 2009. "Humanitarian aid beyond "bare survival": Social movement responses to xenophobic violence in South Africa," *American Ethnologist*, Vol. 36(4), pp. 637-650.

- › Perceived competition for resources in the face of deep inequality, poverty, unemployment and slow service delivery;
- › Institutionalised xenophobic attitudes, policies and practices that reinforce exclusion, including state organisations, legislation, policies and practices;
- › Exclusion of foreigners from participation in community organisations/civil society;
- › Lack of social cohesion in communities;
- › Long standing xenophobic attitudes, misinformation and mistrust of African foreigners;
- › Often uninformed media that often uses inflammatory language and perpetuating mis-perceptions.

While not the focus of this research interviewees from civil society organisations were asked about the possible causes of the violence. Almost all noted the known prevalence of xenophobic attitudes in South Africa prior to May 2008 and commented on the lack of attention paid to addressing xenophobia by the state and civil society organisations. Interviewees also identified the complicity of the state in the outbreak of violence. They clearly pointed out the often systematic abuse of the rights of migrants and refugees including: denial of treatment by health workers; corruption and often dismissive treatment at home affairs; police harassment of African foreigners; the criminalisation of irregular migrants; the repatriation system, including the arrest detention and treatment of repatriees; the language of sections of the state and the ruling party and institutional discrimination.

The first quote below illustrates a point made by a number of interviewees, namely how sections of government and the ruling party have ignored and glossed over the existence of xenophobia to the point of denial, even during the course of the violence. The second from an interviewee in this study identifies the implications of denialism.

Some commentators have pointed out that using the word 'xenophobia' tends to pre-judge an analysis of the nature and causes of the violence that took place [in May 2008], particularly since nearly 20 percent of those killed during the violence were South African" (United Nations and Republic of South Africa, 2009).⁵⁹

"I think one of the biggest weaknesses in the response – and this is again primarily from people in government – is the denial that there is xenophobia. It started out in the first week or so. Everyone talked about xenophobia and then a week later for whatever reason, people speaking on behalf of government stopped talking about xenophobia. Some of

⁵⁹ UN RSA. 2009. *Joint Evaluation of the Role and Contribution of the UN System in South Africa*, UNDP: New York, p. 55. Most South Africans who were killed were Shangaan and Venda speakers and likely to have been mistaken for Mozambicans and Zimbabweans.

*them either avoiding using the word 'xenophobia' or they specifically said this was not the cause... But the moment you start saying xenophobia is not a problem or ignoring it, you refuse to deal with those issues in relation to migrants. It also suggests that you fail to deal with those issues in relation to race, in relation to gender or whatever the case may be. So, you are avoiding all the things that are divisive, all those things that are ugly in society, because you want to create this illusion that everything is okay.*⁶⁰

In other cases the discourses around xenophobia from government, members of the DA, and some community leaders and members, blamed xenophobia on the presence of foreigners and the perceived inability of the government to manage migration.⁶¹ As one interviewee said, "I have a picture in my head from the one news broadcast on E-TV. Where you have this group of young people busy cleaning up after the violence had happened. But then they interviewed one of them and he said: "Maybe they shouldn't come here". How do you reconcile the argument 'they shouldn't be beaten' with the argument 'they shouldn't come here'? Because you are basically saying that it's their own fault. If they weren't here, if they weren't taking our jobs, taking our houses, then this wouldn't have happened."⁶²

Although other research indicates link between levels of community organisation and the scale of violence, interviewees were reluctant to make categorical statements in this regard.⁶³ However, the Director of the Western Cape Provincial Disaster Management Centre observed that the worst violence seemed to take place in informal settlements where levels of community organisation were low and which were home to newer South African migrants in the city, i.e., among the most marginal of the marginalised and among people with little experience of foreigners. Others observed that the relationship seemed uneven as in certain areas community based organisations (CBOs) were actively part of the violence (particularly small business associations in townships) while in others CBOs were active in attempting to prevent violence and assist in the return/reintegration process.

A particular feature of community organisation and xenophobic violence in the Western Cape is that xenophobia is often articulated by township business associations who actively organise against black African owned (usually Somali) businesses operating in townships and informal settlements. So "in a whole lot of places, in Du Noon, in Masiphumelele, in Gugs, in Khayelitsha, the issue can be about businesses. More so in the Western Cape than anywhere else. The issue was about businesses. The issue was less about whether there was unemployment. The issue was about Somali businesses taking away opportunities from South Africans. The business people mobilised against the foreign shopkeepers. That's what has happened in Du Noon, in Masiphumelele, in Gugs. It was often about businesses. Whereas in Johannesburg and other places it tended to be much more around taking houses, whatever the case may be."⁶⁴

⁶⁰ Interview, anonymous.

⁶¹ Interviews, various; interview, JP Smith (DA Councillor), City of Cape Town.

⁶² Interview, Vincent Williams, Idasa/SAMP.

⁶³ Misago, J.P., Landau, L. and T. Monson. 2009. *Towards Tolerance, Law and Dignity...*

⁶⁴ Interview, Vincent Williams, Idasa/SAMP.

Lack of progressive and vocal leadership was also identified as an issue. As Vincent Williams (Idasa/SAMP) argued, “the issue is about providing leadership where we create a situation in which certain behaviour, certain ways of doing things become unacceptable. And in order to do that, government has to play an important role in terms of framing it, in terms of policy, in terms of stating what legal positions are. We’ve had a huge focus on human rights and the type of legal technical aspects of the rights of migrants. But I don’t think we’ve done enough in terms of thinking about the values that we had in our society and how we have approached it. Government has to frame all of that legally. But even if we have the laws and we have the policies, that is not sufficient. We still have to do a lot more in terms of people shaping opinions. And almost by definition, government, people in government – politicians are able to do that...and churches and faith based organisations – they present a moral voice.”

A common thread emerged that xenophobic attitudes and the violence are part of, and a reflection of, the socio-economic and political environment of South Africa and broader issues facing the country.⁶⁵ Therefore, first, some interviewees indicated that the violence reflected frustration and disappointment with the state of South Africa. More particularly they cited issues around the slow pace of service delivery (particularly housing), unemployment and standards of living which reflect the deep levels of inequality and poverty in South Africa’s urban areas. Others also said that lack of transparency and information as well as perceived corruption regarding allocation of services, particularly housing, and the lack of channels to express these frustrations exacerbated the situation.⁶⁶ The relationship between dissatisfaction with socio-economic conditions and the violence was seen as complex and not necessarily direct.

Hostile attitudes to black African foreigners were identified as being symptomatic of a lack of social cohesion in many communities as well as a seeming increasing and generalised lack of tolerance of diversity, whether located in nationality, race, gender, sexuality, and ethnicity (as can be seen in some of the 2009 service delivery protests). It seems that continuing poverty and inequality and unmet basic needs in South Africa’s urban areas pose challenges to realising the protection afforded by the Constitution.⁶⁷

The extreme violence in the expression of xenophobia was of great concern to interviewees. They saw it as part of a wider problem pointing out the high rates of violence seen in other arenas including gender based violence and vigilantism. It was suggested that the high levels of violence reflected: a) a lack of channels to express frustrations including the lack of progressive effective leadership and organisations in communities; and, b) were symptomatic of, and a legacy of South Africa’s apartheid history and a deeply traumatised society.⁶⁸

⁶⁵ Particularly interviews with Afri-South, Black Sash, Idasa, Open Society Foundation, the SAHRC among others.

⁶⁶ Interview, Alison Tilley, Open Society Foundation.

⁶⁷ Interview, Judith Cohen, SAHRC; interview, Vincent Williams, Idasa/SAMP.

⁶⁸ Interviews, Judith Cohen, SAHRC; Vincent Williams, Idasa/SAMP; Elroy Paulus, Black Sash.

Gendered experiences of xenophobia and displacement

Migration from the rest of the continent to South Africa is increasingly feminised. Women migrate on their own as well as with partners.⁶⁹

Gender issues that emerged during the violence were not strongly articulated by civil society interviewees. Existing research shows that men were more likely to be victims of xenophobic harassment, threats and attacks prior to the violence of May 2008.⁷⁰ In part, this may be because there are more of them and that they are more visible than women in that they are more likely to undertake activities that take them out of the home.⁷¹ But women and men were victims of the violence, attacked physically and forced from their homes. Women may be more likely to be victims of xenophobically motivated sexual assault and harassment. There were unsubstantiated reports of rape of women during the attacks. It should be noted that men are less likely to report sexual violence.

The conditions for women in the camps were extremely hard. Maintaining cleanliness as sanitation facilities were often inadequate and accessing necessary sanitary supplies was difficult. Women need to be able to access sanitary supplies and clean toilets and washing facilities in camp situations.⁷²

Many women also felt vulnerable in camps and some reported harassment by camp guards. They were often not willing to go out to use the toilets at night. Domestic violence was also witnessed in camps and in other sites of shelter.⁷³ This is perhaps not surprising, given that domestic violence may always have been part of their lives. And, in conditions of extreme disempowerment and frustration it is not perhaps unsurprising that some men expressed this through domestic violence. However these incidences indicate the need to ensure the safety of women when in camps situations.

Although attempts were made to include the voices of displaced women, and some were active in the leadership that developed in the camps, attention needed to be paid that their needs were voiced and heard.

Many men felt disempowered and emasculated during the violence. For those that saw themselves holding traditional roles, they were unable to protect their families, homes and themselves or go to work. The disempowerment of men during the violence and ongoing xenophobic attacks needs to be recognised.⁷⁴

⁶⁹ Dodson, B. 1999. "Women on the move..."; Lefko-Everett, K. 2007. "Voices from the margins..."; Peberdy, S. 2008. "The invisible woman..."; Peberdy, S. 2009. *Selecting Immigrants...*

⁷⁰ Lefko-Everett, K. 2007. 'Voices from the margins...'; Sigsworth, R., Ngwane, C. and Pino, A. 2008. *The Gendered Nature of Xenophobia in South Africa*, Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation (CSV), Johannesburg.

⁷¹ Lefko-Everett, K. 2007. 'Voices from the margins...'

⁷² Interview, Judith Cohen, South African Human Rights Commission.

⁷³ Interview, Judith Cohen, South African Human Rights Commission, and others.

⁷⁴ Interview, Judith Cohen, South African Human Rights Commission, and others.

The violence that erupted in Alexandra on 11 May 2008 and that spread across the province indicated what could happen in Cape Town. A number of meetings were held by government between 19-22 May 2008, after the first threats had been made and as the first attacks took place.⁷⁵

- ▶ 19 May 2008: Western Cape SAPS and Metro Police met to develop a risk management plan anticipating that the violence may reach the city.
- ▶ 21 May 2008: Police Commissioner Petros called a meeting of all Cape Town station commissioners, communications officers, the Premier's Office, Department of Social Services, SAHRC, some civil society organisations to establish a Safety Forum. Members included law enforcement, Cape Town Disaster Risk Management and 3 representatives from civil society. The Forum was for security/policing issues only.

⁷⁵ SAHRC. 2008a. 'Western Cape Provincial Office/Parliamentary Program Crisis meeting on Preventing Xenophobic Violence in Western Cape, 21 May 2008.'

- › 21 May 2008: The Western Cape Provincial Office Parliamentary Programme held a crisis meeting on 'Preventing Xenophobic Violence in the Western Cape' to discuss strategies to prevent violence occurring and availability of shelter and social services.
- › 21-22 May 2008: The Office of the Premier (Western Cape) held an already scheduled conference on the 'Challenges and Opportunities of International Migration.'
- › The Mayoral Committee declared that the City would prevent violence and called for tolerance and for incidences to be reported to the police.

Civil society organisations anticipated the need to respond and following various meetings and electronic discussions organised as follows:⁷⁶

- › By 20 May 2008: an email information network/list was set up, hosted by TAC.
- › 20 May 2008: TAC and various stakeholders met to establish a task team.
- › 21 May 2008: Aids Law Project met with various civil society actors to develop contingency plans to provide shelter and supplies to people who may be displaced.
- › 23 May 2008: at the Muslim Judicial Council, a scheduled meeting was turned over to discuss the crisis and the decision taken to 'appeal to all mosques in the Western Cape to open their doors to the refugees and accommodate them in the mosques.'⁷⁷
- › 23 May 2008: the Methodist Synod was in session and resolved to instruct all churches shelter to displaced people and start a database of shelters.

Civil society and SAPS were the first to respond on the ground to the violence in Cape Town.

Organisations involved in the initial response included NGOs/NPOs, FBOs, CBOs, the SAHRC and COSATU. They used their own staff and members as well as hundreds of volunteers from all across of the city. As the violence broke out shelter was initially provided by police stations, churches, mosques, civil society organisations and some city community halls. Unlike Johannesburg, police stations in Cape Town only housed people for a few days. The Cape Town Disaster Risk Management Centre (DRMU) and established camps (called Centres of Safe Shelter by the city) for displaced people. By 25 May people were being moved to them or to specified community halls from police stations and other shelters. Six camps were eventually set up at Harmony Park, Soetwater (to where most residents of Masiphumelele were sent), Silverstroom, Youngsfield Military Base, Strand, and Blue Waters. The camps were often far from where the displaced people had lived and lacked access to

⁷⁶ SAHRC. 2008a. 'Western Cape Provincial Office...'

⁷⁷ Interview, Muslim Judicial Council, Cape Town.

public transport facilities. Blue Waters and Soetwater, located on the cold wet and windy False Bay coastline, +/- 50km from the city centre, reinforced the marginalisation and spatial exclusion of the displaced and became the largest and most longstanding camps with Youngsfield.⁷⁸

Many people were initially reluctant to move to the camps and for some weeks, shelter continued to be provided by their initial places of sanctuary

(see Figure 1, Appendix C, from UNOCHA (www.unocharosa.org) which shows existing 'places of safety' as of 19 June 2008).

Eventually over 20,000 people were moved to the camps from over 100 sites which had been providing shelter. The policy to establish centralised camps was controversial and opposed by the provincial government as well as some migrants and civil society organisations.⁷⁹ The establishment of the camps and conditions in them became a source of tension and legal action. Those who opposed the mega-sites or camps argued displaced people should be able to stay in shelters closer to their original homes, work and schools and were concerned about conditions in the camps.

Blankets, food, toiletries and clothes were collected and distributed by NGOs/NPOs and FBOs. Organisations made calls to the public and the private sector for donations. While distribution was largely coordinated through TAC and the Aids Law Project (ALP) the scale of the disaster and the multiple points of shelter made coordination of distribution difficult. Supplies from city and provincial government to places of shelter were often erratic. Many depended on donations of food and blankets from the public and local businesses. Volunteers assisted in gathering and sorting supplies. Even after Provincial and City government stepped in and camps were established NPOs, FBOs, the SAHRC and the UNHCR continued to play a significant role in providing humanitarian and other assistance in the camps, including donations of food, blankets and toiletries.

Financial donations were solicited and made from the public. A bank account for donations was set up by TAC, various churches, and OXFAM channelled a R3 million donation to support the response through TAC (because of their central role and capacity). The Muslim Judicial Council put out a call for funds through radio and its networks. Setting a target of R100,000 they managed to raise close to R50,000 to assist displaced people.⁸⁰

⁷⁸ For further information on the humanitarian response see: Forced Migration Studies Programme (FMSP). 2009. *Humanitarian Assistance to Internally Displaced Persons in South Africa: Lessons Learned Following Attacks on Foreign Nationals in May 2008*, FMSP: University of the Witwatersrand; International Organisation for Migration (IOM). 2009. *Towards Tolerance, Law and Dignity: Addressing Violence Against Foreign Nationals in South Africa*, IOM Regional Office for Southern Africa: Pretoria; SAHRC. 2009. "SAHRC Policy Paper: A national human rights institution's response to a disaster: Lessons learned from the South African Human Rights Commission," SAHRC: Cape Town; UNOCHA. 2009. *Recommendations stemming from Lessons Observed of the Response to Internal Displacement Resulting from Xenophobic Attacks in South Africa May-December 2008*, United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs Regional Office for Southern Africa; Opferman, L. 2008. "'Xenophobia Crisis' in South Africa: An analysis of the humanitarian response to the mass displacement of foreign nationals following the xenophobic attacks in the Western Cape Province in May 2008," unpublished MA Thesis, Uppsala Universitet, Sweden.

⁷⁹ SAHRC. 2008c. "SAHRC Report on Refugee Camps: Blue Waters, Harmony Park, Silverstroom, Soetwater, and the Youngsfield Military Base," July 2008.

⁸⁰ Interview, Muslim Judicial Council.

Advice, legal and advocacy services were provided by various organisations. These services included taking testimonies from affected people, giving migration and legal advice, ensuring people got the necessary and appropriate documentation from Home Affairs, taking legal action against the city government regarding standards in camps. Later other organisations provided trauma counselling and educational services in camps and training. *Medicins sans Frontières* provided assistance the monitoring and provision of medical and health care.

Civil society organisations established networks which met to develop strategies. Electronic networks and databases were set up by one by NGOs/NPOs and one through the Methodist church. The first gathered and distributed information and put out calls for needed supplies, the second logged data on the number of people in places of shelter and what was needed where.

Given the explosive and rapidly changing nature of the situation the response was initially ad hoc, fragmented, uncoordinated and at times reflected accidents of geography and timing. For instance, the central role taken by TAC, Sonke Gender Justice and the Aids Law Project in part reflected that they were located in the same building and had space to act as a repository for goods (and of course their commitment to human rights and generating an effective response to the violence).⁸¹ TAC members were returning from a “march” so were able to discuss their response. The Methodist church and Muslim Judicial Council happened to be holding meetings at the time of the outbreak of the violence.

