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Title:

Challenging Prejudice Through Participation: A Case Study of an anti-Xenophobic Community  
Based Organisation in Khayelitsha Site C in the Western Cape, South Africa

By

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A Thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of  
Administration in Political Studies



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## SELECTED KEYWORDS

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Deliberative Democracy

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Migration

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Public Participation

Xenophobia



## DECLARATION

I declare that “Challenging prejudice through participation: A Case Study of an Anti-Xenophobic Community Based Organisation in Khayelitsha Site C, in the Western Cape, South Africa” is entirely my own unaided work, and that, all the sources that I have quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete reference. It is submitted for the degree of Masters in Administration in Political Studies in the University of the Western Cape, in South Africa. It has not been previously submitted as a research project, or thesis, at any other University.

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## DEDICATION

I dedicate this entire work to my late father Abang John whose relentless effort ensured that his offspring followed in his footprints of continuous education, and also my mother for her moral support. Also to my brothers, Abang Adolph and James, my sisters Agnes and Susan who always told me to succeed you must struggle and defy all odds so as to stand out to be counted. Special thanks to my wife Abang Martha nee Essim for her moral support and also my lovely children, Abang Christian, Abang Malva, Abang Marion, Abang Manyi and especially Abang Ako Junior whose presence always made research fun as he keeps changing the position of books.





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## LIST OF ACRONYMS

ARESTA	Agency for Refugee Education, Settlement and Training and Advocacy
CBO	Community Based Organisation
CDF	Cultural Diversity Festival
CDW	Community Development Worker
CSO	Civil Society Organisation
CTRC	Cape Town Refugee Centre
DHA	Department of Home Affairs
IOM	International Organisation for Migration
LBGT	Lesbian Gays, Bi-sexual and Trans sexual
SACAX	Site C, Action Committee Against Xenophobia
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SAHRC	South African Human Right Commission
SAMP	Southern African Migration Project
SAPS	South African Police Service
UN	United Nations
UNHCR	United Nation High Commission for Refugees
US	United States
VPUU	Violence Prevention Through Urban Upgrading

## ABSTRACT

This study is an investigation into how the Site C, Action Committee Against Xenophobia (SACAX) in Khayelitsha was able to mobilise the community, community based organisations, and governance structures alongside national and international Non-Governmental Organisations working with refugees to successfully challenge prejudice towards African immigrants in the period leading to the World Cup 2010.

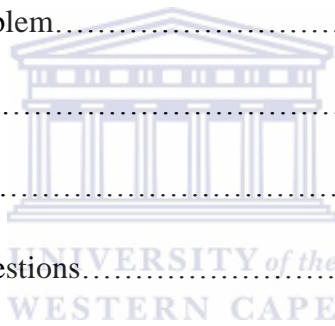
The primary objective of this mobilisation was to raise consciousness about the plight of African immigrants; prevent a new round of attacks; and also to ensure that state officials were better prepared to intervene in future outbursts. The various stakeholders that took part in this co-governance space are unanimous that the SACAX programme ushered in a new era of creating awareness and civic education that changed significantly the perception of the community towards African immigrants during the World Cup 2010.

The thesis will also show how SACAX also encourage a more active citizenship and also built network between civil society including national and international NGOs and local state. These efforts created a new set of relations and saw the construction of new sets of relations in terms of capacity building across civil society, the state and local and international actors. This resulted in both the creation of an early warning mechanisms and also networks to coordinate efforts in future outburst. This was an example of a Co-governance space or nascent 'participatory sphere'.

The example of SACAX is thus a case of civil society deepening democracy in three ways: expanding democratic values, building democratic citizenship and creating new participatory institutional capacity. This then elucidates the role civil society can play in influencing citizens directly, government and public policy. Indeed, to the extent that this network forms the basis of a substantive partnership between state and civil society from local to international levels, such co-governance around the policy issues can be seen as a nascent form of participatory space as identified by Cornwall and Coelho (2007:1).

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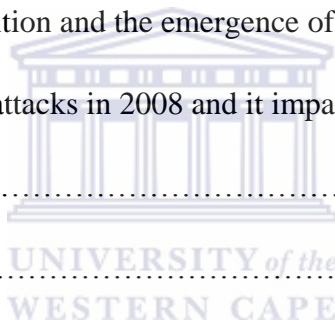
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## CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

*Just as the country is trying to come to grips with determining and plotting strategies to meet its people's needs and to develop, it faces a deluge of migrants, mainly illegals. That this would cause xenophobia and resentment should not be surprising. However, we also recognise that we are perceived as, an island of riches, in a sea of poverty, making us a magnet for migration*

(M.G. Buthelezi, Minister of Home Affairs, February 1998)

As observed by Mangosuthu Buthelezi, then Minister of Department of Home Affairs, the influx of close to 9.5 million non-nationals, and mostly African immigrants into South Africa (Minnaar and Houghes 1996:128-130) following the dawn of democracy ushered in an era of tension between a segment of South Africans and African immigrants. Many scholars are unanimous that this tension is real based on empirical evidence (Crush 2000: 107). The question that comes to mind is, why should this tension built to the extent of violent attacks on African immigrants as the event of May 2008 revealed and further, what can be done to stop this? This then is the entry point of this Master's Thesis, as it will attempt to explore one endeavour by a civil society organisation in Site C, Khayelitsha Township in Cape Town, South Africa, to prevent more xenophobic violence through creating awareness such as teaching civic education and diversity to residents against xenophobic attitudes. This is consistent with Crush (2008:9).

In exploring this case, the thesis will draw on theories of democracy and especially public participation making the argument that it is possible for civil society organisations to achieve this social change through deliberative and participatory approaches. Indeed, in this case, civil society was able to initiate an engagement with other formations in both the state and civil society that established the basis for participatory space between the state and society where xenophobic issues in particular sites can be meaningfully addressed. This is the principal theme that is interspersed and developed throughout this Master's Thesis.

The current chapter will provide a background, examine the research problem, identify the overarching research question (s), and the objective of the study and its wider significance. The second segment explores the research methodology, which are mostly qualitative, case study, theoretical population, research methods, research design, data analysis and synthesis and ethical issues. The chapter concludes with an outline of the central argument and structure of the thesis.



## 1.1. Background of the research problem

The collapse of the Berlin wall on the 9<sup>th</sup> of November 1989 was also followed by the fall of the Iron Curtain, this then signalled the end of the Cold War, which in no small part facilitated the release of Mandela on Sunday 11<sup>th</sup> February 1990, and the subsequent demise of apartheid in South Africa. For Germany, it led to the reunification of East and West Germany on Wednesday 3<sup>rd</sup> October 1990. This swift succession of developments made the year 1990 a year of miracles, ushering in a new era in international relations and international mobility (Fukuyama 2006:28).

These changes further facilitated the movements of millions of people internationally and as the numbers kept burgeoning, it later became an international trend (Doyle 2004:1) and contributed to the birth of globalisation that Scholte (2001:8) designates as the growth of connections between people across the planet, but then what drives these movements? Doyle (2004:1) further notes that these movements are driven by the search for jobs, better economic opportunities and the desire to join families and it accounted for the movement of hundreds of millions of people worldwide. Notably by the year 2000, close to 175 million people were residing out of their countries of birth. This later became a worldwide phenomenon from which South Africa could not be insulated and thus the process of globalisation and the expansion of markets, capital, transportation, communication and skills have challenged the geographical hegemony of national government (Centre for Development Enterprise 1997a:23).

Dlamini (2002:66) posit that, apart from this international trend, one can also factor in the issue of 'forced migration in Africa', which is the predicament of civil wars in Angola, The Democratic Republic of the Congo, Somalia and Sudan, this also accounted for large numbers of refugees. This then begs the question, but why South Africa? It emerged according to Crush (2000:105) that the new South Africa had an open door policy towards immigration, a progressive Constitution, respect for human right and laws sympathetic to refugees. Apart from those seeking refuge from these wars, and Murray (2003:445) observes that, other migrants were victims of economic mismanagement from the 'broken economies' of Malawi, Nigeria and Zimbabwe; thus theirs was simply a quest for better economic opportunities. This is supported by Maharaj (2004:3) who compliment that though the majority of African countries have abundant food, however, poverty and unemployment are real issues and South Africa is perceived, relatively speaking as a land of economic promise. This perspective is aligned with

the World Bank which corroborates that apart from Botswana and Namibia, most of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) countries surrounding South Africa are amongst the poorest in the world (World Bank 1999, as cited in Maharaj 2004:6).

Zimitri (2005:16) explains that, in the 1990s; South Africa emerged as a nascent democracy and started attracting huge numbers of international migrants'. Murray (2003:440) agrees that as it attracted huge amount of international capital, it also attracted migrants, mostly African immigrants from the continent. Dlamini (2002:67) weaves in that, most of them were also optimistic that the country's high Gross Domestic Product of \$126 Billion and highly developed economy made it a destination of promise. He further observes that they could easily penetrate the country due to its proximity and the porosity of its borders.

Coincidentally, by early 1991, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) setup offices in South Africa to assist returning South African exiles. In 1993, the South African government signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU), with the UNHCR to address the issue of 320,000 Mozambican refugees who had fled the civil war in the country (UNHCR 2001). When finally, the South African government introduced asylum determination procedures for individual applicants in 1991, applicants started pouring in and this motivated more migrants to enter the country, and most South Africans opened their doors to fellow Africans (Crush & Williams 2002:2). The new government reversed the apartheid era migration policy and granted amnesty to many Africans immigrants wishing to remain in the country (Murray 2003:444).

Valji (2003:7) point out that, subsequently, as the numbers of African immigrants burgeoned, they had to join ordinary South Africans in the informal sector and operate businesses. Assuming that Valji is right one is persuaded to ask 'why the informal sector'? It emerged that The Alien Control Act of 1991 as noted by Peberdy (1998) criminalised any employer /property owner, who either hired or leased property to any individual without South African Identity Document. This made it difficult for African immigrant to secure employment or operate in formal structures and explains their leaning towards informality. This situation was bound to change following the introduction of the new Business Act of 1991.

The liberalisation of the business environment following the enactment of the Business Act No.71 of 1991 by the government paved the way for many traders to operate informal businesses

freely. Valji (2003:7) observes that most of these African immigrants had to compete with host nationals, who themselves were still at the threshold of asserting their rights in the cities of their native land, a right which had been denied them for decades. Valji further points out that as the competition for houses, jobs and businesses became intense; this then was the dawn of conflict between them and some black South Africans. Landau (2004:6) concurs that this tension or xenophobia is partly premised on the rationale that a segment of South Africans population do not comprehend the reasons for African immigrants streaming into the country, as they are mostly perceived as coming to 'steal jobs', 'commit crime', and 'peddle drugs'. These (mis) perceptions are partly the reasons that have contributed towards this repugnance.