The civil society response involved a wide range of organisations of differing size, expertise and remits (see Appendix A). They were central to the meeting the needs of the displaced. Different sections of civil society played different. Interviewees were clear that not only during the response to the violence, but more generally, they are increasingly having to take on the role of the state in the absence of the state delivering services and meeting the needs of communities and individuals.

Non-governmental organisations (NGOs)/not for profit organisations/community based organisations (CBOs)

The NGOs/NPOs involved in the response were diverse in their size, activities, experience and resources. Most were donor funded NGOs/NPOs. With only a very few exceptions (see below) although their remits involved the protection of human rights and/or commitments to community development and provision of services to communities in various arenas, meeting the needs of cross border migrants and refugees was not normally part of their core activities. Some were relatively large organisations like TAC and Black Sash, others more localised like the Mowbray initiative led by the Trust for Community Outreach and Education which came forward with an effective local response.

The civil society response was spearheaded by TAC, the AIDS Law Project and Sonke Gender Justice. TAC was central to organising the initial response creating an email contact and information list before the violence broke out in Cape Town. It called the meeting which established the first civil society committee (Task Team) to coordinate the response. The central role played by TAC in

⁸¹ Interview, Freddie Nkosi, ex-Sonke Gender Justice.

coordinating the response as well as the distribution of donations in part reflected the structural strength of the organisation. It had the physical capabilities (space and transport) to gather and distribute donations – ‘they had the bakkies’;⁸² the technical and institutional capacity to quickly establish an email network for information sharing; the administrative capacity to administer funds ‘when people wanted to make donations we sent them to TAC, they could manage the money’;⁸³ and members distributed across the city in affected communities.

In the initial days and weeks NGOs/NPOs were central to the collection, distribution and delivery of material supplies (food, blankets, clothes, mattresses and toiletries) to places of shelter as well as to the city run camps as supplies of these items were often non-existent at the beginning and insufficient when the city started to supply them.⁸⁴ Staff members and volunteers gathered, made, sorted and delivered food as well as other essential supplies. As the crisis progressed they also helped with transporting children to schools and adults to work. Some organisations like the Scalabrini centre offered their premises as places of shelter.⁸⁵

Legal and human rights NGOs/NPOs, particularly the Aids Law Project, the Legal Resources Centre and the UCT Law Clinic played a pivotal advocacy role. Both of the latter provide services to migrants, asylum seekers and refugees in their day-to-day work. They used the law to safeguard the rights of migrants, protect them from deportation and enable documentation, as well as promoting better conditions in camps. They provided legal advice to displaced people, put pressure on the DHA to visit camps so occupants could renew or replace their documents, and trained the leadership of displaced people in immigration law. They played a significant role in improving conditions in the camps when in July 2008, the ALP and TAC took legal action against the city and provincial government for failing to comply with international norms and standards. The action did not go to court but did force the city to improve conditions. The Aids Law Project, together with TAC, provided training for the refugee leadership in immigration and refugee law. Organisations like Idasa and the Southern African Migration Project contributed through providing information and analysis. Testimonies from victims of violence were gathered by various organisations (including Aids Law Project, Black Sash, Cape Town Refugee Centre and the SAHRC).

Depending on the location, community based organisations played varied roles. In some they were active in promoting the violence (particularly small business associations). In others it seems their role was to challenge it. In some communities, including Du Noon youth organisations have promoted integration developing activities between South African and migrant and refugee youth.⁸⁶ Further research is needed on the role of CBOs and township churches in promoting and preventing the xenophobic violence as well as in the reintegration/return process.

⁸² Interview, Judith Cohen, SAHRC.

⁸³ Interview, Braam Hanekom, PASSOP.

⁸⁴ SAHRC. 2008c. “SAHRC Report on Refugee Camps: Blue Waters, Harmony Park, Silverstroom, Soetwater, and the Youngsfield Military Base,” July 2008.

⁸⁵ Interview Miranda Madikane and Lena Opfermann, Scalabrini Centre of Cape Town.

⁸⁶ Interviews, Zoe Nkongolo, Africa Unite, Kate Lefko-Everett.

Faith based organisations (FBOs)

FBOs (Christian, Muslim and Jewish), their associated welfare organisations and congregations played a massive and practical role.⁸⁷ While Muslim migrants and refugees largely attend mosques with South Africans, many African migrants and refugees attend township churches and/or churches organised by pastors from their own countries. Located in townships and sometimes in temporary premises, these were not necessarily able to provide the physical support and shelter needed. Christian and Muslim FBOs provided shelter in mosques and church halls and together with Jewish FBOs were repositories for, and distributors of, material and financial donations. The Anglican church provided its warehouse facilities to collect and distribute material goods. Assistance was given to displaced people regardless of denomination. The Jewish Board of Deputies played a significant role in finding shelter for people displaced in the centre of the city who were refusing to move to the camps. Welfare roles were played by organisations like the Mustafadin, the Catholic Welfare Agency and Bon Esperance (a shelter for refugee women and children). An inter-denominational committee was established encompassing Christian churches, members of the Muslim Judicial Council (MJC) and various Jewish organisations including the Jewish Board of Deputies. They also participated in the various committees, task teams and forums that were set up.

The response of the Muslim community was coordinated and represented by the Muslim Judicial Council (MJC) and Mustafadin also played a significant humanitarian role. The MJC established a special committee (still existing) to oversee their response and dedicated members of staff to coordinate their work. The Christian response and shelters were largely provided by individual churches as required. This presented problems for Western Cape Provincial Disaster Management Centre.⁸⁸ However, the Methodist church established a database of shelters and their needs. The Jewish intervention was led by the Jewish Board of Deputies and included Habonim Dror and the Progressive Jewish Congregation.

With the exception of the MJC, the Catholic Welfare Agency and Bon Esperance, few of the FBOs that responded to the violence have experience working directly with migrant and refugee issues including xenophobia although they may provide pastoral services in their congregations. The role played by FBOs was almost entirely humanitarian in nature. The MJC used radio to appeal for donations and tolerance. The Anglican St Georges Cathedral in the centre of the city hosted an anti-xenophobia meeting. Imams, priests, pastors and rabbis may have preached against xenophobia in mosques, churches and temples, but FBOs did not seem provide the strong public moral leadership that they could have in challenging the intolerance and violence, notwithstanding their central role in the humanitarian response.⁸⁹

⁸⁷ Interviews, Muslim Judicial Council Cape Town; Teri Jedeink, Progressive Jewish Congregation; Judith Cohen, SAHRC; and various others; discussion Goegedacht Forum, April 2009.

⁸⁸ Interview, Hildegaard Fast, Western Cape Provincial Disaster Management.

⁸⁹ Interview, Vincent Williams, Idasa/SAMP.

Refugee and migrant organisations

The response of civil society to the violence revealed the weaknesses of African migrant and refugee organisation in Cape Town, as well as the problems they face as well as the lack of organisations representing migrants and immigrants.

These organisations can be divided into two categories. First, relatively well resourced, and sometimes funded, NGOs/NPOs (Cape Town Refugee Centre, Scalabrini Centre of Cape Town, Africa Unite and People Against Suffering Suppression Oppression and Poverty-PASSOP). These are “essentially South African organisations” which work directly with asylum seekers and refugees and in the case of PASSOP, migrants as well. Second, less well funded smaller organisations of refugees and migrants, some of which have no funding other than voluntary donations (African Disabled People’s Organisation and national associations like the Somali Association of the Western Cape and the Ogoni Solidarity Forum). Some like the Alliance for Refugees in South Africa (Afri-South) are comparatively well (but still significantly under) funded. With the exception of PASOP and Africa Unite, all focus on meeting the needs of asylum seekers and refugees rather than migrants and immigrants, although Zimbabweans (many of whom are asylum seekers and refugees) increasingly make use of their services. In part, the focus on asylum seekers and refugees reflects the stronger social networks of migrants and immigrants and the vulnerabilities of the former. Tutamike a coalition of refugee organisations and NPOs working with refugees was notable by its absence, it last met in April 2008. It has no funding to support its activities.⁹⁰

These organisations focus on providing legal advice, playing an advocacy role, provision of material support (although this is extremely limited) and capacity building through education and training. Refugee and migrant organisations, make attempts to promote integration. For instance, Africa Unite encourages membership of both South Africans and non-nationals and currently the children participating in the program for orphans are all South African while the volunteers are African foreigners, they also organise activities between South African and other African youth.⁹¹ Afri- South provides training in computers, English and sewing and classes which are open to all, regardless of nationality. The African Disabled Peoples Organisation and Africa Unite have played instrumental roles in bringing together role players in communities where there has been xenophobic tension and violence (the latter in Masiphumelele in 2006).⁹² Members of Africa Unite have organised activities between South African and other African youth. While some focus specifically on asylum seekers and refugees or nationals of a particular country in the services they provide it is in part because they are often excluded from ‘mainstream’ services and/or have specific needs.

Donor funded NGOs/NPOs like the Cape Town Refugee Centre (CTRC) (funded by the UNHCR) and the Scalabrini Refugee Centre (funded by the Scalabrini Order) established to service the refugee community were able to respond to the crisis, the latter providing food shelter and collecting

⁹⁰ Interview, Vikki Igglesden, Ikwa Kuthi Research & Advocacy.

⁹¹ Interviews, Zoe Nkongolo, Kate Lefko-Everett, Africa Unite; Vincent Williams Idasa/SAMP.

⁹² Interviews, Anaclet Mbayagu, African Disabled Refugee Organisation; Zoe Nkongolo, Africa Unite.

material and financial donations, the former providing material assistance, advice and counselling services.⁹³ PASSOP provided paralegal advice, monitoring services and participated in the forums and committees.⁹⁴

Refugee and migrant organisations lack funding and their members were themselves often affected by the violence. Their role was to act as the voice of displaced people in the various forums that emerged during the violence and to lobby on behalf of displaced people in camps. Particularly active and instrumental were Africa Unite, Afri-South, the Somali Association of South Africa (Western Cape), the Somali Traders Association and the African Disabled Peoples Organisation. Refugees and their representative organisations, particularly the Somali Associations played a significant role in challenging the conditions in camps and demonstrating and protesting (including hunger strikes) for appropriate and adequate protection. However, when they did so, they were often portrayed by government and the media as “troublesome, ungrateful and undeserving.”⁹⁵ Their actions also ran counter to the victimising depiction of displaced people in the media and among some CSOs which denied them agency.

The response of refugee and migrant organisations (including donor funded NGOs) reveals some of the more general problems within this sector of civil society. First, there is a real and crippling lack of funding from donors and government for these organisations. UNHCR funding (which given its remit) is limited to providing assistance to asylum seekers and refugees and is largely channelled through the Cape Town Refugee Centre as its implementing partner. Second, competition for resources can cause tension between different organisations and affect their ability to pursue progressive activism as they seek funding from donors, government and the private sector to enable them to carry out their work. Third, taking a politicised and activist approach may be seen to threaten possible funding opportunities for organisations that struggle to find the funds to operate. It can also cause tensions within and between organisations.⁹⁶ Given the response of government and some CSOs to refugee and migrant as they struggled for better conditions in camps, this is not necessarily far fetched. Therefore many limit their activities to lobbying and advocacy. Fourth, it can be difficult to bring together asylum seekers, refugees and migrants, even if they hold the same nationality and may have common concerns as some may be from opposing political and ethnic groupings.⁹⁷

“ You know, now we have to compete for funding. Now even if I know that you are good at whatever you are doing wrong things may be said about you.....you know that is exactly what is happening. And I’m thinking also the funders too. Because they also have their own specific mandates. Now, I have to do things the way my funder wants me to do them. (Interviewee, anonymous). ”

⁹³ Interviews, Christina Henda, Cape Town Refugee Centre; Miranda Madikane and Lena Opfermann, Scalabrini Centre.

⁹⁴ Interview, Braam Hanekom, PASSOP.

⁹⁵ Robins, S. 2009. “Humanitarian aid beyond “bare survival...”

⁹⁶ Interviews, anonymous.

⁹⁷ Interviews, Muslim Judicial Council and anonymous.

It is important to go beyond what the formal NGOs do to also consider the refugee leaders that emerged during the crisis.

Soon after the violence erupted in May 2008, refugees, with the support of activists and human rights organizations, began to assert themselves through press statements and protests that challenged the government, camp management, and UNHCR for failing to adequately protect or provide for them in terms of internationally recognized standards.... The TAC and ALP responded by organizing immigration law workshops for the refugee leadership to empower refugees in their interactions with state officials. These organizations sought to create the conditions for the emergence of a politicized, knowledgeable, and articulate refugee leadership... They consciously chose not to distinguish between political and economic refugees, asylum seekers, internally displaced people, and undocumented persons. By contrast, the South African government and UNHCR adopted a narrowly circumscribed definition.⁹⁸

Mohammed Hirsi was one of the most important refugee leaders that worked closely with TAC and the ALP.

"I have experienced worse situations than this – this is just time repeating itself," he told TAC. "So I handle it with acceptance and am not too emotionally affected. This is the way life is."⁹⁹

Hirsi attended a civil society meeting at TAC and joined a task team, and since then became an intrinsic part of the effort. For the first five days of the crisis, he had sleepless nights helping coordinate food, attending civil society meetings and tending to the needs of refugees at camps, halls and those who were put up in private homes. He offered in-depth knowledge of Somali refugee issues and got involved where ever and whenever he was needed. When Somali and Congolese refugees at the Soetwater camp decided to go on a hunger strike, along with the HRC, Mohammed was involved in the negotiations that ended the two-day hunger strike.

"As part of TAC, I really feel we are helping and making a difference," said Hirsi. "We are the voice of the voiceless." (Hirsi interview)

Another important story is that of the Caledon Square Group. It articulates many of the problems with the camps and the response and in particular the way displaced people were often shunted around the city by the state without consideration, and how agency was often denied to them (consciously or unconsciously). On the Friday that the violence spread across Cape Town, a large

⁹⁸ Robins, 2009.

⁹⁹ Interview with Mohammed Hirsi (undated), sent in email correspondence by Fatima Hassan.

group of displaced people, mainly from the DRC, fled their homes in Phillipi township and decided to make a political statement by positioning themselves outside Cape Town’s main police station, Caledon Square. They said they would remain there until their demands were met. They had three demands: to be sheltered in Cape Town’s city centre or surrounding suburbs; due to lack of trust in any South African government institution, they wanted the assistance of the UNHCR to return them to their countries of origin; compensation for their lost businesses, homes and livelihoods.

“After our fifth day outside the station, I went on a hunger strike,” Kabemba Bin Ngulu told TAC. “TAC volunteer doctors asked me to consider my health, and to at least drink water. But I would only end it if the UNHCR responded to our needs or we received help from lawyers. It was only then that a legal team decided they would help us. A lawyer advised us to leave and offered us accommodation on his farm.”¹⁰⁰ A day later Kabemba Bin Ngulu started eating again. But again, they were told they needed to leave the area outside the police station, otherwise they would be forcibly removed. “If they had seen anything in Africa, any of the genocide, they would never tell people to go camps,” said Kabemba Bin Ngulu. “But we would go to the end with the police. We were already so victimised. They may as well arrest us all. Our lives were already destroyed.”

The group were adamant about not leaving the central Cape Town for several reasons: they were afraid of moving to back to centres in communities where xenophobic gangs had purged them; most of the group either worked or were looking for work in the city centre; most of them were from countries in which gross human rights violations took place in refugee camps and so they did not want to go to the mega-site camps; camp conditions were appalling; and they were receiving extensive support from the Sea Point community and moving farther out would have made further support impractical. Eventually accommodation was found at a school in Seapoint through the Jewish Board of Deputies.¹⁰¹ The actions of the Caledon Square group and support for them by TAC and the Jewish Board of Deputies was disapproved of by some interviewees who intimated that they should have done what other displaced people did and that the action was too politicised and distracted from the humanitarian issues. Rather than seeing it as displaced people trying to take control of their own situation, as well as how it highlighted many of the issues raised by the violence and the displacement.

Volunteers and individuals

Hundreds of individuals from across Cape Town were motivated to volunteer their services. They played an important role, particularly in the collection, sorting and distribution of donations as well as at shelters, coordinating activities, cooking food and providing information. Notwithstanding the sterling work of individuals who made the response possible, almost all interviewees said that while they recognised the role of volunteers, their participation was also problematic. Unless working through an affiliated institution there was no way of coordinating and organising them or holding them accountable for their activities and allegedly some were like ‘loose cannons’ giving poor information to displaced people as well as the press. There were also allegations of ‘disaster tourism’.

¹⁰⁰ Interview with Kabemba Bin Ngulu (undated), sent in email correspondence by Fatima Hassan.

¹⁰¹ Interviews, Prof. Lulu Tshiwula, UWC; Teri Jedeink, Progressive Jewish Congregation.

Most organisations who had worked with volunteers suggested that in future volunteers should be affiliated with an organisation to introduce some form of accountability.

While not always so visible **some individuals and communities took a stand against what was happening** in their communities challenging those who wanted to chase people away.

In Khayelitsha a group of women protected their local Somali shopkeeper by having him sleep in their homes at night, guarding the shop day and night and chasing away potential attackers. These women have now formed a neighbourhood watch.¹⁰²

Chapter 9 Institutions and the South African Human Rights Commission

With the exception of the South African Human Rights Commission Western Cape, Chapter 9 institutions were notable by their absence in Cape Town. The SAHRC played a significant strategic role.¹⁰³ The efforts of the SAHRC were commended by almost all interviewees, particularly the work of Judith Cohen. The organisation took a rights based response to the crisis identifying the responsibilities of government to protect the rights of displaced people; monitored and lobbied for better conditions in the camps (as well as their closure and the return of people to community halls); mediated in negotiations between government and displaced people including during hunger strikes in the camps; provided advice and training in immigration and refugee law; established a forum to facilitate interaction between civil society and government; and hosted meetings of the Task Team.¹⁰⁴ It also took testimonies from people affected by violence, and as in their normal work, gave advice. For several months, the normal work of the organisation was put on hold as it responded to the crisis.

Notwithstanding the work they did, some interviewees were critical of their role suggesting that they were too conciliatory towards government when mediating and that their forum undermined the civil society task team.¹⁰⁵ However, their role was circumscribed and shaped by their position as a Chapter 9 institution.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰² Interview, Christina Henda, Cape Town Refugee Centre.

¹⁰³ SAHRC. 2009. "SAHRC Policy Paper: A national human rights institution's response to a disaster: Lessons learned from the South African Human Rights Commission," SAHRC, Cape Town; interview Judith Cohen, SAHRC.

¹⁰⁴ Interview, Judith Cohen, SAHRC; SAHRC. 2008d. "International Refugee Day," presentation to the Portfolio Committee on Home Affairs, Parliament, 20 June 2008; SAHRC. 2008e. "SAHRC handout for refugee camp monitoring volunteers Western Cape"; SAHRC. 2008f. "Toolkit for refugee camp monitoring volunteers Western Cape," SAHRC.

¹⁰⁵ Interview, anonymous.

¹⁰⁶ SAHRC. 2009. "SAHRC Policy Paper: A national human rights institution's response to a disaster: Lessons learned from the South African Human Rights Commission," SAHRC: Cape Town.

*COSATU and political parties*¹⁰⁷

The COSATU Western Cape provincial leadership and office played a strategic role in the response and did more than other trade union federations. They were actively involved developing the strategic response in the committees. They assisted in the opening of Blue Waters when shelters were overcrowded in Mitchells Plain. Several shop stewards council meetings were held to brief worker leaders and agree on common positions and roles. But unlike the TAC, COSATU did not mobilise its members in the range of social, humanitarian and political work that was done. Nor did it bring its social weight in any significant fashion behind the socio-political issues that underpinned the violence and which are reflected more broadly in South African society. This is particularly striking given that the majority of the attacks were in places where COSATU members live, and that some of those attacked were COSATU members themselves. All in all, no more than 10 people from the entire COSATU structures in the Western Cape were directly involved on behalf of COSATU in their response (although individual members may have acted on their own behalf). So, although they were active and played a significant role during the crisis, the participation of the organisation did not reflect their important voice. Given their ability to reach workers where they work and live an opportunity to play an active progressive activist role in the response appears to have been missed. Perhaps in part this was because of the almost complete failure of their alliance partners, the ANC and the SACP to come on board.

The ANC, the SACP, the DA, and other political parties were largely absent from the civil society response. They did not participate as political organisations or voices in any of the vigils or gatherings held to condemn the violence in Cape Town. However, the TAC confirms SACP cooperation in Phillipi and Khayelitsha even though this was limited to few leaders of the SACP and did not involve the activist base of this organisation.

“ In the ANC initially there appeared to be a lot of openness to identifying the problem and problems with xenophobia. And it appears that there was a central decision taken. And the line was ‘there is no xenophobia’ The majority of people who spoke on behalf of the ANC, adopted that line – ‘it’s about competition for resources, it’s not about xenophobia’. And it was very difficult to find anyone in the ANC, who would admit in public that xenophobia was the problem. (Interviewee, anonymous) ”

On a community level, the ANC seems to have played different roles in different localities. Some interviewees intimated that in some places local ANC leadership may have been complicit in the violence (for instance in Du Noon). Masiphumelele seems to epitomise the contradictory role played by the ANC in many places. So, there is evidence of contestation within the ANC, in part possibly depending on the business interests of various leaders (some are owners of their own shops, others lease theirs to foreigners – mainly Somalis); absence of leadership before and during the crisis with the party only coming forward with a progressive position at the point of reintegration. A number

¹⁰⁷ Interviews, Mike Louw, Mfanafuthi Borman Tsela, and others COSATU.

of interviewees remarked on how political parties and community leaders only came forward for public re-integration ceremonies.

International Organisations

With the exception of *Medicins sans Frontières* (MSF) and OXFAM, international organisations were slow to respond in the Western Cape. The UNHCR did not have an office or representation in Cape Town when the violence started, but sent representatives in June 2008 who subsequently opened an office. The UNHCR were active in the establishment, running and closure of the camps including the so-called reintegration process. Once their office was opened they set up the still existing Stakeholders Forum which brings together civil society organisations, including refugee and migrant organisations and government. The satellite office of the International Organisation for Migration (IOM) had originally been established to deal with human trafficking issues. It has now closed. The IOM organised transport for some of the refugees who wished to return to their home countries. MSF reflecting their longstanding partnership with TAC provided health care in the camps and assisted TAC in undertaking a social and health assessment in the camps. OXFAM channelled R3m through TAC to support the civil society response to the violence and humanitarian relief efforts.

Provincial and city government

Given the time lag between the start of the violence in Gauteng and its outbreak in Cape Town ostensible attempts by government to prevent and plan for the violence, as well as experience of disaster management through responding to floods and fire, the government response at provincial and city levels was remarkably slow when the violence broke out.

However, the Western Cape Provincial Disaster Management Centre quickly established a Joint Operations Committee to develop its response. Similarly Cape Town's Disaster Risk Management Centre activated its Disaster Operations Centre on 22 May and established a Joint Operation Centre at Killarney Race Track on 23 May. The first camps were established by the city by 25 May 2008. The tension between the city and province meant that each Disaster Management Unit established a Joint Operations Committee, a situation that lasted for more than a month. The establishment of mega-sites (or camps) was a site of contestation between the two levels of government, promoted by the city and opposed by the province.

Provincial and city governments provided blankets, food and mattresses to shelters. The city eventually provided the same and tents and sanitation facilities to camps. Although this seems relatively efficient, shelters not run by the city struggled to get necessary supplies of food, blankets, mattresses, clothes and toiletries from the city government and were largely supplied by NGOs/NPOs/FBOs and provincial government. And even the camps set up by the city struggled. For

instance, at Youngsfield Military Base on 28 May the 1,200 people who had been sent there by the city were staying in tents without groundsheets (despite the rain and cold), without mattresses, with no showers and were dependent on insufficient food supplied by donations through civil society.¹⁰⁸ Some had been there for several days. For the initial weeks, most depended on donations from elsewhere distributed through NGOs/NPOs and FBOs supplemented by supplies from provincial government and sometimes the city wherever they stayed. While the camps eventually provided a place to sleep, food and sanitation facilities, conditions were not good.¹⁰⁹ Legal action had to be started to force compliance with international standards.

On 3 June 2008, the provincial government declared a provincial disaster under section 41 of the Disaster Management Act (2002). This meant management of the situation should move to the province. However, the city government did not declare a disaster as according to the city DMRU “we were dealing with it and by right its our scope to deal with it...and we always want to make it clear it was never a disaster for city and we never declared it a disaster we managed the incident they declared it a disaster in terms of their provision of their legislation they should have never utilized the disaster management act for this purpose.”¹¹⁰ Essentially the DA led city did not want to cede control to the ANC led province. Eventually responsibilities were agreed upon.

By the end of July 2008, the response of the provincial and city government was still far from adequate.¹¹¹ In response to these government failures, the refugee leadership in the camps organised protest actions targeted at the Department of Home Affairs, the Department of Education, and the Provincial Government. However, the Western Cape Provincial Disaster Management Centre and the city’s Disaster Management Unit appear to have executed their functions and from September 2008 the former has developed a humanitarian assistance framework. However, government at national, provincial or city levels have not addressed their core failures in response to the crisis and migration issues in general.¹¹²

The SAPS anticipated that the violence would spread to Cape Town. Commissioner Mzwandile Petros organised a planning meeting of all Station Commanders in the days prior to the attacks and established a Security Committee. Some interviewees commended SAPS for this initiative and for the actions of some station commanders and police officers. However, there were allegations that some police officers had colluded with rioters and looters in some areas. Suspicion of the police was also an issue given negative prior experiences with SAPS of many migrants and refugees.¹¹³

With the exception of the UCT Law Clinic tertiary educational institutions did not play a role. None of the universities provided practical or educational assistance only providing services to affected students.

¹⁰⁸ SAHRC. 2008B. “SAHRC Report on Conditions at the Youngsfield Military Base camp for internally displaced non nationals, Western Cape”; SAHRC, 28 May 2008. Respondents indicated that women were getting infections from the inadequate toilets, they had been threatened by military guards, there was no medical doctor or supplies; and that on one day they had been given with only one peanut butter sandwich all day and that they and their bedding were wet and cold.

¹⁰⁹ SAHRC. 2008C. “SAHRC Report on Refugee Camps...”

¹¹⁰ Interview, Wilfred Solomons-Johannes, Cape Town Disaster Relief Unit.

¹¹¹ Refugee Leadership. *Press Statement from Refugee Leadership*. 22 July 2008 (www.tac.org.za).

¹¹² Interviews, Dr Hildegaard Fast, Western Cape Provincial Disaster Management Centre; Wilfred Solomons-Johannes, City of Cape Town Disaster Management; JP Smith, Councillor and chair of Safety and Security Committee.

¹¹³ Interview, Superintendent Hermanus, Muizenberg SAPS.

Private sector

It is difficult to calculate the role of the private sector. The corporate sector provided little support. However, individual companies gave discounts on supplies, others made material donations, provided storage facilities and help with transport. The retail food industry provided donation points at supermarkets and some shops donated food. Small business associations (or at least some of their members) in some areas, for instance Masiphumelele, were active in fomenting violence.

Counting the cost

It is not possible to quantify the cost of the response to civil society organisations or the value of material and financial donations. At the time of writing, only TAC was able to provide information on the amount spent (Box 1). They received a donation of R3m from OXFAM. However by the second week of July 2008 civil society was estimated to still be spending over half a million rand weekly in the provision of humanitarian aid.¹¹⁴ This estimate excludes administrative costs, humanitarian discounts given by supply companies, material donations and transport. It also excludes the cost to organisations and individuals of suspending their normal working activities and of the time of staff and volunteers. The staff of many organisations worked unpaid long hours and weekends. Some, like the SAHRC put on hold their normal responsibilities, and so had to work to regain the time they lost.

The City of Cape Town estimated that they spent approximately R200 million responding to the crisis. This figure excludes expenditure by various departments on overtime and while responding to the violence and making up lost time. The response has led to overspending in many departments.¹¹⁵

Box 1: TAC income and expenditure on response to xenophobic violence

TAC raised an unprecedented amount of money and goods and services donations from the public. TAC released a draft income and expenditure statement for activities up to 3 September 2008. It showed that the TAC received and spent money as follows:

▶ Humanitarian Income:	R3,125,044
▶ Humanitarian Expenditure	R3,120,312
▶ Humanitarian Balance:	R4,733
▶ Advocacy Income	R1,006,258
▶ Advocacy Expenditure	R854,929
▶ Advocacy Balance	R151,329
▶ Monitoring Income:	R332,285
▶ Monitoring Expenditure	R218,325
▶ Monitoring Balance	R113,960
▶ Total Income	R4,463,587
▶ Total Expenditure	R4,193,566
Balance	R270,022

¹¹⁴ TAC. 2008g. *Joint Press Statement from Civil Society For Release*. 10 July 2008. www.tac.org.za

¹¹⁵ Interviews: Wilfred Solomons-Johannes, City of Cape Town Disaster Management; JP Smith, Councillor and chair of Safety and Security Committee.

Characterising the response

The response of civil society in Cape Town to the xenophobic violence of May 2008 can essentially be characterised as humanitarian. It initially revolved around the provision of shelter and material goods to displaced people. Later it moved to assisting with meeting other needs such as transport, health care, training, and trauma counselling. It played a central role in meeting the needs of displaced place people.

Civil society organisations also played an advocacy and human rights based role in Cape Town: monitoring conditions in camps; lobbying the Department of Home Affairs to renew and replace documents in camps; lobbying the Provincial and City governments to provide assistance and improve conditions in the camps and, where necessary mounting legal challenges to ensure that this happened. Some interviewees saw the latter as politicised responses, too political, too adversarial and a waste of money that should have been being spent on providing humanitarian relief.

The scale and nature of the attacks and the reaction of many South Africans to the violence presented an opportunity to challenge xenophobia. Yet only limited attempts were made to develop more politicised responses challenging the causes of violence the treatment of displaced people and promoting the rights of foreigners. These took five forms. First, anti-xenophobia vigils/demonstrations were held outside Parliament and a rally in St Georges Church in the city centre (see photographs). A one-year anniversary vigil was held outside Parliament in 2009 in which approximately 15 organisations participated. However, the rhetoric of the vigils was largely confined to participants and organisations stating their shame as South Africans and that all people regardless of nationality have a home in South Africa. TAC led anti-xenophobia marches in Khayelitsha and Nyanga. None of these were on the scale of the demonstration seen in Johannesburg. Second, anti-xenophobia T-shirts and posters were printed and distributed by TAC and Sonke Gender Justice. One interviewee observed that possibly because of lack of resources and time and the need to prioritise the advocacy work undertaken in camps less effort if any was made to do the same in communities where violence had taken place, including during the reintegration process.¹¹⁶

Third, government was regularly criticised by some civil society organisations (particularly by TAC, ALP and COSATU) and the Refugee Leadership for the slow pace and nature of their response. The legal challenge mounted by TAC and the ALP with its associated sit-ins and pickets as well as protests by refugees in the camps and at the offices of the provincial government, focused on remedying conditions in the camps. However as importantly they were about establishing the principles of equal, respectful and proper treatment of non-nationals as well as their own agency.¹¹⁷ Many CSOs perceived these actions as (unnecessarily) political and confrontational. Fourth, organisations like Idasa (which has an on-going xenophobia and social cohesion research project) and the Southern African Migration Project wrote analytical and opinion pieces for the press.

Reintegration ceremonies were largely little more than ceremonies. Most interviewees were reluctant to use the term and preferred to say return. Although marked by human rights rhetoric

¹¹⁶ Interview, Christina Henda, Cape Town Refugee Centre.

¹¹⁷ Robins, S. 2009. "Humanitarian aid beyond "bare survival..."

and the rights of foreigners to live in South Africa little real attempt appears to have been made to integration. Some CBOs and the UNHCR have organised activities including South African and other African youth including football matches. Refugee and other organisations were critical of the use of the word reintegration suggesting return was more appropriate.¹¹⁸

Politicised responses, demonstrations, protests in the camps and elsewhere, as well as the legal challenges, were seen by some NGOs/NPOs and FBOs as divisive, unnecessary and a waste of money.¹¹⁹ Five reasons underpinned their negative responses to the more politicised responses. First, their reaction reflects a common discourse amongst many NPOs, FBOs and government which conceptualised the violence as a humanitarian disaster. Although its source in xenophobia was recognised and acknowledged the primary concern of organisations was to respond to the humanitarian or material needs of displaced people and not to the xenophobia that had caused their displacement. Second, actions which were not directly focused on meeting basic needs were seen by some as a waste of resources and energy when there were real human needs to be met. Third, some saw the legal challenges and media strategy of TAC as more as political grandstanding rather than having real purpose. Fourth, many of the organisations involved in the response did not see their role as taking a political or campaigning position. For some this may reflect their position as NGOs/NPOs/FBOs, donor funding conditions, and that it fell outside their organisational remit. Fifth, most of the organisations involved were not experienced in the area of migrant and refugee rights. However, it is the first reason which was most prominent. The notion that basic human needs are disassociated from the socio-economic and political environments which create them leads to responses which focus on the immediate human needs rather than actions and longer term solutions which address the causes of the crisis.¹²⁰

Forming coalitions

There was **no functioning civil society coalition in operation in Cape Town prior to the violence**, although a coalition of refugee and migrant organisations Tutamike did (and still does) exist but has not met since April 2008.

Seven forums/committees involving civil society were established in reaction to the violence to coordinate and strategise the response as well as to discuss issues that emerged. All the civil society organisations were working under tremendous pressure and with limited resources. Civil society organisations also met regularly with all levels of government and other role players. Meetings with government were aimed at improving conditions within the sites, and facilitating repatriation, resettlement and reintegration. Meetings of the various forums and committees were held at least weekly and some-times more often placing big demands on organisations that were already stretched providing humanitarian assistance. Some interviewees complained that this meant that some organisations resorted to sending inexperienced interns (ironically usually students from overseas) who lacked authority and know-how to represent them.

¹¹⁸ Interviews: various refugee organisations.

¹¹⁹ Interviews, various, anonymous.

¹²⁰ Robins, S. 2009. "Humanitarian aid beyond "bare survival..."

The first committee to be set up was the Western Cape Emergency Civil Society Task Team on Xenophobia and Violence. It was established on the initiative of the TAC and the Aids Law Project after they had called on “civil society organisations, charities, humanitarian bodies and NGOs” for a unified and coordinated response to the national humanitarian emergency.¹²¹ It was formed at meeting of over 20 civil society organisations held on 20 May 2008 “to discuss a strategy for pre-empting what has happened in Gauteng from spreading to this province.”¹²² The task team comprised NGOs/NPOs, FBOs, the SAHRC and COSATU. Meetings were held at the offices of the SAHRC. It provided space away from government for civil society to strategise.

The initial purpose of the task team was to focus on working with the provincial and national governments “to prevent violence against foreign nationals and to provide humanitarian and other forms of assistance where necessary.” It also recognised the need to “take proactive steps to prevent attacks against foreign nationals by mobilising and educating all communities across the province.” The civil society task team, coordinated and strategised response including humanitarian and advocacy work, organised the vigils, called on government to ensure “fast-tracked investigation, arrest and prosecution of those arrested for carrying out [xenophobic] attacks.”¹²³ It elected 4 representatives to sit on the SAPS Security Forum. Before the formation of the civil society task team TAC was already working with the AIDS Law Project, the Legal Resources Centre, Sonke Gender Justice and other organisations to address the crisis. The SAHRC also coordinated meetings between the civil society task team and government in a separate committee.¹²⁴ FBOs used an interdenominational committee to coordinate their response, strategise and discuss issues.