To further explain these misperceptions Crush (2000:107) concurs that by 1994 and 1995 the attitude of some South Africans was becoming increasingly antagonistic, and at times resulting in violent attacks and in some cases culminating in the deaths of African immigrants. These deaths led to the Human Science Research Council to conducting a national survey aimed at assessing public attitudes and measuring public perceptions on African immigrants and immigration in 1994. These surveys were aimed at understanding the triggers of xenophobia and they revealed that, South Africans carry strong anti-African immigration sentiment.

Murray (2003:445) observes that despite evidentiary limitations, it is possible to piece together a portrait of the violent anti-African immigrant bigot. He further notes that since 1994, there had been many incidents of African immigrants being called derogatory names such as 'makwerekwere', hawkers protesting against African immigrants and also many cases where African immigrant businesses had been looted or burned. The Sunday Times notes that the first of these incidents took place in July 1994, as it involved hawkers who were protesting against African immigrants who they claim were killing their businesses (Sunday Times, 28/8/94, as cited in Maharaj 2004:7). Since 1994 the African Chamber of Hawkers and Independent Businessmen has campaigned for the expulsion of migrant hawkers, and arranged a number of meetings and marches to stir anti-African immigrant sentiment (Human Right Watch, 1998:5; Maharaj 2001:51). Murray (2003:445) elaborates that, in December 1994, in Alexandra in Johannesburg, self-styled 'concerned residents' launched a campaign to expel families they 'termed' 'illegals' in the community. He further notes that the assault of three African immigrants aboard a train in September 1999 who later died was another shocking incidence.

Valji (2003:6) point out that the police video depicting white police officers training vicious dogs by using Mozambican prisoners as life baits was disgusting. Misago et al, (2009), note that, in August 2006 in Cape Town 30 Somalis were killed due to business competition with locals.

The acme of xenophobic violence as noted by Misago et al., (2009:7-12) was the mayhem of May 11-29, 2008, that led to the death of 62 African immigrants, including 21 South Africans, the rape of 12 women, 670 wounded and the displacement of close to 100, 000 and the loss of millions of Rand worth of property (see image one page 158). The reactions of most South Africans as noted by Dodson (2008:1) was swift, as thousands of all races and all walks of life took to the streets in protest marches reminiscent of the anti-apartheid struggle marches, carrying placates with slogans such as 'join the fight Against Xenophobia', and 'no blacks in the Rainbow nation', referring to Archbishop Tutu's, designation of South Africa as a 'multiracial Rainbow Nation' of Gods' people, (as he apotheosised). The displaced stayed in camps for six months living in tents (see image two page 160).

Misago et al (2009), observe that while the magnitude of the violence presented an opportunity to challenge xenophobia, paradoxically very little was done either to challenge the causes of the violence or to promote the rights of the affected. Equally, as observe by Amisi et al., (2011:70) that the perpetrators were never prosecuted in spite of assurances from the Minister of Justice. Aleambong (2010:16) note that prosecuting the perpetrators would have strengthened the rule of law and acted as jurisprudence and equality for all. These issues cast doubts on the justice system and created uncertainty and insecurity for African immigrants.

This uncertainty re-emerged towards the closing days of the World Cup 2010, when rumours started emerging of another wave of xenophobic attacks. Rumours spreading that all African immigrants in the country must leave by the end of the Final Match of the World Cup, and those who stayed would be killed. Many African immigrants across the country were threatened with genocidal language that those who dared to stay would be killed (Amisi et al., 2011:76). These rumours created panic, and many African immigrants fearing the reoccurrence of the May 2008 attacks were forced to move out of their areas of residence.

The aforementioned chronicle coupled with the humanitarian crises in the post May 2008 mayhem and the collective memory of the incidents called out for action. In the case of Site C,

this call was answered by the formation of the Site C, Action Committee Against Xenophobia (hereafter SACAX), with the vision of seeking a Co-Governance space using deliberative and participatory approaches to challenge xenophobia through employing deliberative approaches of advocacy, awareness, civic education, deliberation, dialogue and mediation to achieve social change. Though this initiative was financed by ‘The Violence Prevention Through Urban Upgrading Project’(hereafter VPUU), the Social Fund Coordinator of VPPU notes that the campaign was wholly a community initiative as it is the vision of VPUU that social crime prevention can be well managed by communities working with citizens and Community Based Organisations<sup>1</sup>, and for Cornwall and Coelho (2007:1) this was a ‘hybrid space’ in that though sponsored by VPUU, it was mediated by Community Based Organisations (hereafter CBOS).

Ackerman (2004:447) complement that spaces where civil society and local government officials share in deliberation on decision making can be termed Co-Governance space. A similar point is made by Cornwall and Coelho (2007:1) who note of an emergent ‘participatory sphere’ beyond the state versus society contrast. This logic is carried further by Chandhoke (2003) who notes that these spaces where there is pluralisation of governance and multiple partners in governance (both private and public companies) are the upshots of neo-liberalism and these new spaces which are animated by CSOs and funded by agents of the state are arguably a paradigmatic shift from the Realist state centric spaces which are initiated, supported and controlled by the state, reminiscent to ‘command and controlled’ structures’ as noted by Baiocchi (2001:43).

## **1.2 Statement of the Problem**

The over-arching problem the thesis attempt to explore is to investigate whether this SACAX campaign achieved its tangible outcomes, and how it went about executing its programmes. The main objective of SACAX was to change perceptions against African immigrants and to prevent the looming xenophobic attacks. SACAX mobilised other CBOs, political and administrative elites, residential civil society (SANCO and Street committees), Youth Groups, Faith Based Organisations, African immigrants, and also refugee CSOs (ARESTA and CTRC), and international NGOs (UNHCR and IOM) to collectively work together in addition to working in a

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<sup>1</sup> Personal communication with VPUU Social Development Fund Coordinator (20<sup>th</sup> June 2012) Civic Centre Cape Town

participatory way with the state and others. “The SACAX program was one driven on principles of engaging the public in deliberative ways to challenge prejudice through popular mobilisation”. By implication then forms of popular mobilisation and public participation initiated and mediated by civil society are at the core of the investigation.

John Gaventa (2004:32) observes that participation or citizen engagement has emerged as an intervention mechanism, and as a form of deepening democracy, as it enables citizens to be better represented in political processes. It has also enhanced citizen empowerment, as citizens are given a voice in public policy decision making which advances equality amongst them. Furthermore, through empowering citizens civil society can deepen democracy by enhancing the capacity for the substantive involvement of citizens in issues affecting them. Campaigns organised by civil society have on many occasions, enabled citizens to be empowered as it created a space for citizens to express themselves on community issues. In this regard, SACAX created space for the rise of an active citizenry. Gaventa (2004:37), states that civil society enables citizens to develop a stronger sense to claim rights and function more effectively in participatory processes. Gaventa and Cornwall (2002) agrees that the deepening of democracy should not be limited to a citizenship which is used for the enjoyment of legal rights and the election of representatives, rather it should encompass an active citizenry which involves the citizens’ ability to collectively mobilise in order to participate in deliberation and decision making on issues that affect them. With this I now turn to the research objective and question.

### **1.3 Objective of the Thesis**

The overall objective of this thesis is to investigate the role civil society and especially community based organisations can play in challenging popular prejudice and deepening democracy in the communities that they live and work through the case-study of SACAX in Site C, Khayelitsha in 2010.

### **1.4 Research Questions**

The overarching research question is: “How did SACAX try to challenge anti-foreigner prejudice in, Khayelitsha Site C in July, 2010 and how successful was it?”

The specific research questions emerging from the main research question are:



- (a) What is SACAX and why was it formed?
- (b) What motivated SACAX in organising the anti-xenophobic campaign?
- (c) What was the nature of the campaign and its main activities around World Cup 2010?
- (d) What did they achieve in terms of changing attitudes and deepening democracy and what were the indicators?

### **1.5 Research Methodology**

The purpose of this section is to provide an outline of the research methodology that was employed in gathering the data on how SACAX challenged xenophobia in Site C. This section according to Dale and Volpe (2008:4) is technically intended to illuminate the fact that the researcher understood the methodological implications of the critical choices he made and in particular that careful thought was given to the links between the study's purpose, research question and the research methods that were selected.

Research Methodology is defined as the analysis of the principles of methods, rules and postulates employed by a discipline; the development of methods; procedures to be applied within a discipline (Webster 1998:67, as cited in Mapuva 2007:52). This section will deal with discussions around the following areas (a) rationale for a qualitative study (b) case study (c) the theoretical population (d) research method (e) research design (f) data analysis and synthesis and ethical issues as well as an overview of the main argument and the structure of the thesis.

The researcher opted for a qualitative research method to gather the data needed. Qualitative research is defined as research which produces descriptive data (Brynard & Hanekon 1997:29 as cited in Mapuva 2007:53). McMillan and Schumacher (2006:315) explain that qualitative research is a form of inquiry in which the researcher collects data in face-to-face situations with selected persons in their settings. The strength of the qualitative approach in the view of Mapuva (2007:53) lies in the fact that it is more thorough and permits for the description of how actions can be evaluated to allow the researcher adopt a well-informed position. It is thanks to this strength that the investigation adopted the qualitative approach so as to ensure a thorough investigation. In terms of epistemology or research paradigm, Dale and Volpe (2008:24) contends that qualitative research is grounded on essentially constructionist philosophical

position, in the sense that it is concerned with how the complexities of the socio-cultural world are experienced, interpreted and understood in a particular point in time.

The preference for qualitative research as noted by Patton (1990) is grounded on the premise that it enable the researcher to examine the social context, by allowing the researcher to enter the world of others and attempt to achieve a holistic rather than reductionist understanding and also implies an emphasis on discovery and description and the objectives are generally focused on extracting and interpreting the meaning and experiences.

The other advantage of qualitative methodology as noted by Denzin and Lincoln (2003) is its emphasis on discovery and description and the objectives are generally focused on extracting and interpreting the meanings of experiences, as contrasted to those of quantitative research where the testing of hypothesis to establish facts and to designate and distinguish relationship between variables is usually the intent. This is particularly relevant in a thesis that, in significant part, is interested in understanding a programme to change popular perceptions. Weiss observes that qualitative research does not only seek to evaluate, but implement as qualitative research does not measure but understand and get a hold of interactions among phenomena (Weiss 2004:94 as cited in Mapuva 2007:53).

Kerlinger categorises qualitative data set into three groups. The first group is interactive interviewing which involves people being ask to verbally describe their experiences of a phenomenon, the second group involves written description, through which participants are requested to give written submissions of their experiences and finally are observations where respondents are requested to submit descriptive observations of verbal and non-verbal behavior (Kerlinger 2003:37, as cited in Mapuva 2007:53). All three methods were used in this study.

The principal force of the qualitative approach is the depth to which explorations are conducted and descriptions written, usually resulting in sufficient details for the researcher to grapple with the issues of the situation (Myer1996:97 as cited in Mapuva 2007:53) as this method permit the researcher to study selected issues, cases, or events in-depth and detail (Patton1987:9). The absence of constraints in data collection categories of analysis contributes to this in-depth analysis and details. Furthermore Layder (1995:11) observes that this depth and details is also evident through direct quotations and careful description of programme situations, events,



people, interactions and observed behaviours. This perspective is carried further by Patton (1987:14) who points out that direct quotations are a basic source of data in qualitative research as they reveal the respondents' level of emotions, the way in which they have organised the world; their thoughts about what is happening and their experiences and perceptions.

However, this approach has its caveats, in that the descriptive and prescriptive nature of qualitative data has yielded to subjectivity in its attempt to give the researchers' viewpoint and analysis (Adler and Adler (2003:27) where they argue that qualitative research methodology involves a personal influence of the researcher in the methods as the researcher emerges as instrument. To address these caveats the researcher utilised data triangulation which incorporates reflections on divergent data sources (interview, surveys, focus groups and documentary analysis) on one study object.

### **1.5.1 Case Study Research**

In keeping with the framework of a qualitative approach, the study was most suited for a case study design (Dale and Volpe 2008:25), and as Yin (1994:16) defined as a "careful method of collecting information or evidence about a certain unit of analysis which may include; individuals, groups, communities, organisations or even a country". As a form of research methodology, the strength of a case study is that it is an intensive description and analysis of a phenomenon, social unit or system bounded by time and place (Miles and Huberman 1994).

There are several case study designs, but the one used in this study is a holistic embedded single-case–design as noted by Yin (2003:42). If one is interested in looking at the same issue, but now intrigued by different decisions made by different stakeholders within the same area, then a holistic case study with embedded units would enable the researcher to explore the case while considering the influence of the various variables and associated attributes on the phenomenon. The ability to look at sub units that are situated within a larger case is powerful when you consider that data can be analysed within the subunits separately (within case analysis) between the different subunits (between case analysis) or across all of the subunits (cross-case analysis) (Yin 2003).

Yin (1981:59) again notes that another reason for the choice of a case study approach as compared to other approaches is that it attempts to examine: (a) a contemporary phenomenon in

its real-life context, especially when (b) the boundaries between phenomenon and context are grey. Yin (2003:9) further note that, a case study approach may be undertaken when a ‘how’ or ‘why’ question is being interrogated about contemporary set of events, over which the investigator has little or no control”. Denzin & Lincoln (1999:436) also point out that, what is important in a case study is what can be learnt from the single case with emphasis on, designing the study to optimize understanding of the case rather than generalisation”. Cases studies are designed to bring out the details from the viewpoint of the participants by using multiple sources of data (Mapuva 2007:59). For this SACAX campaign in Site C, in a community with its own specificities and history, a case study approach is indispensable in that it enabled the researcher to interface with the community, CBOs, political and administrative elites and investigate issues in their setting, thus real life history would be part of the investigation.

### **1.5.2 Theoretical or Target Population**

As mentioned above that a case study approach was selected for this inquiry, the next question that comes to mind is what is the target or theoretical population? Bernstein & Dyer (1992) note that, a theoretical population is the group of objects to which an explanation applies, while Van Dalen (1979:77), refer to it as the target population and defines it as the entire collection of observational units that the researcher is interested in examining. Miles and Huberman (1994:40) agree with this line of thought by pointing out that this is the set of people or entities to which findings are to be generalised, and the population must be spelt out in advance before a sample is taken. Guba and Lincoln (1995:5) weave in further that when identifying a target population for a study, it is instructive that it should consist of people who have the relevant information that the researcher is seeking.

In this regard, the study targeted individuals and organisations that were directly and/ or indirectly connected to the SACAX campaign and also those who are directly concern with relevant African immigrant issues in Site C and other interested stakeholders with vested interests in the community and its issues. Consequently this was a purposely sampling community issues in Site C and other interested stakeholders out of Site C, but with vested interest in the community and its issues. Therefore, this was a purposeful sampling. This approach was used to ensure that the investigation yielded the most information and Silverman (2000) agree that purposeful sampling is typical with case study methodology.

In the course of the investigation as the researcher sought to locate individuals and organisations that were directly linked to the investigation, he was then referred to other individuals and organisations that were either linked to the investigation and or had vested interest in the investigation, a form of snowball sampling strategy (Miles and Huberman 1994). The research focused on firstly on SACAX as a CBO, secondly VPUU the funder of the Co-Governance space thirdly business community and also community elites and other CBOs that were involved in the campaign, as well as CSOs assisting refugees.

A detailed plan was developed that involved surveying 100 businesses in the community, engaging the leadership of SACAX through focus group discussions and interviewing a number of respondents including the Social Fund Coordinator of VPUU project, three community leaders, also delegates from refugee CSOs, political (the former Ward Councillor) and administrative elites (a Community Development Worker), business owners in the community. In total 23 interviews were conducted and are listed in the primary sources section of the references. This then navigate to the research methods that were used in gathering the data.

### **1.5.3 Research Methods**

As mentioned above the gathering of data is the principal focus in this section of the study. Dale & Volpe (2008:28) argues that, since qualitative researchers are concerned about the validity of their communication, and to reduce the likelihood of misinterpretation, various procedures are used in collecting data. Mapuva (2007:61) factor in that, data collection methods are the tools that were employed in the collection of relevant information to address the research questions and they are three primary data collection tools and this will be accompanied by triangulation.

Mixed methods research refers to studies that integrate one or more qualitative and quantitative technique for data collection and or analysis. Cohen et al (2000:112) agrees that, the use of more than one method will provide different sets of data which will in turn ensure the reliability of the research. For Hunt (2007) mix research design involves, research that uses mixed data and uses both deductive and inductive scientific methods and has multiple forms of data collection. Hunt further adds that mixed research method is that in which quantitative data is used for primary phase of a research study and a qualitative data phase for secondary phase of the same research. Hunt further note that a mixed model design on the other hand is a research studies in which

there is mixing of quantitative and qualitative approaches at every level of the research. The study employed the mixed model design for this study as the qualitative methods in the form of in-depth interviews and focus group discussions generated data for the study and quantitative methods were also required as one of the goals of the research to ascertain the levels of change of perceptions following the campaign as statistical description of the reduction of violent attacks, before, during and after the campaign needs to be ascertained. The overall research method used in this study however is mainly qualitative.

Multiple methods were employed in gathering the data, and through this multiple method it enabled the researcher to embark on triangulation. The intention here in the view of Denzin and Lincoln (2000) is specifically to minimise the biases and subjectivity inherent in qualitative research methodology. Triangulation is critical in attempting to obtain an in-depth understanding of the phenomenon under study as this method adds rigour, breadth, and depth to the research and provides supportive evidence of the data obtained (Denzin&Lincoln 2000). Therefore, this study employed a series of data collection methods, firstly comparative literature review, secondly surveys, thirdly interviews (in depth-interviews and focus group discussions) and also informal observations.

Denzin (2005:44) delineates triangulation as the use of different research methods to examine the same phenomenon. The scholarship further adds that there are four different types of triangulation. First is data triangulation which entails gathering data through several sampling strategies, so that slices of data at different times and social situations, as well as on a variety of people are gathered. Secondly, there is investigator triangulation which involves the use of multiple investigators in the field to gather and interpret data. Thirdly, there is theoretical triangulation, which utilises more than one theoretical position in interpreting data. Finally, there is methodological (methods) triangulation: use of more than one method for gathering data. This study employed data and method triangulation. The key methods used in the study were a literature search, surveys, interviews, focus groups and observations.

### *Literature Survey*

The first step in the data collection process was the sourcing of literature from documentary sources. This involved a collection and analysis of available literature on prejudice, xenophobia, democracy, democratic deficit, participation, public participation, civil society, civil society deepening democracy, civil society deepening democracy through participation and new democratic spaces. It also investigated invited and invented spaces in South Africa and also public participation spaces in Local Government in South Africa. The thesis focused on critical analysis of related concepts relevant to the main concepts. This was used to prepare the conceptual framework and make sense of public participation theory and application locally and globally. These were in most cases textually-based and in some cases were available in electronic and physical format. In this light, the desk top research was the principal method employed in gathering data from government publications, books, SACAX documents, journals and newspapers, published and unpublished articles. The sources consulted covered a period from 1980 to 2013 a period of 30 years or so.

### *Surveys*

As a follow-up of the research method noted above surveys were used, and they are defined by Dale and Volpe (2008:29) as questionnaires which sought to tap into personal experiences and shed light on participants' perceptions. The use of surveys then meant the use of quantitative study as this then enhances validity and reliability on the statistical elements of the study on gauging the perceptions of the community on African immigrants. The use of survey is critical as they have a distinctive place in the study's methodological design, in that, firstly, the perceptions of the community can only be gauged through surveys, secondly they can be used to investigate whether the campaign substantively changed the attitudes of the community on African immigrants and whether the change of attitude pre-empted another wave of attacks.

The researcher found out that of the 100 surveys administered, 88 responded to the questionnaires, 48 or 55% were male and 40 or 45% were female. In terms of the age groups, the ages of the participants ranged from 16 to 48 years. 60% of the respondents were mostly youths below the age of 30, while 40% were adults above 30. Of these participants 80% stated that they had been through primary education, while 45% stated that they had been to secondary education

or had been to High school and a further 10% stated that they had Matric while a further 3% stated that they had been to tertiary institutions. The researcher noted the high enthusiasm amongst youths to participate in the study especially female.

Notably the survey is not representative of businesses in Site C, but suggestive of the attitudes only. The surveys included some open-ended questions that sought to gain more insights into personal experiences of the participants, but they have their weaknesses as they cannot be employed in investigating complex social relationship or intricate patterns of interactions (Dale and Volpe 2008:28), this then leads to interviews.