The Western Cape Provincial Government established the Joint Operational Committee (JOC) through the Western Cape Provincial Disaster Management Centre to coordinate the government response. This committee eventually included representatives of Provincial and City government as well as some selected representatives of civil society including faith based organisations. Its role was to enhance disaster management on an operational level. The Cape Town Disaster Management Risk Unit initially also set up a JOC. The SAPS set up a Security Forum with 4 representatives from civil society as well as various sections of law enforcement including NIA. Its remit was to deal with security issues.

Once representatives of the UNHCR arrived in Cape Town, they established the UNHCR Stakeholders Forum. It brought together civil society organisations concerned with refugees and displaced people as well as government. The Stakeholders Forum still meets regularly attracting as many as 40 people at their meetings. However, some suggested that the meetings have been aimed at facilitating management of the camps and latterly encouraging the closure of the camps rather than addressing other more pressing issues facing asylum seekers and refugees in Cape Town, almost all of whom have left the camps. However meetings have also discusses problems with reintegration and on-going xenophobia in communities.¹²⁵

¹²¹ TAC. 2008h. TAC Demands Urgent and Decisive Action by Government to halt Violence Against Refugees and Immigrants: TAC Press Statement. 19 May 2008 (www.tac.org.za).

¹²² TAC. 2008e. TAC participates in establishment of Western Cape Emergency Civil Society Task Team on Xenophobia and Violence: TAC-ALP Press Statement. 21 May 2008 (www.tac.org.za).

¹²³ TAC. 2008g. Joint Press Statement from Civil Society for Release. 10 July 2008 (www.tac.org.za)

¹²⁴ Interview, Judith Cohen, SAHRC.

¹²⁵ UNHCR. 2009. “UNHCR Meeting: Solutions on Residual Caseload on Sites,” March 18, 2009, UNHCR.

Coming together?

A number of issues emerged out of the committees and forums that were formed during the course of the response to the violence in Cape Town. While the civil society response saw organisations which had never encountered each other join forces to act effectively together to lead and sustain the humanitarian response to the xenophobic violence. However the cooperation and collective actions of civil society in May 2008 also provides lessons for the future.

The different forums that were established indicate the different interests and focus of the organisations and government involved in the response. The JOCs and the UNHCR Stakeholder Forum essentially focused on operational considerations relating to the response of government, the distribution of supplies, getting people into, managing and dismantling the camps.¹²⁶ The forum of the SAHRC was established to deal with both practical and tactical issues. It provided a valuable place for civil society to interact and debate with government.¹²⁷ The Western Cape Task Team on Xenophobia and Violence provided a forum for civil society to engage with practical, tactical as well as more progressive and activist issues and debates.

Although the forums indicate a relatively organised approach by civil society and government in Cape Town (and certainly more organised than in Gauteng) they also reflect the fragmentation of the response and perspectives on how civil society and government should have responded.

Points of cohesion in the civil society response, and its engagement with government, centred on the need to respond to a humanitarian crisis involving thousands of residents of the city.

They focused on meeting the needs of displaced people. Decisions regarding more politicised actions like advocacy, demonstrations and legal action against the city were more contentious. Coalitions or forums were, therefore, largely issue based and lacked a common progressive activist political focus.

While the forums were critical to the effective of the response of civil society organisations and government as well as their engagement with each other they were also the sites of tension and division reflecting the difficulties of bringing together diverse organisations despite their common goals. The first point of cleavage that emerged reflected differences in power, access to material resources, capacity and experience. The civil society organisations involved in the response have widely different resources and remits which meant that some organisations could play a stronger role than others. All organisations gave credit to TAC for their pioneering and pivotal role in the organisation of the civil society response to the violence in Cape Town. Yet, concerns were expressed about their dominant role and approach. In particular around the strength of their role in the committees, their media strategy, the legal action and their activist response to the issue of xenophobia. Problems of

¹²⁶ Interviews, various.

¹²⁷ Interviews, various.

power and access to resources were also expressed in regard to other organisations participating in committees.

There is an element of truth to concerns over the role of TAC and in part, the criticisms reflect TACs relative administrative capacity, the strength of their organisation on the ground in communities where violence occurred as well its view that the violence was more than a humanitarian disaster and required more than a humanitarian response. But to over-emphasise concerns expressed by some civil society organisations would be to miss key lessons provided by TAC's effective role. Chief amongst these is the importance of sustained social mobilisation of ordinary people in a way that gives them voice, self-agency and social power in the way that the TAC has done since it was formed at the end of 1998. The benefits of this work were seen in the fact that even more than an older and bigger COSATU, TAC was able to (and had the will to) mobilise the foot-soldiers and armoury required to do battle as represented in their membership at the height of the crisis.

Second, the response brought together organisations with widely different remits, agendas and experiences in their work outside responding to the violence. This led to differences of opinion about the strategies to be employed. In particular these related to how to engage with government (particularly around the camps), the kind of media strategy to be used, and lobbying and political action. These points of cleavage essentially reflected the limited characterisation of the problem as essentially a humanitarian disaster by many of the organisations involved in the response.

Third, there was often a lack of clarity about the rules of engagement (or code of conduct) in and outside meetings. It was alleged that some individuals and organisations at times acted outside decisions made at meetings and were quick to go to the press with details of what had taken place in what had been assumed to be closed meetings.

Fourth, for some sectors of civil society, particularly migrant organisations problems with the role of the UNHCR were expressed. These related to expectations of the role that UNHCR would play; the role of UNCHR funding in creating divisions between organisations; and the Stakeholders Forum being used to coerce civil society into acting on and for the government and UNHCR agendas. Meanwhile, the UNHCR were critical of civil society organisations that raised unrealistic expectations of the role that they could play, particularly in regard to removal to third countries.

Organisational legacies

It is one thing to **establish relationships, coalitions and committees during a crisis, it is another to sustain them.**

Although points of tension between civil society organisations emerged during the response it enabled working relationships to develop between organisations and increased their knowledge of each others strengths as resources for each other. This was also reflected in government and most civil society relationships, particularly with Western Cape Provincial Disaster Management Centre. Most interviewees expressed their satisfaction at the way they had developed and initiated new working relationships with other organisations that extended beyond the work they had undertaken together during the crisis.

The most significant result emerging from the violence in the form of a formal civil society coalition was the formation of the Social Justice Coalition (SJC) initiated by the TAC.

The impressive humanitarian relief effort led by civil society was seen as seeds of a renewed political consciousness. There were also calls for “active and sustained engagement by ordinary people to demand better political accountability and leadership” and “policies that reduce the inequality and poverty that are the foundation of [xenophobia].”¹²⁸ The SJC was seen as the main flag-bearer of this consciousness around which civil society could unite.¹²⁹ There was a sense that, “[t]here is a momentum that has come out of this xenophobic violence and the country is in a state where people are deeply unsettled. But this gives us an opportunity, and it is only through a process of very hard work at the community level and building a strong civil society that can we hold government and business accountable over the long term. If that’s one of the things that comes out of it, then this xenophobic crisis would have been a warning that allowed good people to get together to prevent us from sliding into a disaster.”¹³⁰

The SJC was born out of a TAC-initiated public workshop that targeted high school and university students and other members of the community. The workshop recognised that South African society is struggling with poverty, social inequality, violations of human rights and crimes of all sorts, particularly against the poor, vulnerable and marginalised. It discussed a wide range of issues including safety, security, shelter and basic needs for immigrants and refugees displaced by xenophobic violence and crime; safety for women and girls against gender-based violence; safety for all people against violence and crime; and the need for a Marshall Plan for Development to end hunger, homelessness, inequality and poverty in South and southern Africa; and the situation in Zimbabwe.

¹²⁸ Geffen, N. 2008a. *Shattered Myths...*

¹²⁹ Ibid.

¹³⁰ Interview with Zackie Achmat (undated), received in email correspondence from Fatima Hassan.

The SJC was formed with the intention of mobilising individuals from every community in South Africa to address these issues. It set itself the task of tackling issues of social inequality within communities and to put pressure on government and local and international agencies to carry out their respective mandates according to the Constitution and international norms and standards. Since it was formed it has held community meetings, established branches, organised public meetings and begun to formulate demands around the Constitution and access to information. However its efforts have not gained sufficient social and political momentum and it seems to have lost some of its initial momentum. Reasons for the slow down in its organisational activism and growth as well as the participation of some member organisations are not clear. However it seems one reason may be that it has not defined a clear and accessible goal around which to initiate a concrete campaign.¹³¹ For instance the first campaign involved the arms deal and did not succeed in making the connections to questions around socio-economic conditions in communities. It may also be that the political consciousness engendered by the response to xenophobia amongst participants may have waned and many may be feeling fatigue. The SJC is seen by many TAC activists as more appropriate vehicle to take up issues of migrants than TAC itself.

Although there appeared to be a waning of participation in the SJC amongst organisations interviewed, as well as in its activities, a meeting held in Khayelitsha in February 2010 suggests that there may be renewed momentum. The meeting attracted around 300 people, mostly youth. Significantly, they resolved to address and develop campaigns around matters relating to water, drainage and sanitation. To this end they started to organise groups to go into areas of the township which are affected by flooding to start to dig drains before the winter rains.

The UNHCR Stakeholders Forum is still operational and is the only committee still in existence which deals specifically with issues relating to refugees as Tutamike has not met since April 2008. It is a non-political body which while ostensibly concerned with refugee issues has thus far focused on engaging with civil society to close down the camps. It has not deal directly with xenophobia or matters relating to migrants and immigrants although it has undertaken an ad hoc survey of xenophobia in specific communities, but only in relation to the removal of people from camps into communities.¹³²

However, some new initiatives including migrant, refugee and xenophobia issues have been initiated. In 2009 COSATU, ILRIG and the Ogoni Solidarity Forum organised a series of workshops to discuss migrant workers rights, the enforcement of labour legislation and xenophobia. The Department of Social Development is undertaking work around social cohesion and xenophobia and is organising a related conference. Various workshops and seminars have been held in 2009 around the issue of xenophobia and disaster relief. These include a workshop hosted by the Speaker of Western Cape for civil society around xenophobia and a seminar held by the Centre for Conflict Resolution in July 2009. In July 2009 a Goegedacht Forum was held around disaster relief as well as a workshop organised by the Heinrich Boll Institute. Both of these referred to xenophobia and the violence of 2008.

¹³¹ Interview, Fatima Hassan.

¹³² UNHCR, 2009. "UNHCR Meeting: Solutions on Residual Caseload..."

Few non-refugee organisations have formally **integrated xenophobia and migrants and refugees** into their day to day work.

Most of those that did not said they have returned to work as usual and are not making any attempts to integrate migration and migrants issues into their work. However, there have been some changes. So, the Legal Resource Centre, the Centre for Justice and Crime Prevention, the Centre for Conflict Resolution are in the process of setting up a project in Du Noon encompassing xenophobia, conflict resolution and human rights. CBOs too, may be also carrying out smaller, but still important, initiatives. Also in Du Noon youth organisations have organised a choir of both citizen and non-citizen youth. The Stellenbosch-based Sikhula Sonke was invited to go to De Doorns, where Zimbabweans have been forced by residents of the settlement of Stofland into a displacement camp, to assist with reintegration. The experience there (including threats of violence from South African residents) led the organisation to issue a public statement condemning violence, the role of the ANC in promoting the exclusion of Zimbabweans and calling for improved service delivery for all.¹³³ Sikhula Sonke's intervention is significant as it is a self-described women-led "social movement trade union" organising in the key wine farming districts in the Western Cape that has made a significant difference in farm worker consciousness in the few years of its vibrant existence. In the weekend it spent in De Doorns, it held education workshops with South African and migrant workers communicating the message of worker unity. The Nelson Mandela Foundation is working on integration activities across the country.

Those that have integrated xenophobia and migrants and refugees in their work were largely already working with refugees and migrants before the attacks of May 2008. Non-refugee organisations include Africa Unite, Idasa (including the Southern African Migration Project), the Muslim Judicial Council, the Athlone based Mustafadin Foundation and the Catholic Welfare Agency. Africa Unite was formed in the late 1990s as an initiative of Idasa. Whilst still based at IDASA, it has evolved into a separate organisation with an innovative programme that focuses on human rights education, anti-xenophobia initiatives, diversity and integration of local and immigrant youth, and a focus on economic activities of its members and the wider communities in which they come from. Africa Unite was one of the first organisations to intervene in pre-2008 xenophobic attacks particularly against Somali businesses in Masiphumelele, Du Noon, Khayelitsha, Crossroads and Delft through providing civic education, facilitating negotiations and integration, and lobbying the provincial and local governments for resources. Idasa also runs a research project focusing on xenophobia and is a partner in the Southern African Migration Project. The Mustadafin Foundation has existed since the early 1990s as a Muslim charity organisation providing support, access to opportunities and skills for migrants. It initially dealt with Somali and Ethiopian immigrants. It now runs programmes in Athlone, Phillipi, Khayelitsha and Nyanga. The MJC has established a secretariat. The Catholic Welfare Agency runs a shelter for refugee women and children (Bon Esperance).

¹³³ Sikhula Sonke Press Briefing, 22 February 2010.

NPOs concerned with refugee issues (the Cape Town Refugee Centre and Scalabrini) continue with their work providing services to the refugee community. Refugee organisations continue with their work with their constituencies. However, some, for instance Afri-South include South Africans in their programmes. So classes in computer literacy, English and sewing that they run from their offices are open to all regardless of nationality. IDASA and SAMP continue their work. The SAHRC, the Legal Resources Centre and the UCT Law Clinic continue to provide legal services to refugees and migrants as they did prior to May 2008. They are the only organisations which actively integrate refugees, migrants and South Africans in their work.

Other relationships have developed/or been strengthened around non-migrant and non-xenophobia issues. These include the Black Sash led formation of the Humanitarian Assistance Network of South Africa (HANSA) and its work with other organisations (including the SAHRC and the Open Society Foundation) to lobby the South African government to sign the UN Convention on Social and Economic Rights. Responding to the crisis has led to the development of community based organisations in some communities, for instance the women of Khayalitsha who have now established a neighbourhood watch scheme.¹³⁴ The relationships between some community based organisations may have been strengthened as well as organisations themselves, but it was not possible to ascertain this from the scope of this research.

With the exception of the SJC no lasting coalition has been built out of the response to the violence. And it seems that the SJC is struggling to sustain itself. Although the recent successful meeting in Khayelitsha reorienting the organisation towards concrete issues affecting communities may signal a change in the momentum. No Western Cape based organisation or grouping of organisations, let alone government is actively working to challenge xenophobia in communities in the Western Cape. In part this may reflect the difficulties of establishing lasting coalitions identified by interviewees. Reasons for this may include first, the documented weakening of civil society since 1994. Second, there is a lack of leadership and organisations willing to act and challenge government with a progressive political agenda. Third, it seems that coalitions are sustainable around a single aim which organisations can work towards. Even then it can be difficult to arrive at common strategies and tactics. Fourth, for a coalition to be sustainable it needs resources and these do not appear to be available. Fifth, and pragmatically interviewees identified the need for any coalition of organisations to have a clear code of conduct and agenda.

The **inability of most civil society organisations to strengthen their response to issues** faced by non-nationals and integrate them into their work as well as to challenge xenophobia largely **reflects the characterisation of the violence and its aftermath as a humanitarian disaster** and that organisations overlooked or did not wish to engage with the

¹³⁴ Interviews: Christina Henda, Cape Town Refugee Centre, Vicky Igglesden, Ikwa Khuti Research and Advocacy.

xenophobia and political and socio-economic issues which underpin the causes of the disaster.

It is perhaps through identifying the common challenges faced by South Africans and foreigners alike in Cape Town's unequal urban geography that coalitions of different organisations and regardless of nationality, race or gender can be formed with common objectives. However, while engaging together in common struggles for a better life for all – citizens, migrants, immigrants, asylum seekers and refugees - could help break down barriers and understanding of diversity, it must be recognised that better services and reduced inequality in and of themselves will not necessarily engender tolerance for diversity.

Some 18 months after the violence, nonnationals continued to be vulnerable to xenophobic violence, arrest, and deportation, the responses of civil society organisations contributed toward creating greater public and government awareness of the rights, needs, and daily conditions of migrants and refugees.¹³⁵

¹³⁵ Robins, S. 2009. "Humanitarian aid beyond "bare survival": Social movement responses to xenophobic violence in South Africa," *American Ethnologist*, Vol. 36(4), pp. 637-650.

The Western Cape TAC response

For the first few days of the violence in Cape Town, TAC's disaster relief operation was the main and largest response to the crisis. TAC, ALP, MSF and other close partners essentially filled the role of the state from the night of 23rd to 26th May 2008 and beyond, because of the utter failure of government to respond timeously and appropriately to the crisis.

Fatima Hassan, an attorney at the ALP, was central in initiating the collaboration between TAC, ALP and MSF and the wider Western Cape civil society response. On the weekend after the violence broke out in Johannesburg she was attending an MSF board meeting in Johannesburg. On her return to Cape Town, Hassan met with TAC and suggested getting civil society together in anticipation of the violence spreading to Cape Town. They contacted all known civil society organisations working on refugee issues. "Within two hours, we had an urgent meeting in our office with over 30 people. We had heard rumours about possible attacks in the Western Cape, but no one could produce evidence, it was all anecdotal. We discussed how to deal with the issues of displacement, but at this stage it was

all theoretical.”¹³⁶ Hassan’s involvement was crucial from this moment until the civil society response subsided in November 2008. In addition to Hassan, the joint TAC-ALP-MSF led response rested on the shoulders of Nathan Geffen, Zackie Achmat, Mandla Majola, Mike Hamnca and Andile Madondile – all being key TAC activists who were able to inspire and lead hundreds of other TAC volunteers and activists on the ground. The leadership of these mentioned individuals was absolutely central in shaping the TAC response.