### *Interviews*

Interviews have a unique role in qualitative study, and as Kvale notes that the qualitative research interview is an attempt to understand the world from the subject perspective, to unfold the meaning of people's experiences, to uncover their lived world (Kvale 1996:1 as cited in Dale and Volpe 2008:29). This is further buttressed by Patton (1990:278), who observe that, "qualitative interviewing begins with the assumption that the perspective of other is meaningful, knowable, and able to be made explicit". Dale and Volpe (2008:29) contends that, interviews are essential in that a legitimate way to generate data is to interact with people, such as talking to them as well as listening to them, thereby capturing the meaning of their experiences in their own words, but they have their caveats as not all people are equally supportive, articulate as well as observant, also interviewing requires researcher skills to manage the interviews, also they are not neutral tools of data gathering as they are the results of the interactions between the interviewer and the interviewee and sometimes the context in which these take place matters (Schwandt 1997 as cited in Dale and Volpe 2008:29). In depth interviews emerged as the primary method for data collection in this inquiry, as it has the potential to elicit rich, thick descriptions. It also gives the researcher in the view of Dale and Volpe (2008:29) an opportunity to clarify statements, dig deeper for additional information and also compare and contrast findings. Denzin and Lincoln (2003) explain that it also opens up insights of a person's perspective of the phenomenon and generate more data.

### *Focus Group Discussions*

Focus group discussions emerged as an important source of data collection in this inquiry. Kvale notes that this is a group of discussions focused on a single topic which in this case was the case with the SACAX campaign (Kreuger 1988; as cited in Dale & Volpe 2008:32). It further notes that, the point of focus group is to create a candid conversation that addresses, in depth, the selected topic. Dale and Volpe (2008:32) note that the underlying assumption of focus group is that, within a permissive atmosphere that fosters a range of opinions, a more complete and revealing understanding of the issues will be obtained. In most cases, focus groups are planned and structured, but are also flexible tools. Kreuger and Casey note that focus groups can be used in a variety of ways, some of these fit well with this study's purpose. These are to: (a) elicit a range of feelings, opinions, and ideas; (b) understand differences in perspectives; (c) uncover and provide insights into specific factors that influence opinions; and (d) seek ideas that emerge from the group (Kreuger & Casey 2000; cited in Dale & Volpe 2008:32), but it should be noted that focus groups have their limitations in that, there is the problem of "groupthink" as a possible outcome were most of the members turn to think the same (Fontana and Frey 2003 as cited in Dale and Volpe 2008:32), also the logistical issue of managing the conversation, writing some of the observations as well as tape recording, thus multitasking, all these need strong facilitation skills on the part of the researcher.

#### **1.5.4 Research Design**

Miles and Huberman (1994:40) observe that, research design is the bond that holds the research together, arguably so as it enables the researcher to tie all the key parts of the research project together in order to assist in answering the central research question(s). Creswell (1994:21) point out that, a research design is a series of events that links the procedures for gathering the empirical data to the primary research questions on the one hand, and to the ensuing data collection, analysis and conclusions on the other. It is this design that relates to the practical aspects of how the study is conducted in order to answer the research questions to be addressed.

It is the researchers' contention that a mixed method that is both qualitative and quantitative approach elicited the data necessary to address the proposed research purpose. The use of more than one method to investigate the different perceptions of the SACAX campaign enhances



validity and reliability. Though the overall method is qualitative as the fundamental assumptions and key features that distinguish what it means to proceed from a qualitative stance fit with this research (Dale & Volpe 2008:24) as it facilitates the exploration, comprehension and assessment of the role of participation in challenging prejudice. These include (a) adopting design flexibility, (b) facilitating interactivity between researcher and participants, (c) understanding the processes by which events and actions take place, (d) developing contextual understanding (Dale & Volpe 2008:24).

### **1.5.5 Data Analysis and Synthesis**

Hall & Hall defines data analysis as, the act of transforming data with the aim of extracting useful information and facilitating conclusions, this may entail decoding, presentation and analyses of results (Hall and Hall 1997:193 as cited in Mapuva 2007). They further weave in that data analysis explains how the data has to be presented in sections which bring together the relevant themes and give comparison and if need be, contrasts of informants accounts, encapsulating responses to form a coherent outcome. Dale and Volpe (2008:33) elaborates that whereas analysis splits data apart, synthesis is the process of pulling everything together.

For this study, content analysis otherwise called textual analysis was the approach that was utilised in analysing data, and as observed by Babbie content analysis is “the study of recorded human communication, such as books, web materials, paintings and laws (Babbie 2003:69 as cited in Mapuva 2007)”. This is also corroborated by Lasswell (1992:14), who explains that the core questions of content analysis are “who says what, to whom, why, to what extent and with what effect”. As with most qualitative research, Denzin& Lincoln (2000:15) concurs that content analysis allows for ‘thick description’ in the analysis of data. This is instructive as thick description refers to the giving of comprehensive explanations and discussions based on existing data. They further note that data gathered in a study is presented as raw data, and contain several meanings or could be interpreted in different ways based on one’s understanding, perceptions or context in which the data is collected. Denzin&Lincoln (2000) explains that in research raw data has no meaning until it is analysed. In content analysis, the raw data is analysed, interpreted and finally presented in a descriptive manner to give meaning to the situation in question.



The work of Smit (2010:88) elaborate that this process involved data reduction which entail the selecting, focusing and simplifying and transforming the data in the field notes transcripts and questionnaires. In this regard the writing of a summary of each interview transcript was vital as it helped to identify the themes and the individual differences. Cohen et al (2000:286) concurs and weaves in that it helps in capturing the essence of the phenomenon being studied. The coding process then involves going through every sentence of the interview transcription and each response being coded using descriptive observation. The next phase was to categorise the data to identify differences and similarities, and to reduce the data from questionnaires, similarities in the data were identified, coded and grouped together according to themes.

### **1.5.6 Ethical Considerations**

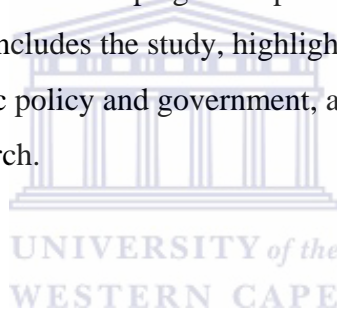
During this research study, ethical issues relating to protection of the participants were of critical importance (Merriam 1998). The researcher, cognisant of this Herculean task, ethically informed all the participants and protected them in this study. The research process involves enlisting voluntary cooperation and its basic premise that participants are informed about the purpose of the study, and consent to participate, what is critical here is to ensure that the participants are protected in the way the information is presented. Though initially, it was anticipated that no serious ethical threats were posed to any of the participants. The study also took steps to ensure the protection and rights of participants. This was achieved in an array of ways; firstly, informed consent was a priority all through the study, secondly, written consent was voluntarily received from participants and also commitment to keep the names and information confidential and efforts were made to protect this information and no other person has access to it.

### **1.6 Overview of argument and structure of the thesis**

The overall argument of this Master's Thesis is that a Community Based Organisation (SACAX) was able to mobilise residents of Site C Khayelitsha into a campaign that engaged the community and changed negative perceptions about African immigrants, at least to some degree. Through building a network across state and civil society in the area, including national and international actors, SACAX also constructed the beginnings of an infrastructure that serves as an early warning system and an agency to deliver future programmes. To the extent that, this infrastructure is inclusive of major players in the area, is situated across traditional state and

society divides and affirms democratic values, especially direct citizen involvement in its campaigns, it resembles a site of co-governance or ‘participatory sphere’.

The thesis develops this central argument in a structure which has been divided into five parts. The first chapter examines the background to the study; it highlights the research problem, and spells out the research objective and research question(s). The second part of the chapter examines the research methodology that was employed to gather the data which is qualitative using a case study research. Chapter Two documents the main concepts of the study which are prejudice, xenophobia, democracy, democratic deficit, models of civil society deepening democracy through participation, the concept of civil society, participation and public participation, new democratic arenas and local governance and participatory spaces. Chapter Three examines what SACAX did in terms of changing perceptions on African immigrants. Chapter Four examines the impact of the campaign as it presents the main themes that emerged from the research. Chapter Five concludes the study, highlighting the significance it also brings out the recommendations for public policy and government, and also the limitations as well as recommendations for further research.



## **Chapter Two: Literature Review**

The focus of this thesis is on civil society mobilisation, engagement with citizens and building a coalition of networks with the state and other non –state actors as a form of public participation in local governance or Co-Governance in challenging prejudice against African immigrants living and or working in Site C, Khayelitsha. This chapter will conceptualise prejudice, define xenophobia and also distinguish between xenophobic attitude and xenophobic violence. It will also examine the concept of democracy and the global deficit in democracy then move further to exploring the different models that democracy can be deepened. It will further examine civil society and the different typologies of civil society and investigate the different ways civil society can deepen democracy and how democracy can be deepened through civil society and public participation. It will be examining participation and public participation practices in South African local government, such as examining local government practice of public participation through invited and invented spaces and also identifying some of the caveats.

The aforementioned then forms the conceptual framework of the study which Miles & Huberman (1994:18) opine as the main concepts to be studied -the key factors, concepts, or variables- and the presumed relationships among them. Maxwell (1998:223) concurs and weaves in that, the conceptual framework for a study is something that is constructed not found. It incorporates pieces that are borrowed from elsewhere, but the structure, the overall coherence, is something that the researcher built, not something that already exists. With this, I now turn to prejudice.

### **2.1 The Concept of Prejudice**

The work of Farley (2000:18) observes that prejudice refers to a positive or a negative attitude or belief towards certain people based on their membership in a particular group. The work further notes that the root word of prejudice is ‘pre-judge’. It is a set of attitudes which causes, supports or justifies discrimination. Prejudice refers to a tendency to over ‘categorise’. The insights of Peberdy and Mazibuko (2011:5) hold that prejudice against migrants should be seen as an upshot of globalisation as it is akin to other acts of intolerance like the hatred for Lesbians, Bi-sexual, Gays and Trans sexual,(LBGT) also hatred for Muslims (Islamophobia), and hatred for Jews (Anti-Semitism). Harris (2002:2) further illuminates that it is this prejudice against migrants

which is known in popular culture (newspapers, magazines, documentaries etc) as xenophobia, but what then is xenophobia?

### **2.1.1 Unpacking xenophobia**

De Master et al., (2000:425) note that the word xenophobia is derived from the Greek word (Phobos) for fear and (xenos) of strange and foreign. Writing from a South African perspective, Harris (2002:2) agrees with the above definition and weaves in that in the case of South Africa, the definition goes beyond hatred; fear of foreigners and of their culture or of their politics as it represents a far deeper implication, as he argues that ‘xenophobia represents a deep fear, deep dislike of the unknown’. They further explains that ‘it’s an activity; it’s a violent practice that causes serious bodily harm and huge damage and in some cases kills the victim’. He further adds that, this fear and dislike seems to have translated itself into intense tension and violence by some South Africans towards African immigrants, but how can xenophobia be explained

### **2.1.2 Explanations of Xenophobia in South Africa**

There are several explanations for xenophobia in South Africa in the existing literature. The first theory is that of relative deprivation which the work of Gurr (1970) argue that economic want and poor living conditions rouse feelings of resentment which more often than not may lead to protest and hatred like xenophobia. The point here as elaborated by Morris (2003) that during the liberation struggle many South Africans were very optimistic that the collapse of apartheid would usher in an era of better life for all, but this was not to be, as the end of apartheid ushered in growing inequality, high levels of unemployment and high levels of poverty still continue to persist. These failures created frustration amongst many South Africans. These frustrations might partly be blamed for the violence against African immigrants, as others argued that if African immigrants never came there would have enough jobs for everyone (Tshitereke 1999). Relative deprivation is also intertwined with the view by many that there is a huge gap between their legitimate expectations and present realities which some South Africans experience on a daily basis (Schaefer 2008:26 as cited in Charman and Piper 2012:85).