It is important to highlight key features of the role played by the Western Cape based TAC structures to the xenophobic violence. These consisted of the following:

- ▶ Initiating the establishment of, and leading a broader civil society task team in the province;
- ▶ Through the task team, responding dynamically and timeously on key developments in the camps and on government decisions and failures;
- ▶ Spending over R4 million on their response (see Box 1) including providing approximately R2m in humanitarian aid and independently run halls in Khayelitsha (in part using a R3 million contribution from OXFAM to TAC);
- ▶ Interaction with “refugee leadership”, the government, other non-governmental responses and media;
- ▶ Mobilising thousands of its members as volunteers on the ground;
- ▶ Fielding legal queries, and directing them to lawyers working for various legal NPOS, companies and agencies in Cape Town;
- ▶ Organising public political action to create awareness among authorities and with the public, delivering memorandums and marching to Parliament and the Provincial Government; organising marches in Nyanga and Khayelitsha townships;
- ▶ Demanding the fulfilment of needs from government; and maintaining a profile in the media advocating for better conditions in the camps.

Also impressive is the numbers and diversity of volunteers who were mobilised as interns, students, health workers, lawyers, advocates, site assessors and many others. According to Robins, TAC was able to use the media and its deployment of hundreds of volunteers thereby creating a strategic fiction of a larger-than-life existence and infrastructure¹³⁷. “We recruited so many volunteers, and there was a flood of people dropping off goods”¹³⁸. “Through our established network, we were able to mobilise at least 400 people who became very active volunteers, particularly in those first few days. So in addition to Habonim’s network, we had our international volunteers, who were also connected to volunteer networks in the Cape, and the middle class people that normally support

¹³⁶ Interview, Fatima Hassan, Aids Law Project.

¹³⁷ Robins, S. 2009. “Humanitarian aid...”

¹³⁸ Interview (undated) by Lynda Odendal, former researcher with TAC, received in email correspondence from Fatima Hassan.

TAC but don't always find a way of expressing it, who inundated our office the minute we sent out a call for help"¹³⁹.

What was the chain of events that consolidated the TAC-led response? By late Friday afternoon (23 May 2008) reports started coming in of groups of displaced people going to police stations, the Cape Town train station, and community centres in Khayelitsha. Those who were still at the TAC office had an emergency meeting and decided to stay a few more hours to help find these people shelter. The Nyanga and Khayelitsha offices were also asked to keep their offices open. That evening, TAC had a pre-planned march against gender-based violence (GBV) of more than 3000 people from most townships in the Western Cape. Everyone now had a very strong anti-xenophobia message, and that message was taken back to their communities as people returned home. In addition to spreading anti-xenophobia messages, they helped to keep displaced people safe by harbouring them in their homes, taking them to shelters and getting police assistance. A group from TAC went to Caledon Square, Cape Town's main police station, to distribute blankets and food to a group of about 150 mainly Congolese immigrants and refugees who had stationed themselves outside in an act of political protest. The TAC group proceeded to Cape Town's central train station where they found hundreds more gathered, including at least 250 people in a closed environment without food. Habonim Dror, the Jewish youth organisation, was contacted to help organise food, and shortly thereafter ran a virtually 24-hour sandwich operation for the next three to four days. This immediately brought in a whole network of people that could help TAC during the crisis. "We started phoning shelters, but soon realised that places were very limited. Most shelters were not designed to cope with such a large influx"¹⁴⁰ Mosques and churches were contacted, with mosques from Bo Kaap to Salt River offering sanctuary and the Methodist Church agreeing to open its churches all along Main Road, even though they did not have any supplies. By Saturday 24th May 2008, the TAC, ALP, AIDS and Rights Alliance of Southern Africa (ARASA) and Sonke Gender Justice Network offices at 122 Longmarket Street were nearly instantly converted from an activist centre into a humanitarian relief one. It was evident that neither municipal nor provincial government were managing to handle the crisis and that civil society would have to take action. It was announced that their offices would be open for the weekend, and they would be contactable all hours – day or night.

The TAC and its key partners in the response to the xenophobic violence (the ALP and the MSF) **have different entry points and interesting histories to working with the health rights** of migrants and refugees.

TAC work on the rights of immigrant and refugee communities arose from their work on equal access to HIV prevention, treatment and care services. Since December 2007 TAC has worked actively with Zimbabwean and other refugee organisations to address access to health care. In the first quarter of 2008, the ALP itself was also increasing its attention to the health rights of migrants and

¹³⁹ Interview (undated) by Zackie Achmat, TAC Deputy General Secretary, received in email correspondence from Fatima Hassan.

¹⁴⁰ Email correspondence with Fatima Hassan.

refugees. After the Johannesburg Central Methodist Church raid by the police in January 2008, a task team was formed that included the ALP. Two weeks after the raid, the team made a submission to parliament that focused on the incident and highlighted refugee health access, for TB and HIV in particular. They also met with the Minister of Home Affairs to discuss documentation, as well as the appalling conditions and their lack of involvement in the Musina detention centre, a deportation centre near the Zimbabwe border. As an international humanitarian organisation, the MSF has a long international history of working with migrants, refugees and displaced people.

The TAC humanitarian operation was essentially divided into four main spheres. The first sphere was an effective information centre – TAC had the most comprehensive database on sites and camps with neither the city nor the province failing to amass that type of information. “We were constantly finding out the needs of the people at the sites, and other statistics such as the number of people at the site, through regular calls to the site and liaising with site coordinators.”¹⁴¹ Other spheres included the procurement of food and essential survival supplies, fundraising and distribution. The latter three operations were complimented by an efficient accounts system run by the TAC head office.

TAC used a combination of strategies in its response: political mobilisation (such as marches in affected local areas in Nyanga and Khayelitsha), building alliances and networks, litigation linked to social mobilisation, lobbying of government, extensive media work, mobilisation of volunteers, the running of an emergency operations centre to coordinate requests, donations and relief work.

TAC understood the importance of mass power linked to the support of prominent human rights symbols. TAC, the ALP, ARASA and Sonke Gender Justice jointly organised a public meeting that was held at St. George’s Cathedral in central Cape Town. In the two-hour meeting chaired over 2,000 people were addressed by 18 speakers ranging from the Chief Justice Pius Langa, Archbishop Thabo Makgoba and range of immigrants refugees, including Springbok and Western Province rugby player Tonderai Chavanga. The advocacy at the meeting was to support the main demands of the refugees: many wanted reintegration, but with the guarantee of security and some compensation as many people had lost everything; repatriation to their home country; resettlement to a third country; and United Nations (UN) intervention.

TAC saw the need for a sustained media campaign condemning the violence. On its part, this included regular press statements, interviews and the publication of a special edition of its monthly magazine, *Equal Treatment* (Issue 25, June 2008). This edition focused specifically on the needs of refugees in South Africa. TAC was also able to issue regular up-to-date reports on numbers and conditions at sites for displaced people in the Western Cape. TAC was systematic in explaining its public positions at all instances. Its website is full of material it issued ranging on why it took action against xenophobia, why it took decisions to challenge government actions in court, reports of conditions in IDP camps, reports of meetings of its structures in response to the outbreak, accounts of how much income was received and expended in response to the xenophobic violence. In its court actions, the TAC took care to provide details of its disputes, how they came about, why it decided to go to court, what it sought from the court, who the court actions were against, why the public had to support the court case and details of proceedings and outcomes in each action.

¹⁴¹ Interview (undated) by Lynda Odendal, former researcher with TAC, received in email correspondence from Fatima Hassan.

TAC had significant mass presence on the ground in localities where there had been attacks and in sites.

Its volunteers were disciplined and effective. For example, one TAC volunteer based at Harmony Park, a campsite in Somerset West housing displaced people, provided a detailed and well-documented report of a “disturbing incident” in which “the camp manager allegedly assaulted a Burundian man at the camp, when the man complained that his family, including his pregnant wife, had no mattresses”.

Its use of the law showed the astute TAC understanding of the Constitution and using it as a living document with practical implications, commitments and obligations for authorities.

TAC was consistently concerned with ensuring that government met its constitutional, legal and international obligations.¹⁴² (TAC, 2008a). In using strategic litigation, TAC relied on its prior relationships with the AIDS Law Project, the Legal Resources Centre and the South African Human Rights Commission. At the end of July 2008, the TAC, the ALP and Mahammad Hirsi took all tiers of government -with the Western Cape Provincial Government being the first respondent - to court after waiting for about 9 weeks to ensure that minimum norms and standards on sanitation, food and shelter amongst others would be implemented in places of shelter in accordance with the Constitution and the obligations South Africa has under international law. After it became clear that government was not executing its duties, despite numerous requests for it to develop and implement norms and standards, TAC, the ALP and Hirsi approached the Cape High Court for relief. The case was discontinued when the provincial cabinet approved a set of emergency guidelines. This was described by both the TAC and the ALP as a “critical victory in court action against government on behalf of displaced persons”.

TAC was able to launch court cases on the basis of detailed information it could solicit through thorough work done by its volunteers and those of other organisations. It was this information that they could use to argue convincingly in court papers that “All of our reports and assessments (and that of the SAHRC and UN) show that conditions with respect to nutrition, sanitation, shelter, and health fall short of even the minimum set of norms and standards as determined by the United Nations and other international relief agencies. In particular, the situation is getting worse at the camps which were set by the City of Cape Town”. This attention to detail and TAC insistence on strict compliance with constitutional and international obligations ultimately forced the government to publish the minimum standards required. Court action was supported by social action and protests outside the courts.

On the documentation front, TAC and the ALP were also very effective in other arenas. For example, they held a meeting with Home Affairs, joined by the UCT Law Clinic, mayoral officials, the National

¹⁴² TAC. 2008a. *Joint Press Statement: Poor Planning Adds To Storm Distress*. 28 August 2008, www.tac.org.za.

Intelligence Agency and the Social Development Department. It was clear that the government's form to register people in camps was problematic, as it asked for information that could be used to deport people. Just as a consensus was reached on a new form, Mayor Zille disrupted the meeting and did away with the collaborated form, stating the city would use its own form. "At that point I realised that something was seriously amiss," says Achmat. "The local government had always wanted to know who was legally in the city – I believe that was her motive," adds Hassan. The UCT Law Clinic also pulled out, stating that they did want to be associated with the city's form because they have an established relationship of trust with the refugee community and the city's form could jeopardise that.

Furthermore, with other organisations (including the SAHRC) they lobbied for Home Affairs to establish mobile clinics in camps to enable people to be able to renew their documents and replace those that had been lost, stolen and burnt as people fled. This was particularly important given the dangers people still faced moving around the city, the distance of the camps from the DHA Refugee Reception Centre and the extremely problematic system of access in place at the time which meant people wanting to get access to Centre were having to sleep under the Foreshore bridge.

The TAC did not hesitate to challenge politically and legally both the DA-led City of Cape Town or the ANC-led provincial government of the Western Cape when they took decisions that effectively undermined the rights of displaced people as well as failure to meet constitutional and international obligations. Key TAC activists provided critical perspectives on the failures of both the DA-led municipality and the then ANC-led provincial government. They pointed not only to the inadequacy of the state's response but also to the xenophobia of the city and the provincial government.¹⁴³

TAC also engaged quite fearlessly with the United Nations. TAC had initially been in contact with the UN, first through the SAHRC, then later directly. On their second visit to Cape Town the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) asked TAC to arrange for them to see leadership groups from the camps. "In the meeting with us, they were very good. However, from the transcripts, in their meeting with the refugees the UNHCR people were rude, officious, obstructive and almost contemptuous of the displaced people," says Achmat. Their 'Message to Refugees and Asylum Seekers in South Africa', received on 24th June 2008, displays what TAC regarded as the UNHCR's lack of will to intervene.

Within the first 7 days of the outbreak the TAC had spent over a million rand and distributed another half a million rands' worth of donated goods.¹⁴⁴ (TAC, 2008f). At the end of the first week the TAC assumed that the government and government-funded agencies would sufficiently cover the material needs of the displaced people. However, by the middle of June it became clear that government was not adequately catering for the needs of those displaced. This forced TAC to continue with its mobilisation and distribution of material for displaced people. At the peak of the TAC operation, TAC was receiving requests from and dispatching deliveries to 103 sites housing displaced persons. TAC's response also included a monitoring project that collated requests for material goods.

¹⁴³ Geffen, N. 2008. *Shattered Myths...*

¹⁴⁴ TAC. 2008f. *Cessation of TAC Provision of Humanitarian Aid to Displaced Persons/Court Case Update And Picket: TAC Press Statement*. 04 August 2008, www.tac.org.za

After a 3-month period of daily involvement in the humanitarian response to the violence, on 4 August 2008 TAC announced that it would stop providing humanitarian relief to displaced people who were victims of xenophobic violence on 11 August 2008. The TAC was forced to make this announcement as it recognised that the funds it had mobilised would run out on or before 11 August 2008. In the announcement TAC also expressed concern that government would continue to ignore specific requests for food and supplies. Despite this announcement, TAC still continued to run an operations centre to log all requests and process information and referrals to camp site managers and the provincial Joint Operations Centre. As a watchdog over government, TAC also committed itself to provide information about “whether or not government has fulfilled these requests.”¹⁴⁵

TAC’s approach was also characterised by an emphasis on principles – **promotion of and respect for social equality, human rights and dignity**; consultation with displaced people; giving displaced people a voice; and operating in a culture of non-violence.

On reflection, TAC did not anticipate the sheer weight of responsibility it was taking on. The role TAC played in the response led to tensions in the organisation – tensions were about the focus of organisation, financial implications, and the extent to which there was prior consultation internally. Despite the massive Western Cape response, the Gauteng and KZN TAC structures simply failed to provide any effective response. This was another source of tension.

Khayelitsha TAC¹⁴⁶

The Khayelitsha TAC is the strongest and more politically conscious district of the TAC in the country. It has organizational capability, infrastructure through 13 branches, mobility and fluidity required to respond in an emergency situation. On Friday afternoon 23rd May, Gilad Isaacs, the Khayelitsha branch manager, Mandla Majola, the Khayelitsha district coordinator, and many others from the TAC Khayelitsha office were in Cape Town supporting the anti-GBV march. They began receiving calls from TAC community members that immigrants and refugees in many townships were being attacked by mobs and shops were being looted. “We could hear the seriousness in their voices,” says Majola¹⁴⁷. “Those of us from the townships that were in the city for the march shared the information that we were receiving. It was agreed that we are a human rights organisation and we can’t allow this to happen. So we made the decision that every TAC member in our communities was to meet at the office on Saturday morning. And in the meantime, we were to go back to our homes and make sure that everyone in our neighbourhood was safe.”, continued Majola.

¹⁴⁵ TAC. 2008f. *Cessation of TAC Provision of Humanitarian Aid...*

¹⁴⁶ This section is based on interviews with various members of TAC Khayelitsha District including Mandla Majola, TAC Khayelitsha District Coordinator and a focus group discussion.

¹⁴⁷ Interview, Mandla Majola, TAC Khayelitsha District Coordinator.

On his way to the TAC Khayelitsha office, Majola felt transported to the days of apartheid riots. Shops were being attacked, looted and burnt – there was mayhem and confusion everywhere. They went to the police station to report the problems and asked for police assistance. “It was disappointing to see that the police were more concerned with big businesses – checking to see if the Shoprite was affected, rather than dealing with the small shops that clearly were,” says Majola.

Three to four TAC members were stationed at each hall to provide safety, to find out the medical and practical needs of the people there and to offer them comfort. Each site had TAC members working in shifts as coordinators who would feed information, such as medical, food, clothing, blanket, baby goods and mattress requirements to a coordinator at the Khayelitsha office. This information was then passed on to the national office. Once the goods were received, they were distributed to the sites. Donations were canvassed from people and organisations familiar with TAC. Medical support was also coordinated at the office, with either an ambulance or mobile clinic being dispatched, or people being accompanied to clinics. Over the first week, about five women in the halls went into labour, they were all taken to the clinic to give birth. When taking any displaced person to a clinic, it was done in a sensitive manner, so it would not appear that they were being served above locals.

Within a week, the number of people at the seven sites in Khayelitsha increased to about 2,200 people, which was completely beyond their capacity. Having dealt with some of the short-term, more practical needs of the displaced people, the office was now faced with the issue of how to change the mindset of in the community. They realised they needed to mobilise the community against xenophobia if any long-term solution was to come about. It was decided that TAC members involved in education in clinics must return to work and spread the word against xenophobia to their patients. Their regular spot on a local radio station that was normally used for HIV/AIDS education would now also include anti-xenophobia messages.

As the situation stabilised, TAC volunteers at the sites returned to the office to assist with distributing anti-xenophobia pamphlets and community mobilisation. A march took place across the areas where most immigrants and refugees were affected by violence and looting. The office also sought the support of the taxi industry, which is well respected throughout the community. Taxis started patrolling the areas around the halls, which offered some protection. TAC also made them see how xenophobia was bad for business, as many of their customers were confined to the halls, too afraid to leave. This motivated them to drive around the community with loud speakers blaring the message that xenophobia would not be tolerated.

TAC leaders also regularly met with refugee leaders to tell them what was happening in the community. They were encouraged to join TAC branches, so that they would be known, and respected, in communities as TAC members. In addition to providing humanitarian relief, HIV/AIDS education was also happening at the halls. People were taken to the clinic for TB and ARV medication, some announced their status and many more joined the organisation. “It seemed that, even if it was only for a moment, when they realised they belonged to the TAC community, they forgot about their trauma,” says Majola.

The SACP was marginally active in Khayelitsha – but not through its mass base. It was the same with SANCO. The leadership of SANCO and Community Policing Forums was involved at bureaucratic

levels (in official meetings with government) but not in mobilising mass base to be part of relief and reintegration efforts. Some of the SANCO volunteers are alleged to have ended up stealing some of the food and supplies for displaced people.

Three weeks after the outbreak of violence in the community most of the people that sought refuge in the halls have gone back to their homes, either because they felt it was safe to go back, because they had the support of the community, or due to the practical aspects of getting to work or getting children to school. “The Khayelitsha response was phenomenal and an example to any community of what a group of organised citizens can do,” says Majola.

Nyanga TAC¹⁴⁸

Like the Khayelitsha district, the Nyanga district also responded actively providing similar assistance as the Khayelitsha district. Nyanga district covers the townships of Nyanga, Langa, Crossroads and Phillipi which were major sites of the xenophobic violence. The Nyanga district is politically and organisationally weaker compared to Khayelitsha. And without ongoing political reflection and education, it seems that its key activists display massive levels of xenophobia and resentment when they were reflecting with the research team in October 2009. Being an older township, Nyanga has older residents of the city and seems to be less porous than Khayelitsha. Khayelitsha, being bigger, seems to be receiving more resources from the state for social services.

As in Khayelitsha, the SACP and SANCO were also marginally involved. Important to note is that the Anti-Eviction Campaign active in Nyanga district – but it was not sufficiently present in the response.

Nyanga activists expressed concerns with TAC over-extending itself through the response to the xenophobic violence. Concerns were also expressed about TAC being impacted financially as a result of its response to xenophobia.

How should the TAC role be understood?

“ The TAC and its partners, the MSF and the ALP, translated a particular style and strategy of AIDs activism into legal, medical, humanitarian and political responses to massive population displacement... The TAC provided relief to displaced people... The ideas and practices of global agencies such as the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) were deployed and reinterpreted by TAC activists... They drew on a global humanitarian assemblage of categories, legal definitions, norms and standards, and procedures and technologies that went beyond

¹⁴⁸ This section is based on interviews with Nyanga based TAC activists and a focus group discussion.

the simple management of “bare life.” TAC’s shift from fighting for anti retroviral drugs (ARVs) to fighting for refugees rights reveals a “politics of life” that spans multiple issues, networks, and constituencies... [and] how such interventions can become vehicles for local, national, and global struggles for human rights and the politicization of humanitarian concerns with “basic survival.” ... TAC activists had already accumulated considerable experience in responding to everyday sexual violence in poor communities, especially violence against women, HIV-positive people, and gay and lesbian activists... This shift to addressing everyday structural violence, poverty, and basic survival reflected the TAC’s increasing engagement with a wider “politics of life” ... The TAC’s decade-long partnership with MSF–Belgium in lobbying for and implementing AIDS treatment programs in South Africa resulted in the cross-fertilization of ideas and practices between the two organizations. For MSF–Belgium, engagement with the TAC in the course of highly politicised local, national, and global struggles for ARV treatment substantially challenged MSF’s official position of “political neutrality.” In turn, during the course of a decade of partnership, the TAC absorbed MSF’s professionalizing medical discourses. This was evident in its recognition of the strategic value of systematically researching the “facts” to make credible moral claims on governments, the private sector, and humanitarian agencies... By strategically deploying both human rights rhetorics and conventional humanitarian technologies, TAC activists were able to create the conditions for the emergence of new forms of political agency and subjectivity. The TAC’s particular modes of legal, medical, and social activism drew on a human rights and humanitarian politics that was deeply embedded in both the antiapartheid struggle and the extraordinary successes of AIDS activism in post-apartheid South Africa¹⁴⁹

The TAC is an organisation whose primary commitment is providing people with HIV, their caregivers and families accurate information about life-saving medicines and treatment. On 22 and 23 May 2008 violence against foreign nationals broke out in the Western Cape. The TAC immediately mobilised and by the night of Friday 23 May had established a 24-hour call centre. One of the central elements of TAC’s early involvement was humanitarian aid. By mid-way through the first week TAC had set up a fully-fledged distribution centre and was providing food, sanitary products, baby food, blankets and other necessities to approximately 8 000 each day at 84 sites around Cape Town. Why and how

¹⁴⁹ Robins, 2009.

did the TAC become the leading civil society organisation that provided some of the most effective responses to the xenophobic violence in Cape Town?

A question needs to be asked whether the TAC response would have been as effective without the funds that they have at their disposal, and in particular if they had not received a R3m contribution from Oxfam? Indeed money was an important issue and the TAC was able to raise money because of its track record and credibility and other civil society organisations directed donors to TAC because they had the capacity to manage financial donations. However, the money would have been ineffective without the TAC attributes as discussed above. In the case of COSATU, these attributes were not able to be seen in practice and it was not money that would have been needed in this case.

TAC has its foundations in human rights. As part of the campaign to provide access to treatment for HIV to all South Africans, TAC has always been aware of other social issues affecting South Africa. It has argued that gender violence, hate crimes and social inequality are inextricably linked to HIV in society. In responding to the xenophobia it recognised that foreign nationals, especially from other parts of Africa, have been amongst members of society vulnerable to exploitation and violence. TAC also attempted to always draw attention to the social causes of xenophobia and emphasised the need for collective social action based on a plural and non-sectarian mobilisation approach.

Within TAC itself, there were tensions about whether the role it played was part of its mandate, the focus of reports and public statements on the work done by the CBD office at the expense of grassroots activists in the townships, and the amount of resources the intervention took. These tensions seem to have been somewhat addressed through political education and the formation of the Social Justice Coalition (SJC) as a more appropriate forum for ongoing anti-xenophobia work.

Masiphumelele is a poor and small township and informal settlement area close to the upper class Fish Hoek and Noordhoek, and the previously Coloured township of Ocean View in the south of Cape Town. This is a fraught locality with a range of socio-economic problems – unemployment, lack of sufficient housing, massive pressure on land, limited economic opportunities, limited economic success amongst those active in business, intense business competition in a limited market, and crime. In 2001, 60% of residents were unemployed and 95% of income earners took home less than R1,600pm (subsistence at the time). Although relatively well serviced, 92% of households lived in informal dwellings.¹⁵⁰ Masiphumelele experienced an outbreak of xenophobic violence in August 2006. Notwithstanding attempts at reconciliation, there have been subsequent individual attacks on Somali shopkeepers in particular. This case study shows how the social crisis of reproduction is located in working class zones despite the proximity of Masiphumelele to Noordhoek and Fish Hoek which are even more wealthy than many parts of advanced countries. How circuits of capital flow in a local economy is also a concern here.

¹⁵⁰ Census 2001 data, www.cityofcapetown.gov.za

In summary, the civil society response in Masiphumelele to the violence of May 2008 was marked by the following issues:

- › The August 2006 outbreak of xenophobic violence had led to a process of education and building of leadership;
- › The 2006-7 reconciliation process built levels of trust and activism around xenophobia;
- › As a result of the 2006-7 reconciliation process there is some measure of the organisation of young people and a joint business forum between locals and migrants;
- › Masiphumelele was affected again in May 2008 but the violence was easily and quickly contained;
- › Key activists in the area are unemployed, without housing and economic opportunities - the ANC in the area had been weakened, there is a general failure of the state to deliver, the area is over-populated and increasing density;
- › Therefore the community is vulnerable to negative social mobilisation and ideologies.
- › Masiphumelele was one of the first areas of reintegration – on the basis of a decision by community leadership to go to the Soetwater camp to invite migrants back and for a reconciliation ceremony with displaced migrants;
- › Also important here in the reconciliation process was the role of individual members of Africa Unite (Zoe Nkongolo and Shahieda Rasdien) who however do not reside in Masiphumelele;
- › The important role that community leaders played by going to the residents to explain and mobilise for reintegration.

It is important to understand the history of the area:

A History of Masiphumelele

“Masiphumelele was the first Black squatter community who won the right to land in a White Group Area and the first community that had the power to exercise control in decision-making in the land and housing development process.

The Group Areas Act of 1950 caused the uprooting of Black people from their land, severe dysfunctional family structures and the mushrooming of informal settlement communities. Such an uprooting exercise was brutally enforced during the 1950s when the Southern Peninsula was declared a Whites only area. The Coloured people from Noordhoek, Kommetjie, Fishhoek, Simonstown and Redhill were moved during the 1950s to Ocean View, also described as a dormitory town, while no alternative was provided for African people. Accommodation in the form of single-sex hostels became the residence of those who worked for the Regional Services Council Road Works, the Cape Point Nature Reserve or on farms with the proviso that families were forbidden. African people who sourced work in places like Simonstown, Fishhoek or Noordhoek were required to travel at least 30

kilometres daily or to become unlawful tenants on vacant land. Reality dictated that he meagre income, earned from casual labour, domestic work and gardening could not sustain the transport costs. In the face of the harsh consequences of the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act of 1951, however, informal settlements sprung up in bush lands near Noordhoek, Fishhoek, Kommetjie and Hout Bay.

In January 1987 the Dassenhoek farm residents objected to being forced removed to Khayelitsha which sparked future hope for land justice in the new South Africa. Sympathetic supporters together with anti-apartheid organisations availed resources and a possible eviction by April that year was stopped midstream as the press, embassy officials and other agencies became involved. However, resistance proved a short lived victory since the all the families of Noordhoek on private and public land experienced brutality at the hand of the eviction police on 2 December 1987. Barricades intentionally planted by the eviction police prevented them from any contact with the 'outside' world restricted their ability to mobilise for external support which led to their forceful ejection from Noordhoek to Khayelitsha township.

The Surplus People Project (SPP), Black Sash and a few concerned White residents from the area formed the Noordhoek Squatters Support Group and lobbied the apartheid government on behalf of the squatter communities. It was this group that sought DAG's expertise to conduct a survey of the squatter community, an investigation of available land in the Noordhoek and Kommetjie areas, and to review regulations with regard to black housing and the Group Areas Act in the Southern Peninsula. A case for the Noordhoek residents to return to the land they once lived on was argued for in the Supreme Court Division in 1988. A favourable judgement for their return was made and their removal was deemed unlawful. In November 1989 the Cape Provincial Authority (CPA) promised to allocate land for informal settlements, however, land allocation for a residential township was delayed until December 1990. Two years later Masiphumelele, in English translated as 'let us succeed together' became the permanent home for the Noordhoek and Fish Hoek informal communities. However, the newly settled community became burdened with vehement opposition to their relocation that involved racial degradation and spite.

Site 5 was erected in 1992 as the first serviced area in Masiphumelele, also known as Phase 1 development. The outcome of tough negotiations between the Noordhoek and Fish Hoek informal community members determined that 20 sites were to be allocated to the Fish Hoek people while a total of 215 sites each were allocated to the Noordhoek and Site 5 people. The outstanding number of structures (approximately 51) was to be allocated for during the erection of the Phase 2 development project. Most of those interviewed remember their arrival to the serviced Site 5 area

in Masiphumelele surrounded by bushes. Many people who occupied the sites arrived from Old Cross roads or from the former Ciskei and Transkei homelands.

According to the earlier arrivals the face of Masiphumelele has changed dramatically since its inception and the establishment of Site 5. The long blocks of informal dwellings and built houses situated in loop roads and cul de sacs are visibly occupied by adults and children. The settlement has an atmosphere of vibrancy in the chatter and activities on the streets, shops are frequented mostly by children, constant selling of church newspapers on the pavements outside the civic centre, people greeting each other loudly with an occasional pause to indulge in conversation, the health centre buzzing with people and children scattering in different directions at the end of the school day.

The settlement represents a diversity of people from different parts of the continent including Zimbabwe, Malawi, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Somalia, Ethiopia. It has a large community of young people and it has ample small business ventures in the form of spaza shops, hair salons, telecommunication outlets and shebeens operating in close proximity of each other. It is told that the street names namely; Myeza, Pokela, Kolobe, Masonwabe, Ntantala, Masemola, Sisulu, Kanana, Hasme, Linga, Mpeta, Tambo roads earned their status through a random allocation at the time when there was a Pan African stronghold in Masiphumelele. While names like Sisulu and Tambo were strategically included, and as a matter of courtesy, the origin of the other names are not really known to many people. Another opinion is that the allocation of a street took on the surnames of the ANC Street Committee's chairpersons. Two of the street names have specific meanings. These are Masibulele which means "thanks or gratitude" and Nonkubela which means "progress".

"Masiphumelele has changed drastically, before we could walk around and it was safe. Now we have these young people who get involved in the Shebeens and drugs and they have no respect for others. They could even attack people at night." These are the sentiments of a chairperson from one of the key political structures in Masiphumelele. This concern is also reiterated when referring to the uncontrollable group of young people who continuously target the Somali shops, sometimes in broad daylight, with the intention to loot. While some of the active ANC Street Committees are considering an anti-crime mobilisation strategy as a priority community engagement activity, they claim that little support from the police or broader government has been extended to realise this project.

Source: Office of the Premier, 2007.



Citizen and foreign residents of Masiphumelele. Source: Office of the Premier, 2007.

During August and September 2006, Masiphumelele simmered with conflict when local business people raised concerns over the lack of economic viability as a direct consequence to the undercutting of prices on goods by Somali owned businesses. What caused the violence?

“The incident of August 2006 not only shocked the Somali community but also some of the residents within Masiphumelele. For some members of this community, the meeting organised by the local Black business concerns went terribly wrong since the eviction of the Somali residents was not an item on the agenda. Others disagree with the above perspective and attribute the reckless behaviour of the young people on that day as a direct result of the decisions that were made by Black business. There was consensus, however, disappointment within the broader Masiphumelele community that the Somalis had to leave the settlement. The additional influx of more small businesses owned by Somali nationals raised another course for concern. A few months later, after the local Black business resolved its disgruntlement over the pricing issue, it was once again faced with a different competition dynamic.”

Source: Office of the Premier, 2007.



Masiphumelele in the aftermath of the 2006 violence. Source: Office of the Premier, 2007.

When the conflict was still at a dormant stage, several attempts were made at an intra community level to curb an almost predictable community uprising. Despite the hopeful intentions for a resolution to the conflict, all in-house efforts failed. Also, it became apparent that the conflict was deeply rooted and attached to historical social and economic dilemmas held within a pot of untested perceptions.

Following the August-September 2006 xenophobic violence in Masiphumelele, there were several efforts to foster integration. The Department of the Premier, Directorate Social Dialogue and Human Rights and Africa Unite, a non-governmental organisation that promotes integration and human rights, were invited by the Masiphumelele community to provide third party conflict resolution assistance as an attempt to resolve the conflict. At a later stage in the conflict interventions, additional support from Islamic Relief Worldwide and Conflict Transformation Services and Training enabled the implementation of capacity building initiatives within the broader intervention programme. Key stakeholders included organised youth formations, women groups, political structures, church structures, the Masiphumelele community members and broader Somali constituencies, Somali business people, street committees, and civic organisations. The Kalk Bay mosque also played a role as they had sheltered some of those displaced in August-September 2006.

How Somalis came to Masiphumelele:

“It is widely understood in Masiphumelele that the Somalis, who chose the informal settlement as a refuge, fled from war to secure their own safety. However, nobody in Masiphumelele offers to elaborate or articulate the face of the war they refer to. A community member noted that it was difficult to find traces of war trauma on the faces of the Somalis who certainly must have witnessed harsh brutality. It also appears phenomenal that the Somali Nationals are able to utilise their business acumen so speedily in an environment that are socially and culturally structured differently to their own. Many respondents affirmed the resilience and tenacity of Somalis to survive. Once they in South Africa their livelihood is sustained through informal trading on the streets or groceries retailing through the opening of what is known as ‘spaza’ shops. However, a committee member from one of the prominent political structures in Masiphumelele cannot recall how Somali Nationals entered the settlement. “Nobody introduced us to them, and they never introduced themselves to us”. In a capacity building workshop, attended by Somali men, the lack of integration with community was ascribed to the common religious views among the Somali nationals together with established close bonds as a refugee community.

According to a number of Somali shop owners a total of 15 shops were opened in Masiphumelele. Business competition in Masiphumelele took on a new form when the Somali shops offered their goods at cheaper prices while the local business people battled to cope with a decline in buying power. Some of the distraught local business people decided to deal with the situation differently. The events that occurred at the end of August 2006 were the culmination of a complex and layered conflict situation that had built up over some time.”

Source: Office of the Premier, 2007.



A South African owned, Somali run store in Masiphumele. This was the first Somali run shop in the township. It was attacked in 2006 and again in 2008. Source: Office of the Premier, 2007.

The table below sums up specific mediation activities undertaken by Africa Unite up to November 2006.¹⁵¹

Date	Partners	Activity	Outcome
3 October	Community workers Vuka Mama Group SANCO Street Committee ANC & ACDP	Meeting	Situation analysis
4 October	Somali traders of Masiphumelele	Meeting	5 Somalis elected to represent their community in mediation process
11 October	The community of Masiphumelele Youth of Masiphumelele Somalis of Masiphumelele	Meeting	Masiphumelele business people refused to attend meeting
13 October	Siyakha Business Trust	Letter	sent to Trust to persuade them to attend meetings
13 October	ANC Chairperson	Letter	sent to request assistance in convincing business people to attend forthcoming meeting

¹⁵¹ Thanks to Zoe Nkongolo, Africa Unite.