Relative deprivation can further be linked to scapegoat theory which Morris (2003) posits that through scapegoating South African citizens tended to blame African immigrants for all the societal ills such as unemployment, crime; HIV/AIDs and drugs. Through this, they argued that

some of the major challenges the country is facing was due to the sudden coming of African immigrants. The next hypothesis is isolationism; which Morris again argues that during apartheid the country was isolated and the coming of African immigrants with the end of apartheid was so sudden and might have contributed to xenophobia. This Morris explains that, since South Africans were not used to foreign visitors they found African immigrants too strange, and reacted with fear and loathing.

The other hypothesis is 'biocultural' which is also linked to the strangeness, which places African immigrants in a position of otherness where South Africans perceived them as visibly different. Neocosmos (2006) agrees with the above argument and further links these xenophobic attitudes to nationalism and nation building which connects it to a shift from emancipatory nationalism to a 'nativist' state based nationalism and the frustration of the poor blacks majority in peripheral or political exclusion. Harris (2002:7) thesis of apartheid/post-apartheid transitional period which most South Africans expected a drastic change in their lives as noted earlier, rather the emergence of these African immigrants and they were in most social institutions such as the media they were painted negatively and labelling them with derogatory names as it was difficult to position them within the new political discourse. Others like Landau (2011:2-10) offers a state driven history of decades of discursive and institutional attempts to control political and physical in the country and cities drawing a distinction between privileged insiders and demonic outsiders, the former being South Africans and the latter being African immigrants

The work of Matshine (2011) on the socio-emotional or phobogenic effect on how Africans had become a stimulant of anxiety to other Africans, as he doubts on why Africans should be afraid of other Africans, and describing their physical looks as being strange thus attacking them.

Steinberg (2008:1) points to the issue of local power where politics is consumed by struggle for state patronage and local politicians are more involved in claiming and protecting their political power and territory rather than working for their constituencies and assisting the communities.

These theories and other explanations have contributed to understanding the attacks against African immigrants. However, they also alert us to the possibility that xenophobia may conceal as much as it reveals in that there is more than one reason for prejudice against these migrants. To this end, the thesis explores the different types of xenophobia evident in South Africa.

### 2.1.3 Typologies of Xenophobia in South Africa

The death of African immigrants in most of the xenophobic attacks (Harris 2002:2) and especially the pogroming of May 2008, led to scholars opining that xenophobia in South Africa has different dimensions and Misago et al., (2009:2) agrees. Xenophobia has manifested itself in a continuum of ways, and the most common form as observed by Harris (2002:9) is the hate speech and the verbal attacks such as linking African immigrants with derogatory names such as 'makwerekwere' or 'quirigamba', 'illegal alien', 'illegal criminal' etc.

Secondly, there are also the isolated attacks on African immigrants and the attacks on their businesses. Misago et al., (2009) agrees that most of these forms of attacks are geared towards sending a message to the African immigrants as a means of scaring them that they are not needed in the communities that they work and or live.

Finally there is the xenophobic violence which is the nationwide escalation of xenophobic violence which is associated to the overt attack on African immigrants such as that which took place in May 2008, when there was a nationwide attack on African immigrants and as noted earlier killing many and displacing hundreds of thousands of African immigrants.

The critical contribution of this section of the study is to shed light on the issue that though research shows that many South Africans are actually xenophobic or anti- African immigrants in their attitudes (Crush 2000:107), but very few are ready to resort to violence. This then draws a clear distinction between xenophobic attitudes and xenophobic violence. The oncoming paragraph draws that distinction saliently.

Charman and Piper (2012b:84) make this distinctions as they note that though in South Africa xenophobic attitude is widespread and Afrikaans speaking South Africans are higher than any other language group in their hatred for African immigrants, and also in terms of political parties, empirical evidence also reveals that Democratic Alliance supporters are also more xenophobic than members of the ANC. Drawing from Afrobarometer 2012, they further elaborates that most of the wards in which violence broke out during the May 2008 xenophobic violence were not Afrikaans/DA wards rather they were mostly urban Blacks, areas/wards of ANC supporters, and predominantly urban informal settlements and also driven by men (Afrobarometer 2012, as cited in Charman and Piper 2012:84).

This analysis leads to the understanding that explaining xenophobic attitude and xenophobic violence are two separate activities, as both stands at variance in that a xenophobic attitude cannot be easily operationalise or measured and does not necessarily translate to xenophobic violence. Furthermore it does not physically harm individuals though it may psychologically traumatise the victim. On the contrary, xenophobic violence actually leads to the attack and sometimes the death of the victims. Thus, in spite of the hatred against African immigrants', campaigns like the Co-Governance deliberative and participatory space created by SACAX to create awareness and teach civic education in the community can pre-empt the translation of xenophobic attitudes into xenophobic violence. In spite the fact that individuals may continue to harbour xenophobic attitudes. At this juncture, the question that comes to mine is whether they are any national and international conventions protecting refugees in South Africa and if so why is the violence so prevalent? These are the two key questions that the study now turns to answer.

Valji (2003:1) contends that in terms of the South African Constitution of 1996 specifically Section 232 which states that 'customary law is law in the Republic except it goes against the Constitution or Act of Parliament' (RSA 1996), and since South Africa had by 1996 ratified the 1951 Geneva Convention and 1969 OAU Convention relating to the status of refugees, and hence these instruments are therefore obligatory in South Africa as they are not inconsistent with the Constitution and furthermore, Article 12 of the Constitution talks about '*everyone*' living within the boundaries of the country, having the same rights as South Africans except civic and political rights such as the right to vote and to be voted. This therefore is a *de facto* and *de jure* recognition of protection and therefore there is *prima facie* case against anyone who attacks or assaults African immigrants living in the country legally or illegally.

Crush (2001) opine that these rights are not being enjoyed by African immigrants in practice vis- a-vis what has been legislated and McKnight (2008:28) concurs that extensive gaps exists between refugee law in theory and its practice in South Africa and this unfortunately results in many refugees not experiencing the rights and protection guaranteed them. Crush (2001:17) notes that the Bill of Rights and the Freedom Charter all argues on the inclusiveness of the country and the respect of human rights for all. This is also supported by the Municipal Structures Act of 1998, which envisages a democratic and developmental local government, in which the various municipalities work for all those who live in the community without any



exclusion whether national or non-national. This argument is further buttressed by the Refugee Act of 1998 which extends rights to refugees as part of their enjoyment of full legal protection, coupled with the rights enshrined in the Bill of Rights (CASE 2001:56 as cited in Hlobo 2004:31). These analyses then lead to international law.

The work of Palmery (2002:3) posits that in terms of International Law, the South African government is supposed to protect the refugees under the UNHCR Convention of 1951 which South Africa signed a MOU with it in 1993. The insightful account of Katz (2005) reveals that UNHCR was given responsibility for giving effect to article 14 (1) of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948, which gives every individual the right to seek asylum from persecution and the 1967 UNs Declaration on Territorial Asylum which also provides for safeguards. In 1995 South Africa became a party to the 1951 convention relating to the status of refugees, its protocol of 1967, and the 1967 Organisation of African Unity Convention Governing the specific Aspects of Refugees Problems in Africa. All these treaties and protocols went a long way to commit South Africa to refugee issues.

According to Palmery (2002), by opting for urban refugees as opposed to camp based refugees, the South African government had envisaged a scenario where refugees and South Africans would be living in the various urban spaces side by side thus enjoying the same human and economic rights as citizens. The question that comes to mind is, why are African immigrants not enjoying these rights as stated in the Constitution, the Bill of Rights, the Freedom Charter and the Refugee Act of 1998? McKnight (2008:28) point out that extensive gap exist between refugee law in theory and its practice in South Africa and this unfortunately results in many refugees not experiencing the rights and protection guaranteed them. The investigation will then navigate towards exploring the concept of democracy, as the study argues that the inclusion of citizens in decision making and the instilling of democratic cultures and tolerant attitudes can work towards changing mindsets and therefore bringing about social change.

## **2.2 Unpacking Democracy**

As noted in the title of the thesis, one of the core concepts that need to be unpacked in this Master's Thesis is participation. In this light, since participation has its roots in democracy, it will be instructive to commence by unpacking democracy. Scholte (2001:7) observes that



democracy has known many meanings and instruments in different times and places. Ancient Athenian democracy was one thing, while modern liberal democracy is quite another. Representative democracy is one approach, while deliberative democracy is quite another. National democracy is one construction, while cosmopolitan democracy is quite another.

Despite this variation, Scholte (2001:1) further notes that, a common thread runs through all concepts of democracy: it is a condition where a community of people exercise collective self-determination, through which members of a given public “a demos” take decisions that shape their destiny jointly, with equal rights and opportunities of participation, and without arbitrarily imposed constraints on debate.

The scholarship of Castiglione & Warren (2006:4) corroborates that “democracy is a situation where every individual potentially affected by a decision should have an equal opportunity to influence the decision. Similarly for Dahl every individual potentially affected by a decision should be have an equal opportunity to influence that specific decision, (Dahl1957; as cited in Piper 2011) and Dryzek (2000:1) agrees, and weaves in that the essence of democracy itself is now widely taken to be deliberation, as opposed to voting, interest aggregation, constitutional rights, or even self-government. The deliberative turn represents a renewed concern with the authenticity of democracy: the degree to which democratic control is substantive rather than symbolic and engaged by competent citizens.

The work of Calland (1999:61) point out that there are two types of democracies, namely direct democracy and indirect (representative) democracy. Firstly, direct democracy is based on the premise that the people assemble and every citizen is directly involved in every government decision, this may take the form of voting in election or referendum. Secondly, he again note that there is representative (or parliamentary) democracy which Calland (1999:62) further notes that elected representatives must represent the views of the people, who in this case are the electorate- and “representation is delineated as limited mandate where the representative is empowered to speak or vote reflecting the views of the constituency. For Carrim (2001:107), he notes that the system of representative democracy tends to normalise intra-group differences in the interest of manageability. This political system therefore makes it difficult to find effective ways for the public voice to be heard and to give them freedom of expression of their own varied interests despite their differences.

The scholarship of Briand (2007:5) opines that in an indirect or representative democracy, those elected are accountable to the electorate, who in most cases are those citizens who voted them. He further adds that, what this then means is that, whether they are members of local, regional, or national legislative bodies, elected representatives have a duty to hear and heed to the fullest extent possible the concerns of all members of the public. This then ushers in the need for participatory democracy, and this is imbibed in the South African Constitution.

The South African Constitution (Section 59) (1) (a) (72) (1) (a) and 118(1) (a) asserts the need for the realisation of a participatory democracy, yet the *raison d'être* goes further than the Constitution. It is vital not to underestimate the burgeoning crisis in other pluralist, liberal democracies throughout the past century 'where declining voting levels, lack of real political choice, and rise of shadow security governments and decay in popular reliance in the electoral process have prompted the need for renewing public participation as it can revive political life' (Calland 1999:62). Calland further observe that, public participation processes strengthen institutions of representative democracy, democratising those institutions, through which democracy is deepened in terms of substantive inclusion as well as its quality.

The principal contribution of this segment of the thesis in the whole debate of civil society mobilisation in challenging prejudice through participation or through the acts of deepening democracy is that the inclusion of citizens in decision making processes, in debates, policy spaces and they participating actively will instill a democratic culture in the community whereby community challenges can be resolved through democratic means, such as deliberation as well as participation rather than abandoning citizens to resort to their own devices. It is the absence of this inclusion of citizens and the absence of deliberative approaches that many democratic theorists refer to as democratic deficit as this variable is the next challenge.

### **2.2.1 The Concept of Democratic Deficit**

As noted earlier, democracy implies some version of the inclusion of citizens in decision making, deliberation and also participation. However, is there evidence supporting this claim of an inclusive society where every citizen is given a voice to participate actively in decisions that affect them? Empirical evidence both in the North and South suggest that the answer is no (Gaventa 2006). This then leads to a critical question in the investigation as to what then

constitute democratic deficit. The work of John Dryzek (2000) explain that it is the absence of the substantive inclusion of more people as well as the spread of democratic values to more people in many societies in many parts of the world.

John Gaventa (2006:8) observes that most of the literature on democracy, has emphasised the rise and spread of democracy, and many scholars agree with this perspective arguing that there are clear indications that democracy has spread more than ever before in the twentieth century, and the figures speak for themselves, stating that of the 192 countries in the World, 120 are electoral democracies, and 85 were full democracies: which he notes as countries were firstly, there is the respect for the rule of law or the existence of an independent judiciary, secondly, there is the respect for first generations rights which are civil and political rights, such as the rights to vote and as well as the right to run for political office. These huge extensions of democratic rights then led to Freedom House (1999:2) concurring with these advances, as they declared the twentieth Century as the Democratic Century.

Gaventa (2006:8-9) further explains that the abovementioned optimism was not shared by many as others argued that in spite of the acclaimed spread, democracy is faced with huge deficits in terms of quality, as it is argued that it is not about the spread as this extension might not improve on the lives of ordinary citizens. Hence the democratic challenge now is about deepening its quality as well as its meaning in ways appropriate to the settings in which it is found.

Gaventa (2006:9) again notes that this is arguably so as both in the North and in the South there are signs that democracy is facing crisis. In the North there is scholarship that discusses the growing deficit, this work sites instances where there is 'hollowing out' of politics, and the gradual takeover of political processes by special interests. The scholarship further shows patterns of declining interest in politics.

The work of Clarke (2002) concurs with Gaventa and further accentuates that the first evidence is the effort of the Labour Party to call for new forms of 'active citizenship' and 'new localism' that would revive democracy. Paradoxically, this call by the Labour Party was never heeded to by the Britons, and this was a setback to the Labour Party as well as it was indicative that they were not interested, as it later emerged that people were frustrated with the political processes.

Similarly, in the United States, Skocpal (2003:11) warns of the emergence of diminished democracy, in which public involvement or citizens engagement has lost its link to political life and political engagement has become more the domain of professional associations. She further adds that twenty first century Americans live in a diminished democracy and much less participatory manner and oligarchic world dominated by Major Corporations.

Understanding democracy from the de Tocquevillean (1988:116) perspective in which he note is about its associational character and collective life, and for Putnam (2000) contemporary America lacks social capital as people 'bowl alone' instead of participating in community and public affairs. This view is consistent with Crenson and Ginsberg (2002), who concurs that there was downsising of democracy, in which collective action by citizens has given way to narrow interest groups, and citizen were treated like customers who communicate to elites through opinion polls and electronic market research processes, rather than mobilising and participating in issues affecting their lives.

As the concerns in the North on the quality and substantive character of democracy continue, in the South the concerns are more on whether the democratic institutions that were replicated from the Northern experience or Western democracies are appropriate to the realities in the South. The key challenges emerging here are whether democracy will deliver on the problems of extreme poverty, growing inequality and social justice (Gaventa 2006:9-10). The scholarship further notes that this is so as in most of Latin America, though most of the countries are democracies, but there are still high levels of poverty, and inequality still remain real issues. This point is echoed by the United Nation Development Report that observes that democracy has not been able to address the economic challenges facing the region (UNDP 2004).

In the case of Africa, the work of Abrahamson (2000:xiv), explains that democratic states are trapped between the demands of external donors for economic liberalisation on the one hand and the needs of political majorities on the other, challenges which in most cases are not compatible. A World Bank study as noted by Narayan et al (2000) revealed widespread distrust by the poor of institutions that affect their lives especially those of the state, due to high levels of corruption and unaccountability and lack of responsiveness.

The work of Lukham et al (2000:22-23) observe that, they are four broad types of democratic deficits. The first is the hollow citizenship, which is a situation where the citizens do not enjoy equal rights and entitlement. Secondly there is lack of vertical accountability, which is the inability of citizens to hold government and political elites to account for their use of power. Thirdly, there is also weak horizontal accountability in which potentially tyrannical executives manipulate checks and balances through patronage, corruption and stifling of dissent. Finally, there is the international accountability dilemma which involves the shrinking policy space of national government and their citizens due to the decision making power of global markets, multinationals firms and international bodies. What these findings reveal according to Gaventa (2006) is that both in the North and South there is empirical evidence to argue that since the end of the Cold War there had been attempts towards the substantive spread of democracy and improvements in its quality, but these efforts have not touched the lives of many. Bearing this in mind, there is the need for different models of deepening democracy, so as to ensure that it reaches more people and it benefits touches the lives of many citizens and more intrinsic issues are brought to the fore for debates.

In relation to this thesis, the notion of democratic deficit can be applied to the inability to include community members in decision making processes, to be politically conscious and also the absence of awareness programs as well as the lack of civic education contributed to the xenophobic attitudes and xenophobic attacks. This view is implicitly shared by the South African government as the state has proposed through Article 29 (2) (e) of the Immigration Act of 2002 that the Department of Home Affairs (hereafter DHA) working in tandem, with civil society to organise campaigns to enlighten communities on the presence of African immigrants in the country, so as to pre-empt the eruption of xenophobia. But this has never been done by the DHA, and instead SACAX leaders were the ones who conducted these campaigns to educate the community and ensure that they decrease from such attacks and also to decrease the levels of violence. This campaign enabled the substantive inclusion of the citizenry in decision making around this specific issues in Site C, Khayelitsha. The focus of the investigation will now shifts to the different models of deepening democracy.

### **2.2.2 The Different Models of Deepening Democracy**

The democratic deficits noted above, then necessitated efforts by scholars to investigate the possible ways that democracy can be deepened. For John Gaventa (2007:x), deepening democracy is the project of ‘designing and sustaining more substantive and empowered citizen participation in the political process as that which is currently found in liberal representative democracy alone’. The caveat of this definition is that it does not bring to the fore what that deepening thus means, and this then raises more questions than answers which then leads to the work of John Dryzek (2000:29), who weaves in that the deepening of democracy is not the spread of liberal democracy to ever more corners of the world as noted by Gaventa, but rather extensions along any one of three dimensions. The first is franchise: expansion of the number of people capable of participating effectively in collective decision. The second is scope; bringing more issues and areas of life potentially under democratic control. The third is the authenticity of control, to be real rather than symbolic, involving the effective participation of autonomous and competent actors. In spite of the definition of Dryzek being explicit, it fails to bring out its benefit to the citizenry in terms of social justice, this then navigates the study to the work of Iris Marion Young (2000:21-26), who buttresses the definition by bringing in a social justice perspective as she observed that the deepening of democracy is where collective actors not only express preferences and interests but also engage with each other on how to balance these in the context of inclusive equality.

If there is one thread that runs through all these definitions is the substantive participation or inclusion of citizens in the political process. Assuming that all these scholars, Dryzek, Gaventa, and Young are right in their conceptualisation of deepening democracy, the next question then hinges on what are the various models by which democracy can be deepened?

There are two strands to this discourse. The first strand is addressed by the work of John Gaventa (2006:14) who elaborates that firstly, a vibrant or a robust civil society can act as a watchdog by holding governments to account by ensuring that through the building and strengthening of institutions such as competitive elections, independent judiciary and strong legislature. This is the top-down approach, while the second strand argues on the project of civil society working directly with citizens in deepening democracy, otherwise referred to as the bottom-up approach.



Secondly, a robust civil society can serve as an additional check and balance on government behaviour through mobilising claims, it can also advocate for special interest, in some cases it can play a watchdog role against the excesses of powers of the government and also playing a countervailing role. This then elucidates what Gaventa (2006) notes that an independent civil society can hold the government to account.

Thomas Carothers (1999:88) note that democracy promoters often argue on the need for good electoral processes, the need for fair elections, strong national parties, and for state institution, he noted the need for democratic constitutions, independent and effective judiciary, rule of law, competent representatives' legislature, responsive local government, and pro-democratic military. And for civil society, he stressed the need for active advocacy NGOs, politically educated citizenry, strong independent media, and strong and independent unions. He further adds that from the top-down he emphasised on the 'supply side' (institutions) are strengthened while from bottom up he argued on the 'demand side' (civil society).

The other strand of the discourse is associated with the developmental approach, which elaborates the activities of civil society working directly with citizens in deepening democracy. This is understood by Ackerman (2004:447) as the best approach as he suggest that this is tapping into the energy of society through Co-Governance which involves inviting social actors to participate in the core activities of the state. He further notes that citizens should play a direct role in public choices or engage deeply with substantive political issues. He argues that, this is preferable to the 'exit solutions' based on the market place theories of the state or the 'voice' solution grounded in 'co-production', social protest, or consultation. This strand of thought is consistent with Cohen and Fung (2004) who point out that citizens should have direct roles on public choices or at least engage more deeply with substantive political issues and be assured that officials will be responsible to their concerns and judgments.