13 October	Somalis Street traders Vuka Mama	Caucus meeting	Few Somalis whose shops were still open were obliged to close until the business people join negotiations as there was concern that they might be attacked.
11-16 October	Individual business people Individual role players in the conflict	Lobbying by Africa Unite peer educators	
16 October	Community Youth Siyakha Business Trust Somalis		Agreement made allowing Somalis to open their shops and to join Siyakha Business Trust to deal with technical concerns
	Sifiso Mbuyisa, (Director: Social Dialogue & Human Rights)	Contact	advised on Africa Unite's activities in Masiphumelele by peer educator Zingisile Minya
21 October	Members of Somali community Members of Masiphumelele community Directorate: Social Dialogue and Human Rights NGOs	Report back on mediation in Masiphumelele/ Somali Conflict	
23 October	Masiphumelele community Masiphumelele business people Somali community	Meeting	Community feedback from the funding and recommendation from the government Decision to invite Sifiso Mbuyisa to attend a meeting with the community Business people to discuss outstanding issues amongst themselves and report back to next meeting
30 October	Government Communication IS	Meeting in Masiphumelele on youth & economic opportunities	Africa Unite presented their activities to the Masiphumelele youth

30 October	Youth in Masiphumelele drawn from: ANC Youth League Communist Youth League Yizani Youth Group Youth Community workers	Meeting	Many concerns were raised by the youth and will be addressed in follow-up meetings
Week beginning 6 Nov	Siyakha Business Trust Somali community	Meeting	Final agreement discussed and reached
Date to be advised	All stakeholders	Reconciliation Celebration Day	Agreement officially signed

This table is illustrative of the absence of internally imbedded civil society as Africa Unite comes from outside. These efforts calmed the situation and created some space for dialogue. However, the task team that was formed out this process did not survive for long. Government also did not play its role through resources and more effective service provision particularly when it comes to the ongoing housing crisis. No wonder then that xenophobic violence flared up again in Masiphumelele during the May 2008 outbreak and that there are ongoing xenophobic undertones in Masiphumelele as the housing and wider socio-economic crises create fissures in the community.





The three pictures above are of citizen and foreign national residents of Masiphumele during the meetings and discussions following the violence of 2006. Source: Office of the Premier, 2007.

Despite the above year-long process (August 2006 to August 2007) and many other efforts, Masiphumelele convulsed again during the May 2008 xenophobic attacks. Why? The August 2007 report by Africa unite is instructive here:

“Although major shifts were made to normalise the Masiphumelele community and a ‘peaceful’ solution was celebrated on Human Rights Day, the pre-emption of new conflict was not considered. Indeed, at present a part of the community is captured with angst in anticipation of a renewed crisis with the increase in the arrivals of ‘outside’ Somali traders to Masiphumelele. The emerging crisis has necessitated Africa Unite to facilitate an urgent meeting on 12 July 2006 inclusive of all community structures and the Somali business people in Masiphumelele. The Intervention Team from the Department of the Premier, Directorate Social Dialogue and Human Rights presented their insight of the conflict and encouraged the Somali nationals in Masiphumelele to speak on the issue as a united force.

A Somali shop owner expressed concern over the issue as follows:

“There was a feeling at the previous meetings and we agreed that the number of Somali shops were to be limited to 15 shops. Shops exceeded and I am feeling that this is starting a problem. There is now also an increase in the number of robberies. There was no proper decision by government or the mediation team about the number to limit the shops. Now the local business people are refusing the number of shops.”

The chairperson of a prominent political party in Masiphumelele responded as follows:

“...Concern over the influx was a concern already pointed out at earlier meetings. There seems to be in interest for plots to be rented out. This was even seen as a perceived land invasion. ... Landlords are not participating because they don’t belong in the structures. At the same time we are discussing their interests, for example if there is a decision to close the shops. It will bring internal conflict and it is therefore important for everybody to be part of the meeting. The situation is unacceptable and it is now attracting

crime situations, knowing that the boys cannot be restrained. Now Somalis will become targets of criminals and Masiphumelele is not doing anything.”

The new conflict carried an important learning about conflict development. It brought to the fore a stark reminder that conflict does not always move through designated stages before the hurting (crisis) is felt. Conflict is often catapulted with swift speed from the latent position to an intense crisis moment. Unless careful planning included a proactively anticipation of the point at which new conflict would be activated, the situation will lead to a surprise. A member of the Bellville Somali Committee noted his concern around the recurring problem.

“The problem is recurring. We are committed to facilitate a meeting among the Somalis. It is important that the Somali community integrate with the South African communities. We want to resolve the Somali influx problem but also for the South Africans to stop the attacks against Somalis.”

The inclusion of an early warning system in the intervention plans was non-existent and the forecasting of probable future scenarios of conflict had not been done. Given that the crisis situation had drawn all the attention and resources to itself the unfolding of future conflicts seemed unrealistic to plan for and newly established latent conflict remained undetected. Early warning should be regarded an integral part of complex multi-party conflict intervention plans since it has the potential to forewarn about situations of possible increased tension or an eruption. As a system early warning has the ability to augment situations of conflict into constructive transformation processes. Early warning systems also have it shortcomings about the exclusion of ‘soft’ dynamics that are different to, however, directly related to the substantive issues but not necessary discussed. The psychological impact on parties as a result of conflict, the need for rebuilding of relationships, awareness of other’s basic human needs, and the restoration of trust relations are often put aside as the tangible issues take centre point. Different models of early warning systems provide innovative options for the measurement of future conflict risks or threats. The models are divided in five categories and consist of signals to make predictions based on history; analysis of perceived trends; setting preconditions that could add value to the conflict; highlighting sequential variables; and identifying scenarios that point to unexpected developments.¹⁵² Early warning as a proactive mechanism to minimise conflict can also be utilised to project opportunities for community peace building efforts.”

Source: Office of the Premier, 2007.

¹⁵² Reyhler, L. Proactive conflict prevention: Impact Assessment? Limits of conflict prevention. The International Journal of Peace Studies.

Indeed, the provincial government supported the August 2006-August 2007 mediation and integration efforts through providing resources for mediation, research and integration, as well as providing forums and spaces for the process. Many of the recommendations that came from the process required action by government. These were not acted on.

Many of the actors in the 2006 violence were active again in the 2008 outbreak. Africa Unite was forced again to lead mediation and integration efforts. These eventually led to calm and some sense of peace. The interventions included humanitarian interventions, revival of mediation processes and structures, and mobilisation of government. It was not possible to revive the processes and structures that had been engaged in the 2006-2007 period. This was partly due to the lack of confidence in government as many of the commitments and agreements reached were not delivered and followed up by government through service delivery, provision of resources for local action and support for local efforts. The 2006-2007 process came to an end prematurely. This affected perceptions of goodwill and mutual trust. The city versus provincial government tensions affected the impact of the response. But given Africa Unite's limited resources, the dormant internal dialogue, and ongoing housing crisis Masiphumelele remains a site of potential conflict including xenophobia. However, it should be noted that in 2009 the extensive protests around the housing situation have not turned into xenophobic violence.

In Masiphumelele, there are interesting layer of people in various organisations concerned with xenophobia. But the local networks were caught unawares and unprepared by both the 2006 and 2008 attacks. Interestingly, there is no TAC branch. Unlike elsewhere in Cape Town, the ANC, the ANCYL, the YCL and SACP have history of good anti-xenophobia activism in Masiphumelele. But this is not universally supported in each of these organisations.

Part

V CONCLUSIONS, LESSONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The violence of May 2008 and the response of civil society in Cape Town provided lessons and raised questions. It demonstrated the depth of xenophobia, the lack of social cohesion and tolerance of diversity, the levels of frustration within some communities as well as the dearth of channels to express them and of progressive leadership. It also showed that although formal and funded civil society organisations have a strong commitment to human rights and socio-economic development they are not generally embedded in communities and their priorities are not always congruent. The response also demonstrated that generally there is a lack of integration between citizens, migrants and refugees even though they may live and work side by side. Similarly civil society organisations tend either to be focused on meeting the needs of citizens or meeting the needs of refugees, and disassociated humanitarian needs from the context that generated them, yet all too often these are congruent. However, the progressive humanitarian response of civil society organisations and individuals and social mobilisation in response to the displacement of thousands of residents of the city points the way forward showing that there is a core of organisations and individuals prepared to challenge intolerance and inequality and mobilise for change.

Recognising that civil society organisations worked together remarkably well points of cleavage emerged. These largely relate to questions of power, capacity and funding as well as conceptualisations of the crisis and the appropriate way to respond. Therefore, simmering resentments about the dominant role and strategy of the TAC (noting that credit was given to the organisation for its activities) in part reflect the strengths of the organisation, its tactical decisions and conceptualisation of the crisis as well as its location in communities. Reliance on donor and government funding circumscribes the activities that some civil society organisations can undertake as they have to meet the remit agreed with the funder. At times it can affect the positions they are willing to take and tactics they see as appropriate. Conceptualisation of the crisis engendered by the violence which focused it as a humanitarian disaster meant opportunities to challenge xenophobia and the socio-economic and political conditions contributed to it were missed.

The role of government was extremely problematic. Tensions between levels of government affected their response and civil society. Notwithstanding the positive role played by the Office of the Premier, provincial and city government were slow to respond and often the response was inadequate. Disaster management units of the province and the city, particularly the former, have put in place measures which should enhance their response as needed in the future. However, there was a glaring lack of political leadership from government, the ANC, the SACP and the DA at national, provincial and city levels in challenging xenophobia. The denial of xenophobia and the blaming of xenophobia on migrants for their very presence is not only problematic but makes the road to promoting tolerance of diversity even harder. The questionable role of councillors in some areas in the violence needs to be interrogated.

The threadbare status of embedded civil society in communities that are poor was viciously exposed by the xenophobic outbreak.¹⁵³ Despite South Africa's celebrated constitutional framework, we have to ask what are the structural limitations on accessing the promised constitutional rights? These are respect for diversity, structural economic, social, political and spatial inequalities, the lack of a comprehensive social security system and the limited nature of the democratic system.

Absent in South Africa's so-called 'miracle' is wider economic transformation that brings significant material changes in the lives of a large sections of society. Instead the overall trend of human development and inequality indicators has pointed to growing misery and inequality. This shows how many of the positive human rights and constitutional changes will ultimately be hemmed in by the systemic and structural features of our socio-economic system.

These systemic and structural inequalities are spatially represented where post apartheid urban geographies look little different. The poor and economically marginalised live at the edge of cities. This population is growing rapidly as economic growth is focused in South African urban areas pulling new, mainly poor, citizens from rural areas and small towns from elsewhere in the country. New arrivals from outside South Africa also gravitate to the centres of economic growth.

¹⁵³ Marais, H. 2008. "Learning from the pogroms..."

Structural and systemic **foundations of inequality remain intact even in conditions of restored profitability**. Civil society in SA has not been about challenging the systemic and structural foundations of inequality.

This perspective and voice are sorely needed. The unemployment problem in South Africa is systemically rooted in apartheid under-development, but it may also be related to the global restructuring of production and the increasing global inability of capitalism to absorb working-age people into formal employment. To what extent can current programs and organisations (often funded by donor organisations) concern themselves with debates and activities that seek to address the systemic and structural foundations?

Current economic policy debates in the ruling ANC are important here. In these debates, there is a clear shift away from private sector led growth towards the notion of a developmental state. This is important. It is less certain whether such a move will necessarily address structural inequality and unemployment particularly given the silence on the role that ordinary people must play in economic transformation. Also absent in the public debate on economic policy are well-researched and well-informed voices of civil society.

Indeed, on some levels South African civil society is still relatively strong but this strength has not yet resulted in overcoming the political, social and economic marginality of the poor. Comparatively, formal associational life amongst “culturally” and “politically” marginal poor households is “thin, and often appears fragile and subject to conflict.”¹⁵⁴ This differs from the rosy picture of social movements active amongst the poor. The civic associations and street committees of the past have largely disappeared or lack substance.¹⁵⁵ Community based progressive activist leadership and organisations and leadership that can be heard are not particularly evident. Ironically the advent of democracy may have reduced opportunities for real democratic participation at a local level.

Natras and Seekings suggest that the claims of the urban insiders shape the government policies at the expense of socially and politically invisible rural outsiders and new arrivals in the city.¹⁵⁶ Part of the explanation lies in the incomplete transition of the poor from being “subjects” into being “citizens” of the democratic order and the post-1994 turning of the poor into “objects” and passive recipients of development. More fundamentally, the state of being poor undermines the ability of poor people to participate fully in their own lives: poverty and the lack of power of poor households mutually

¹⁵⁴ Du Toit, A. 2004. *Forgotten by the Highway: Globalisation, Adverse Incorporation and Chronic Poverty in a Commercial Farming District*, Chronic poverty and development policy series, no. 4, Programme for Land and Agrarian Studies (PLAAS), University of the Western Cape (UWC); Du Toit, A. 2005. *Poverty measurement blues: Some reflections on the space for understanding ‘chronic’ and ‘structural’ poverty in South Africa*, Chronic poverty and development policy series, no. 5, PLAAS, UWC; Du Toit, A. 2005. *Chronic and Structural Poverty in South Africa: Challenges for Action and Research*, Chronic poverty and development policy series, no. 6, PLAAS, UWC.

¹⁵⁵ Mayekiso, M. 2003. “South Africa’s enduring urban crisis: the local state and the urban social movement with particular reference to Johannesburg” in Harrison, P., Huchzermeyer, M. and Mayekiso, M. (eds.), *Confronting Fragmentation: Housing and Urban Development in a Democratising Society*, UCT Press: Cape Town, pp. 57-75; Heller, P. 2003. “Reclaiming democratic spaces: civics and politics in posttransition Johannesburg” in Tomlinson, R., Beauregard, R.A., Bremner, L. and Mangcu, X. (eds.) 2003. *Emerging Johannesburg: Perspectives on the Postapartheid City*. Routledge: New York and London, pp. 155-184.

¹⁵⁶ Natras, N. and Seekings, J. 2006. *Class, Race and Inequality in South Africa*. UKZN Press: Pietermaritzburg.

reinforce each other. Whilst poverty may not rob the poor of their agency, however, it “circumscribes and limits the forms of agency that are available to them.”¹⁵⁷ This political disempowerment of poor communities weakens their capacity to challenge the very social, economic and political processes which marginalise them. Instead, poor people are integrated into the circuits and networks that marginalise them thus undermining their ability to control and impact upon the systems into which they are locked.¹⁵⁸ With this generalised marginality of the poor, the ruling party and government officials can easily dismiss existing civil society as elitist and ignore the voices of the poor. This has the potential to de-legitimise and weaken the current achievements of civil society. It can also lead to explosions of frustration and anger.

Given the fragility of associational life and having argued that urban poor people (including internal and cross border migrants) are largely excluded from the structures that make decisions about their lives, how should the fragmentation of the urban poor and related civil society organisations and social movements be overcome? How can activists bring together broader coalitions for social justice? How should social movements engage with formal political structures and formations? How do we grow a new generation of activists? What is still missing is the notion of a movement or movements of the urban poor - with a good political economy analysis of the situation broadly and how the urban poor are inserted into society, which works out a political strategy to build the urban poor into a social force in and of itself, and in alliance with other motive forces for change. Without this perspective interventions will be limited and subject to ongoing challenges.

Power and violence are closely linked. The non-physical violence of the exercise of socio-economic power is one form. However, the marginalised and powerless may seek power where they can find it reaching those who are closest to them.

Levels of violence in South Africa in all arenas are disturbingly high. This violence is related to the past but also to the present. It reflects the past, the poverty and marginalisation of individuals and communities, as the lack of channels to be heard. How can civil society be built to give an effective voice to the concerns of South Africans?

Given how social conservatism weighs like the massive Drakensberg mountains on the minds of South Africans whose experience of freedom is only 15 years old compared to that oppression which goes back hundreds of years, inclusivity and acceptance of diversity often seem far away. Linked to this is the entrenched and deep nature of the social and economic crisis that reproduces xenophobia, and other anti-constitutional ideologies (sexism, violence against women, tribalism and homophobia).

The post-1994 nation building project built on notions of South Africa as a ‘miracle’ nation ‘united in its diversity’ has proved an illusion. At the same time it has, perhaps unwittingly, encouraged the

¹⁵⁷ Du Toit, A. 2004. *Forgotten by the Highway...*

¹⁵⁸ Ibid.

dangerous side of nationalism.¹⁵⁹ Decades of apartheid education and isolation and 15 years of post-apartheid learning have done little to educate citizens about the rest of the continent, the history of cross border migration to the country and its present. As cross border migrants from new countries move into marginalised urban areas where they have not previously been seen they provide a convenient target for the expression of frustrations by excluded South African citizens. So, the excluded become the included. The inability and seeming unwillingness of the state and the alliance partnership to effectively tackle xenophobia, and more often than not to deny its existence marks a singular failure. Sections of civil society working with refugees and migrants as well as refugee and migrant organisations have raised their voices. They have not been heard by the state or much of South African civil society. How can the state be forced to speak against xenophobia? And, how can civil society organisations be encouraged to integrate cross border migrants and refugees, and challenge xenophobia, in their work including their rights and diversity activities?

Resources for NPOs are limited. Many rely on donor funding of one sort or another. The task of finding funding for CBOs and in particular migrant organisations is even harder. Donors are concerned to fund organisations with strong administrations and track records. This leaves many organisations financially marginalised, creates imbalances in power and competition for resources in a tight funding environment which can negatively impact cooperation. Donor conditions may also circumscribe the roles that organisations may play.

South Africa's democratic system must consider not just executive, legislative and judicial powers. It must also consider the notion of social power vested in citizens. One of the key implications of this recognition is that social power is plural and is central in not just sustaining many communities but in also facilitating and enhancing citizen participation in the democratic system. Another key absence in the human rights infrastructure is pluralities of democratic social power of the people, i.e., many sites of power where ordinary people recognise their social power, build their social weight, have effective multiple social voices and impact on all aspects of their lives. The TAC and activities of some of the social movements, burial societies, women's groups, are examples of how this can be done. On this basis, there is an argument for the public financing and support of social power. This is absolutely central in the deepening of democracy. There is a need for an informed public discussion of the notion of social power and the need for its support and financing by the fiscus on an open, transparent and accountable basis without any political strings attached. This will be critical for the long-term survival of social movements.