The above explanations then lead to our understanding that civil society groups like SACAX can play a critical role in the deepening of democracy, therefore, contributing to the general discourse of civil society challenging prejudice and to illuminate the notion that there are different models of deepening democracy and it concurs that civil society can play various roles. All of which may help deepen democracy. The discourse is carried further by the view of Diamond (1993), who observes that the deepening of democracy hinges around the participation

of citizens in civil society and political system. This discursively links the deepening of democracy with citizenship and inclusion and it the study now turns to what is civil society.

### **2.3 Conceptualisation of Civil Society**

The concept of civil society arose with the writings of John Locke and it implied a defense of human society at the national level against the power of the state and inequalities of the market place (Comarolf 1993:3). John Locke suggested that there would be chaos in the absence of a regulatory body to check the government whose responsibility is to provide efficient services and security for the people. According to Locke, civil society is that part of civilisation- from family and the church to cultural life and education that was outside the realm of the control of the government or market but they increasingly marginalised. He saw the importance of social movements to protect the public space from these commercial and government interest ([www.eff.org/Activism/global-civil-soc.network.papaer](http://www.eff.org/Activism/global-civil-soc.network.papaer)). This strand of thought is congruent with the London School of Economics Centre for Civil Society that delineates civil society as: the arena of uncoerced collective action around shared interest, purpose and values ([www.London school of Economic Centre for Civil Society](http://www.London school of Economic Centre for Civil Society)) accessed 2012. In theory, its institutional forms are distinct from those of the state, family and market though in practice, the boundaries between state, civil society, family and market are often complex, blurred and negotiated. Civil society commonly embraces a diversity of spaces, actors and institutional forms varying in their degree of formality, autonomy and power.

Civil society are often populated by organisations such as registered charities, development non-governmental organisations, community groups, women's organisations, faith based organisations professional associations, trade unions, self-help groups, social movements, business associations, coalitions and advocacy groups. Jan Scholte (2001:6) agrees with the above scholarship and adds that civil society refers to a political space where voluntary associations explicitly seek to shape the rules (in terms of specific policies, wider norms and deeper social structures) that govern one or the other aspect of social life.

Writing from a South African perspective, Habib & Kotze (2005:672) concurs that civil society is the organised expression of various interests operating in the triangular space between the family, state and the market. As mentioned above, there are several definitions of civil society,



however most scholars are unanimous according to White (2004:10) that it is an intermediate associational realm between state and family and more often than not populated by voluntarily constituted organisations which are separate from the state and enjoy autonomy in relation to it. These include international organisations, faith based organisations, formal and informal non-governmental organisations and Community Based Organisations as well as Trade Unions and Social Movements such as the TAC and the Anti-Privatisation forum.

The contribution of this section to this Master's Thesis is to specifically point out that civil society can play an active role in rallying community members, building coalitions and networks with other public and private organisations and also governance structures with national and international NGOs working with refugees in challenging xenophobia. In this lens therefore SACAX qualifies as CSO. The study will now shift its focus to the typologies of CSOs.

### **2.3.1 Types of Civil Society Organisations**

The work of Houtzager and Lavallo (2010:14) on civil society in Sao Paulo, Brazil revealed that they are different types of civil society. The scholarship further revealed that there are five different types of civil societies and in slum and informal areas, these organisations are extremely diverse and in most cases these organisations are not membership based.

The five groups of civil societies include associations, co-ordinators, advocacy NGOs, service-not-for profit, and others that do not fit within the four categories. The scholarship further divided civil society into two typologies based on the activities they perform. The first categories as noted by Houtzager & Lavallo (2010:14) are those involve in service delivery to individuals, representations of groups or organisations in relations to the state, defining problems as public issues and influencing policy debates etc. The second group is the nature of the organisations' relations to their stated members/ beneficiaries, which may be individuals or members of other organisations: the community, target group or population or other.

The work of Lavallo et al., (2005) first of these groups are the associations which are made up of a variety of local and territorially based actors that have either direct members or work on behalf a territorially defined community. In the case of South Africa, this may be the South African civic Organisation (SANCO).

The scholarship further notes that Coordinators are social actors who bring together other collective actors or represents the interest of issue based imagined communities at local, state or provincial or national level. They coordinate debate and action amongst member organisations and mediate relations with the state, Mohamed (2009:47) notes that in South Africa organisations such as the former non-governmental organisation (NGO) People's Dialogue, and presently the Slump Dwellers International can be seen as good examples of CSOs operating as Coordinators. This then enables the study to move forward to examining advocacy NGOs.

Apart from Coordinators, there are also advocacy NGOs which have as their core function, the transformation of social issues into public issues and campaigning around these issues to influence public policy or private behaviour, be it at local provincial, national or transnational level (Mohamed 2009:48). The relation of these organisations and the beneficiaries as noted by Houtzager & Lavallo (2010:14) is that of a target group where there is often no direct contact as well as no formal membership.

The next groups as observed by Houtzager and Lavallo (2010:15) are the service for non-profit which has as their primary task the provision of services to the individual client. These may include the provision of services as charity or as an effort to empower disadvantaged individuals. These may include actors who provide professional training or employment counselling, food for homeless, medical care, and shelter for battered or abused women. Many of these groups in Sao Polo have religious roots and deliver most of these services on behalf of the state.

Lavallo et al., (2005) observes that another group of Civil Society are the new social movements, this term is used with reference to the plethora of protest movements that emerged in Western societies in the mid-1960s and which differ significantly from the conventional movements. The work of Buechler (2000) views new social movements as a diverse array of collective actions that has displaced the old social movements of the proletarian revolution. These movements differ from the traditional social movements centred on economic concerns that had previously dominated following Marxist paradigm, such as the labour movement. These movements differ from traditional pressure groups as they don't have members.

The last but not the least group of civil society is what Lavallo et al., (2005) termed others which is a grouping of philanthropic foundations, pastoral organisations of the Catholic Church, and

others such as classic civil society actors as the Lion Club and Rotary clubs. After this examination of the types of civil society organisations, one is tempted to ask the relevance of this section to the debate, it then emerges that it is relevant as there are different types of civil society offering different services.

Prior to concluding on this section, it will be instructive to explore the views of some scholars on this discourse as Houtzager and Lavallo (2010:3) posed the question ‘on what basis can civil society claim the right to representation and what gives them the authority to engage in public decision making and how, and by whom, are they held accountable for their decisions?’ The question is again answered by Houtzager and Lavallo who posits that ‘many of these actors (though not all) are engaged in what is termed ‘assumed’ representation and their constituencies do not authorise their claim to representation nor ensure accountability through any accepted institutional mechanism’. They further add that the mediation role played by the organisation provides access to the public decision making institutions that otherwise would remain inaccessible. The argument further suggest that the actor is playing a *de facto* representative role in its relations with public authority and probably because this role is not derived from a vote or other authorisation by its public, (2) the actors mediating capacity is used in a legitimate manner to make claims in the interest of its public, rather than in the narrow interest of the organisation itself (Houtzager &Lavallo 2010:21). This thesis will now navigate to exploring the role of civil society in the deepening of democracy, as this is one of our core research questions.

### **2.3.2 Civil Society and the Deepening of Democracy**

As elaborated earlier civil society is viewed as the space between the public and private spheres where civic action can take place, therefore, as noted by White (2008:65) civil society is viewed as a pre-condition for democracy, as democracy needs space for various groups to express their opinions on how society and politics should be governed. The existence of the space and its being filled by civil society means there is some measure of democracy in the country.

The second assumption is that civil society will hold governments to account to the law and public expectation of responsible governance. The work of Jenkins and Smith notes that in modern urban society, in particular the capacity of the modern state to represent all community interest is limited and these needs increasingly to be balanced by direct community action

(Jenkins and Smith 2001:8 as cited in Mohamed 2009:50) and Houtzager and Lavallo (2010) notes that the proximity of civil society to the various communities, especially in disadvantaged and marginalised communities then makes their activities very relevant. This then leads to the core of the question as to interrogate what role civil society can play in the deepening of democracy. As examined above, Dryzek (2000) elaborates that the deepening of democracy as threefold. Firstly, that democratic value reaches more people. Secondly ensuring that there is more inclusion in the decision making processes that affect residents' lives and thirdly more issues are brought to the debate, as well as inequality is tackled. In this light, civil society can play a role in each of these three processes.

Ackerman (2004:447) holds that the best way of tapping into the energy of society is through Co-Governance that involves inviting social actors to participate in the core activities of the state. He further notes that citizens should play a direct role in public choices or engage deeply with substantive political issues. He argues again that this is preferable to the 'exit solutions' based on the market place theories of the state or the 'voice' solution grounded in 'co-production', social protest, or consultation. This then leads to effort in exploring the role civil society can play in deepening democracy through participation.

### **2.3.3 Deepening Democracy through participation**

The purpose of this segment of the study is to buttress the argument that an empowered citizenry who is politically conscious can become an empowered citizenry who can easily react against injustice such as xenophobia and uphold social justice through participating in civil society programmes and participatory spaces. In short, the argument is that civil society can deepen democracy and challenge xenophobia through forms of participation. The question that comes to mind is how then can civil society deepen democracy through participation?

Firstly, the work of Mansbridge (1997:423), note that an informed and aware citizen who can participate in democratic life can hold the state to account and exercise their rights and responsibilities efficiently. She further adds that it helps to create and strengthen citizens themselves, increasing their feelings of political efficacy and their political knowledge. This is beneficial as it is assumed that a more informed and efficient citizen will ultimately benefit the

larger society by leading to a citizenry which is clearer about its interest and responsible to the claims of justice and common weal.

This then begs the question posed by Gaventa and Barrett (2010:28), how does one learn or acquire the sense and efficacies of citizenship? Merrifield (2001:5-6) responded by noting that learning citizenship involves knowledge, not just of key facts but also broaden understanding and awareness, attributes, especially the arts of engagement with others and dispositions meanings deeply held values and attitude that buttresses effective citizenship.

Secondly, citizen awareness can lead to further action in that the building of awareness and taking action are often an iterative journey as one step leads to another. Gaventa and Barrett (2010:33) note that through action, awareness is built of oneself as an actor through being that actor one becomes aware and capable of new actions and this actions further leads to further action in that the enhanced citizenship leads to people's ability challenge injustice than previously which in turn changes the environment.

Thirdly, for John Gaventa (2004:32) when ordinary citizens come to interface with state officials and engaging in decision-making has the potential to positively impact on socio-economic barriers and the reduction of poverty and inequality as they now deliberate on equal footing with state officials and are able to raise their concerns and grievances directly.