Recommendations

On the basis of the above findings and analysis, we make the following recommendations:

- ▶ Xenophobia and intolerance need to be acknowledged before they can be challenged.
- ▶ Creation of spaces & forums for civil society reflection, discussion & action planning on systemic & thorough-going integration linked to overall socio-economic justice struggles;
- ▶ Long-term support for systemic lobbying, advocacy & mobilisation focusing on addressing past

¹⁵⁹ Peberdy, S. 2009. *Selecting Immigrants...*

inequalities & social justice based on integration & equity in terms of access to services, economic opportunities;

- › Long-term support for systematic programmes aimed at cultural integration, learning about others, the universal application of rights to all human beings, identifying common needs, interests & solidarity;
- › A Cape Town civil society Conference held under the theme: “Two years after xenophobic violence: lessons, strategies, programmes and social mobilisation for an equitable and integrated Cape Town”;
- › Mapping of civil society work on socio-economic justice focusing on the extent to which it fosters intra-racial & local-migrant integration, unity & solidarity;
- › Long-term support for systematic programmes aimed at building intra-racial & local-migrant unity on socio-economic justice struggles;
- › Need for such programmes to focus on integration & equity in particular when it comes to housing, employment conditions & economic opportunities;
- › The need to rebuild self-agency and civil society in communities are poor and on the periphery of the system and cities;
- › The need to fight chauvinistic and exclusionary notions of who ‘belongs’ and who has rights here;
- › The need to reject attempts to convert national, racial, ethnic, religious or language identities into political capital;
- › The need to put the ideals and vision of non-racialism back in the spotlight of debate and social mobilisation;
- › The need to foster social mobilisation and government action to drastically reduce income and other inequalities;
- › Systemic support to take forward the ILRIG-COSATU-Ogoni Solidarity Forum to organise migrant workers – this must not only aim at regularising the legal status of all workers within SA’s borders, and bring them within the ambit of labour system protection but also to build relations, unity and solidarity amongst all workers;
- › Systemic support to encourage the development of a refugee and migrant organisation network to strengthen their ability to engage with government and civil society;
- › Need for ongoing civil society work (lobbying, advocacy, litigation & social mobilisation) that focuses on the role & responsibilities of the state when it comes to migrants and for civil society organisations to integrate migrants, immigrants and refugees into their work;
- › Need for civil society efforts to promote ongoing communication between civil society & the state. The HANSA initiative is a good opportunity in this regard;
- › The need for inclusive civil society and wider social action for inclusive cities to move away violent spatial and material inequalities.

African Monitor. 2008. *The People have Spoken: Where do we go from here?*, African Monitor: Cape Town.

City of Cape Town. 2007. *5 Year Plan for Cape Town: Integrated Development Plan (IDP) 2007/8-2011/12*, City of Cape Town, p. 62.

Crush, J. (ed.). 2008. *The Perfect Storm: Realities of Xenophobia in Contemporary South Africa*, SAMP Migration Policy Series No. 50, SAMP/Idasa: Kingston and Cape Town (www.queensu.ca/samp/).

Crush, J., Peberdy, S., and Williams, V. 2007. "Towards a fairer deal for migrants in the South African Economy," unpublished report for the Department of Labour, p. 11

Department of Social Development (DSD). 2009. "DRAFT Concept paper for exploring the impact of Xenophobia on the mandate of the Department of Social Development," unpublished paper

Desai, A. 2002. *We are the Poor: Community Struggles in Post-Apartheid South Africa*. Monthly Review Press: New York.

Desai, A. *Uprooting or Re-rooting Poverty in Post-Apartheid South Africa: A Literature Review*. Prepared for SANPAD Poverty Reduction Thematic Workshop, 24-25 May 2005. South Africa-Netherlands Research Programme on Alternatives in Development (SANPAD), www.sanpad.org.za.

- Dodson, B. 1999. 'Women on the move: Gender and cross border migration to South Africa.' Migration Policy Series no. 9. Southern African Migration Project: Cape Town.
- Du Toit, A and Neves, D. 2006. *Vulnerability and Social Protection at the Margins of the Formal Economy: Case Studies from Khayelitsha and the Eastern Cape*. Programme for Land and Agrarian Studies. University of the Western Cape: Belville.
- Du Toit, A. 2004. *Forgotten by the Highway: Globalisation, Adverse Incorporation and Chronic Poverty in a Commercial Farming District*. (Chronic poverty and development policy series; no. 4.). Programme for Land and Agrarian Studies, University of the Western Cape: Belville.
- Du Toit, A. 2005. *Chronic and Structural Poverty in South Africa: Challenges for Action and Research*. (Chronic poverty and development policy series; no. 6.). Programme for Land and Agrarian Studies, University of the Western Cape: Belville.
- Du Toit, A. 2005. *Poverty measurement blues: Some reflections on the space for understanding 'chronic' and 'structural' poverty in South Africa*. (Chronic poverty and development policy series; no. 5.) Programme for Land and Agrarian Studies, University of the Western Cape: Belville.
- Forced Migration Studies Programme (FMSP). 2009. *Humanitarian Assistance to Internally Displaced Persons in South Africa: Lessons Learned Following Attacks on Foreign Nationals in May 2008*, FMSP: University of the Witwatersrand.
- Geffen, N. 2008a. *Shattered Myths: The xenophobic violence in South Africa*. 16 June 2008, (www.tac.org.za).
- Graham, N. 2006. "Informal settlement upgrading in Cape Town: Challenges, constraints and contradictions within local government," in M. Huchzermayer and A. Karam (eds.) *Informal settlements: A perpetual challenge?*, UCT Press: Cape Town, pp. 231-249.
- Hadland, A. 2008. "Shooting the Messenger: Mediating the public and the role of the media in South Africa's xenophobic violence," paper for CODESRIA 12th Annual Assembly, Yaounde.
- Harrison, P., Huchzermeyer, M. and Mayekiso, M. (eds.) 2003. *Confronting Fragmentation: Housing and Urban Development in a Democratising Society*. UCT Press: Cape Town.
- Igglesden, V., Monson, T., and T. Polzer. 2009. *Humanitarian Assistance to Internally Displaced Persons in South Africa: Lessons Learned Following Attacks on Foreign Nationals in May 2008*, Forced Migration Studies Programme, University of the Witwatersrand.
- International Organisation for Migration (IOM). 2009. *Towards Tolerance, Law and Dignity: Addressing Violence Against Foreign Nationals in South Africa*, IOM Regional Office for Southern Africa: Pretoria.
- Kgara, S. 2007. 'Cape Town a Neo-apartheid city,' unpublished paper.
- Landman, K and Ntombela, N. 2006. *Opening up spaces for the poor in the urban form: trends, challenges and their implications for access to urban land*, Urban LandMark Position Paper 7, paper prepared for the Urban Land Seminar, November 2006, Muldersdrift.
- Lefko-Everett, K. 2007. 'Voices from the margins: Migrant women's experiences in Southern Africa.' Migration Policy Series no. 46. Southern African Migration Project: Cape Town.
- Marais, H. 2008. "Learning from the pogroms," *Amandla*, Vol. 1(3), www.amandla.org.za
- Matzopoulos, R., Corrigan, J. and Bowman, B. 2009. *A health impact assessment of international migrants following the xenophobic attacks in Gauteng and the Western Cape*, Forced Migration Studies Programme, University of the Witwatersrand.
- Mbangson, L. 2009. "The solutions strategy on refugees living in Bluewaters and Youngsfield," UNHCR, Cape Town, 25/03/2009.
- McDonald, D. 2008. *World City Syndrome: Neoliberalism and Inequality in Cape Town* Routledge: London and New York.
- Misago, J.P., Landau, L. and T. Monson. 2009. *Towards Tolerance, Law and Dignity: Addressing Violence*

- against Foreign Nationals in South Africa*, International Organisation for Migration, Johannesburg
- Natras, N. and Seekings, J. 2006. *Class, Race and Inequality in South Africa*. UKZN Press: Pietermaritzburg.
- Opferman, L. 2008. "Xenophobia Crisis' in South Africa: An analysis of the humanitarian response to the mass displacement of foreign nationals following the xenophobic attacks in the Western Cape Province in May 2008," unpublished MA Thesis, Uppsala Universitet Sweden.
- Parnell, S. 2005. "Constructing a developmental nation – the challenge of including the poor in the post-apartheid city," *Transformation*, 58: 20-44.
- Parnell, S., Borraine, A., Crankshaw, O., Engelbrecht, G., Gotz, G., Mbanga, S., Narsoo, M. 2006. "The state of South African cities a decade after democracy" *Urban Studies*, 43: 337-356.
- Parnell, S., Cousins, T. and Skuse, A. 2006/ "Migration and Urban Governance: The Case of Cape Town," Paper presented at the SAMP/COJ/SACN/MDP Workshop on "Migration and Urban Governance: Building Inclusive Cities in the SADC" Johannesburg.
- Parnell, S., Mabin, A., Oldfield, S. 2004. "Engagement and reconstruction in critical research: negotiating urban practice, policy and theory in South Africa," *Journal of Social and Cultural Geography*, 5: 285-29.
- Peberdy, S. 2009. *Selecting Immigrants: National Identity and South Africa's Immigration Policies*, Wits University Press: Johannesburg.
- Peberdy, S. 2008. "The invisible woman: Gender blindness and South Africa's immigration policies and legislation" *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, Vol. 33(4): 800-807.
- Pieterse, E. 2004. "Recasting urban integration and fragmentation in post-apartheid South Africa," *Development Update*, Vol. 5 (1), pp. 81-104.
- Pieterse, E. "Untangling 'Integration' in Urban Development Policy Debates" *Urban Forum*, Vol. 15(1) 2004, (www.isandla.org.za).
- Pillay, U., Tomlinson, R., du Toit, J (eds.) 2006. *Democracy and Delivery: Urban Policy in South Africa*. HSRC Press: Pretoria.
- Refugee Leadership. *Press Statement from Refugee Leadership*. 22 July 2008, (www.tac.org.za)
- Rodrigues, E., Gie, J. and C. Haskins. 2006. "Informal dwelling count for Cape Town (1993-2005), City of Cape Town (www.capetown.gov.za).
- Romanovsky, P. and Gie, J. 2006. "The spatial distribution of socio-economic status, service levels and levels of living in the city of Cape Town 2001" City of Cape Town
- Robins, S. 2009. "Humanitarian aid beyond "bare survival": Social movement responses to xenophobic violence in South Africa," *American Ethnologist*, Vol. 36(4), pp. 637-650.
- Sigsworth, R., Ngwane, C. and Pino, A. 2008. *The Gendered Nature of Xenophobia in South Africa*, CSV: Johannesburg.
- Small, K. 2008. "General household survey analysis for Cape Town" City of Cape Town (www.capetown.gov.za).
- South African Cities Network (SACN). 2006. *State of the Cities Report 2006*, SACN: Johannesburg.
- South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC). 2009. "SAHRC Policy Paper: A national human rights institution's response to a disaster: Lessons learned from the South African Human Rights Commission," SAHRC: Cape Town.
- SAHRC. 2008a. "Western Cape Provincial Office/Parliamentary Programme Crisis meeting on Preventing Xenophobic Violence in Western Cape, 21 May 2008, notes on meeting," SAHRC.
- SAHRC. 2008b. "SAHRC Report on Conditions at the Youngsfield Military Base camp for internally displaced non nationals, Western Cape," SAHRC, 28 May 2008.

- SAHRC. 2008c. "SAHRC Report on Refugee Camps: Blue Waters, Harmony Park, Silverstroom, Soetwater, and the Youngsfield Military Base," July 2008.
- SAHRC. 2008d. "International Refugee Day," presentation to the Portfolio Committee on Home Affairs, Parliament, 20 June 2008.
- SAHRC. 2008e. "SAHRC handout for refugee camp monitoring volunteers Western Cape."
- SAHRC. 2008f. "Toolkit for refugee camp monitoring volunteers Western Cape."
- TAC. 2008a. *Joint Press Statement: Poor Planning Adds To Storm Distress*. 28 August 2008. (www.tac.org.za).
- TAC. 2008b. *TAC and ALP Win Critical Victory in Court Action Against Government on Behalf of Displaced Persons: TAC-ALP Press Statement*. 15 August, 2008. (www.tac.org.za).
- TAC. 2008c. *TAC Responds to City Eviction Notice, Camp Mismanagement: TAC Press Statement*. 06 AUGUST 2008. (www.tac.org.za).
- TAC. 2008d. *TAC Launches Litigation on Behalf of Persons Displaced by Xenophobic Violence in the Western Cape: TAC Press Statement*. 5 August, 2008. (www.tac.org.za).
- TAC. 2008e. *TAC participates in establishment of Western Cape Emergency Civil Society Task Team on Xenophobia and Violence: TAC-ALP Press Statement*. 21 May 2008. (www.tac.org.za).
- TAC. 2008f. *Cessation of TAC Provision of Humanitarian Aid to Displaced Persons/Court Case Update And Picket: TAC Press Statement*. 04 August 2008. (www.tac.org.za).
- TAC. 2008g. *Joint Press Statement from Civil Society For Release*. 10 July 2008. (www.tac.org.za).
- TAC. 2008h. *TAC Demands Urgent and Decisive Action by Government to halt Violence Against Refugees and Immigrants: TAC Press Statement*. 19 May 2008. (www.tac.org.za).
- Turok, I. 2001. "Persistent polarisation post-apartheid? Progress towards urban integration in Cape Town, *Urban Studies*, Vol. 38(13), pp. 2349-2377.
- UNHCR. 2009. "UNHCR Meeting: Solutions on Residual Caseload on Sites," March 18, 2009, UNHCR.
- UNOCHA. 2009. *Recommendations stemming from Lessons Observed of the Response to Internal Displacement Resulting from Xenophobic Attacks in South Africa May-December 2008*, United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs Regional Office for Southern Africa.
- UN RSA. 2009. *Joint Evaluation of the Role and Contribution of the UN System in South Africa*, UNDP: New York.
- Watson, V. 2003. "Planning for integration: The case of metropolitan Cape Town" in P. Harrison, M. Huchzermeyer and M. Mayekiso (eds.) *Confronting Fragmentation: Housing and Urban Development in a Democratising Society*, UCT Press: Cape Town, pp. 140-152.
- Western Cape Provincial Office/Parliamentary Programme Crisis meeting on Preventing Xenophobic Violence in Western Cape, 21 May 2008, notes on meeting.
- Zegeye, A. (ed.) 2001. *Social Identities in the New South Africa After Apartheid – Volume 1*. Kwela Books: Cape Town.
- Zondi, S. 2008. Xenophobic attacks: Towards an understanding of violence against African immigrants in South Africa. *Africa Insight*, 38(2): 26-35.

Appendix A

List of interviewees

ORGANISATION	CONTACTS
Aids Law Project	Fatima Hassan Meryl Federl
Black Sash national	Elroy Paulus
Idasa and Southern African Migration Project	Vincent Williams
Open Democracy Advice Centre	Alison Tilley
PASSOP	Braam Hanekom
Radical Youth Network and Peoples Health Network	Nkwame Cedile
Social Justice Coalition	Brian Ashley
Sonke Gender Justice Network (now working elsewhere)	Freddie Nkosi
TAC Khayelitsha	Mike Hamnca Mandla Majola Andile Madondile
TAC National	Nonkosi Khumalo Vuyiseka Dubula
Trade Unions	
COSATU Western Cape	Mike Louw Mfanafuthi Borman Tsela
Faith Based Organisations	

Cape Town Progressive Jewish Congregation	Teri Jedeink
Catholic Welfare & Development CWD (Bonne Esperance)	
Muslim Judicial Council	
Refugee and Migrant Organisations and NPOs	
Africa Unite	Zoe Nkongolo Kate Lefko Everett (board member)
African Disabled Refugee Organisation	Anaclet Mbayagu
Alliance for Refugees in South Africa (AFRI-South)	George Pambason
Action Contre Extremisme a l'Est du Congo (ACEEC)	Motema Swedi
Cape Town Refugee Centre	Christina Henda
Mustadafin Foundation	Gyronina Johnson
Ogoni Solidarity Forum	Barry Wunagale
Scalabrini Centre of Cape Town	Miranda Madikane Lena Opferman
Government and International Organisations	
Western Cape Provincial Disaster Management Centre	Dr. Hildegaard Fast
Cape Town Municipality	JP Smith (Councillor) Portfolio for Safety & Security
Cape Town Municipality	Wilfred Solomons-Johannes Disaster Risk Management Centre
South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC)	Judith Cohen
UNHCR	Dr. Lawrence Mbangbason
SAPS Muizenberg	Superintendent Hermanus
Academics and independent researchers	
Ikwa Kuthi Research & Advocacy	Vicki Igglesden
UWC	Prof. Lulu Tshiwula

Appendix B

Maps

Socio-economic Status, Service Level and Levels of Living Indexes

Source: Romanovsky, P. and Gie, J. 2006. "The spatial distribution of socio-economic status, service levels and levels of living in the city of Cape Town 2001" City of Cape Town

The indexes were calculated from Census 2001 data as follows:

Socio-economic status index:

- ▶ % households earning less than R19,000 pa.
- ▶ % adults (20+) with highest level of education less than matric.
- ▶ % economically active population unemployed.
- ▶ % labour force in elementary/unskilled occupations.

Service level index:

- ▶ % households in informal dwellings.
- ▶ % households with no access to electricity for lighting.
- ▶ % households with no access to flush or chemical toilets.
- ▶ % households with no potable water on site or in dwelling.
- ▶ % households with no refuse removal weekly or less.

Levels of living index:

- ▶ This is calculated using a combination of the socio-economic status index and the service level index.

UNOCHA Displaced Populations Western Cape 19/6/2009

Source: UNOCHA (www.unocharosa.org)