Fourthly, the emergence of this space in the view of Gaventa (2004) creates an enabling environment for citizens to deliberate on the issues as equals in a public sphere and he further notes that in these spaces decisions are arrived at through reasoned arguments and not through emotions. Farrelly (2004:224) point out that, a key tenet of deliberative democracy is that of authentic deliberation, as an attempt is made to reach a consensus among free and equal participants.

Fifthly, another benefits of this process as noted by Fung (2003) is that participatory spaces open channels of interface between ordinary citizens with bureaucrats which builds an empowered citizen and creates equity as it enables the citizens to engage directly in problem solving activities as they are now able to make their demands directly to state officials.

Sixthly, through these deliberative processes, Gaventa (2004:37) note, citizens are empowered as there is increased civic and political knowledge as civil society helps in building citizen awareness which enables citizens to claim rights and express their opinions.

Additionally, Fiona White (2008:81) observes that, these deliberative and participatory spaces opens doors for participants to deliberate as equals in decision making process and opportunities for all to express their interest and views, in these spaces they participate as equals.

Gaventa (2004:29) further notes that, these empowered citizens now act as “makers and shapers” and no longer the “users and choosers” they used to be. This strand of thought is consistent with Gaventa and Cornwall (2001) who weave in that the deepening of democracy should not be limited to a citizenship which is used for the enjoyment of legal rights and the election of representatives, rather the new wave of citizenry should encompass an active citizenry which entails, the citizens’ ability to collectively mobilise in order to participate in deliberation and decision making on issues that affect them.

To conclude this section, it is worthwhile stating that, involving citizens more directly in decisions that affect them is good for democracy, and as Cornwall and Coelho (2007:4) note that it makes for better citizens, better decisions and better government. In other words engaging citizens in solving problems that affect them working directly with state bureaucrats improves understanding and contributes to the quality and smooth implementation of public policies.

In spite of the overriding successes attributed to the role of civil society in public participation, some caveats are worth noting as the upcoming paragraphs would reveal. Firstly, Mohanty (2010) point out that mobilisation within the state created spaces, more often than not is geared towards realising the agenda of the state, rather than that of the citizens for which it is intended, as some states may outsource some of its task only to CSOs that are viewed as being friendly to state policies and in the long run these organisations can be manipulated by the state.

Secondly, there are also instances where these organisations lost their autonomy as noted by Mohanty (2010), which may be due to their closeness with state agencies, as they contract huge sums of money to deliver services on behalf of the state, this leads to some theorist believing that they had been co-opted by the state and these acts then turn to discredit them as an agency driving the agenda of the state rather than independent and autonomous fighting for the citizens.



Thirdly, Cooke and Kothari (2001) observe that some of these spaces may be subject to abuse, easily captured by elites, and itself become a ‘new tyranny’. With this in mind this thesis then contributes another layer in the thread weaving through the participation and civil society debate, that democracy can be deepened through civil society and participation in spite some caveats, this then leads to the concept of participation.

#### **2.4.1 Conceptualisation of Participation**

The concept of participation has known many meanings and definitions based on the particular context in which it has been employed. In this light therefore, as there are varieties of participation so too are there varieties of definitions. Thus, for a concept like participation, it will be instructive to scout for a definition and a meaning that is aligned with this Master’s Thesis, and also one that will further sharpen our analytical frame, in as much as one that focuses towards the SACAX campaign which raises the three core elements of participation which are firstly participation in debates or deliberation, participation in decision making as well as participation in implementation of the agreements arrived at. It is instructive to follow this trajectory in order to answer the principal research question.

The concept of Participation can be traced and tracked back to early concepts of democracy, as democracy originally referred to the type of government in which the power to rule resided in the people and it refers to the governmental system of the city states of Athens at the times of Pericles (Clapper 1996:52). He further notes that the system enabled all important decisions affecting the citizenry of Athens were made directly by the ekklesia which was the face to face assembly of all the citizens (Clapper 1996:52). The exceptional characteristics of Athenian democracy, also known as participatory democracy, were public control of public decisions and maximum public participation in making the decisions and in holding public office (Brynard 1996:52). Following the recent revival of the concept of public participation, there had been many shifts in the understanding of the construct as there had been shifting rationale for participation within the United Nation (hereafter UN) system (Moser 1989:81 as cited in Mohamed 2009). It will be instructive to examine these various changes. The first is in 1955 when the UN identified community participation as synonymous with community development (Abbott 1996, as cited in Mohamed 2009). Two decades later, this understanding changed when the international labour organisation emphasised that community participation should play a key

role in the provision of basic needs and as a means for increasing efficiency and self-reliance. Moser points out that in most communities' basic needs such as health, water and education etc can only be provided efficiently through the efforts of the general public (Moser 1989 as cited in Mohamed 2009).

Sherry Arnstein (1969) referred to community participation as a categorical term for citizens' power. She further revealed that participation is the redistribution of power that enables the 'have-not' citizens previously excluded from political and economic processes to be deliberately included in the future. In the strength of this definition, participation becomes a strategy by which the have-nots join in determining how information is shared, goals and policies are set, tax resources are allocated, programmes are operated, and benefits such as contracts and patronage are parcelled out. She again adds that participation is the means by which disadvantaged citizens 'can induce significant social reform which enables them to share in the benefits of the affluent society (Arnstein 1969:216). The core argument advanced in this definition is the redistribution of decision-making power to include the marginalised groups in the future and to ensure that they play a meaningful role in determining the shape of their future (1969:216).

Close to two decades following the arguments of Arnstein there was a huge shift in the perception of the constructs of participation in the direction of a process involving disadvantaged communities in the implementation of policies rather than in its formulation. The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) followed in the footsteps of the UN Centre for Human Settlement (UNCHS) -Habitat's Global Report on Human Settlement of 1986 and broadly defined participation as people involvement in certain projects or programmes that are aimed at improving their lives (UNDP 1996 as cited in Mohamed 2009:27). This report raises issues around the importance of participation in housing projects to efficiency, this is indicative that community participation directly benefits the states' agencies responsible for social welfare, planning and housing, because it broadens their resources base in terms of physical, financial, and human dimensions. This strand of thought regards participation as the close engagement of the previously disadvantaged people in the implementation of economic, social and cultural interventions that affect their lives (Imparato and Ruster 2003). Mohamed (2009:27) critiques this form of participation as limiting the involvement of disadvantaged communities to the



implementation of projects that have been decided without their participation. In such as process these communities are denied the right to engage in decision- making at levels that matter.

The above perception then contributed to another shift in the explanation of participation more towards attempts to combine involving disadvantage people in both policy-making as well as implementation. This then saw the dawn of new line of thought, mainly drawn from many definitions from several scholars and international development agencies and this was articulated by the work of Imparato and Ruster (2003: 20) who note that participation is ‘a process in which people, and especially disadvantaged people, influence resource allocation, and policy and programme formulation and implementation’. This designation then argues on the involvement of people at varying levels and degrees of intensity in the identification, timing, planning, design, implementation, evaluation and post implementation stages of development projects (Imparato and Ruster 2003). This scholarship further argues that a dynamic characterisation of the process of participation that emphasises the involvement of the target groups in policy making and resource allocation but also in the implementation and post-implementation stages of the projects. Understanding these definitions one can read that there had been a shift towards involving those previously excluded from the decision making process to be involved in the debates, deliberations as well as implementation and this then ushers another perspective.

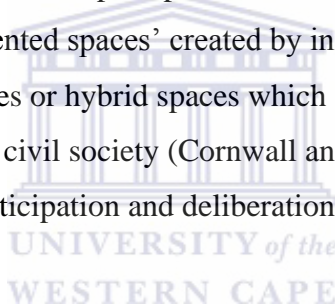
For the French philosopher Lefebvre (1991) participation evokes images of people coming together –in lines, to vote; in circles to deliberate and to plan, in rows, to be consulted in public meetings and so on. He proceeds by pointing out that participation can be thought of as creating spaces where there were previously denied to them. He again notes that the act of participating can be seen as bringing spaces to life as well as carving out new spaces and creating new social forms with their own momentum and impetus. He further notes that spaces for participation can be thought, then, in abstract terms as the ways in which opportunities for engagement might be conceived or perceived, and more concretely, in terms of the actual sites that are entered and animated by citizens. The question that comes to mind is what space is.

## **2.5 The Notion of Space**

The notion of space has gained prominence as observed by Chandhoke (2003) following the rise of neoliberal globalisation and the emphasis from many development agencies arguing on the

inclusion of citizens in decision making or pluralisation of governance. Emerging scholarship on citizenship argues that participation takes place within a specific site. This then ushers in the discourse on space which Gaventa (2006:26) note, is normally employed across the discourse on power, policy, democracy and citizen action to infer to political spaces as those institutional channels, political discourses, social and political practices through which the poor and those organisations working with them can pursue poverty reduction. While some scholarship focuses on policy spaces to examine the moments and opportunities where citizens and policy makers come together, as well as ‘actual observable opportunities’, behaviours, actions and interactions in some cases signifying transformative potential (Gaventa 2006:26).

Elsewhere other scholarship examines ‘democratic spaces’ in which citizens engage to claim citizenship and affect governance processes (Gaventa 2006: 26). There are varied forms of democratic spaces: the closed spaces and open spaces created by the state or otherwise called the ‘invited spaces’ as against the ‘invented spaces’ created by insurgent groups or excluded groups as well as the new democratic spaces or hybrid spaces which are spaces funded by the statutory organs of the state but mediated by civil society (Cornwall and Coelho 2007:1). These spaces then create the playing field for participation and deliberation. The first of these spaces is the closed space.



### **2.5.1 Closed Spaces**

As mentioned earlier, one of the spaces where decisions are taken are the closed spaces. Emerging literature on participation points out that there are several decision making spaces which are still closed and Gaventa (2006) notes that in most of these arenas decisions are made by a set of actors behind closed doors, without any effort aimed at broadening the boundaries for inclusion. He further argues that these are mostly statutory organs or state structures, these spaces are ‘provided’ in the logic that these actors or elites (be they bureaucrats, experts or elected representatives) make decisions and provide services to ‘the poor’, without the need for broader consultation or involvement. He again points out that these actions on their part leads to them marginalising the citizens to mere recipients or consumers of services without their active participation in the decisions that led to their outcome (Gaventa 2006:26). There had been many civil society efforts focused on opening or widening these closed spaces through greater public involvement, transparency or accountability (Gaventa 2006:26). These pressures on the need to

widen or open these spaces has led to the emergence of 'invited spaces'. These new spaces though born out of pressure from both civil society and developmental agencies insisting on the inclusion of citizens in decision making, these spaces had not been broadened enough. Bearing this in mind the investigation now shifts to examining invited spaces.

### **2.5.2 Invited Spaces**

The aforementioned pressures as noted by Chandhoke (2003) which calls for pluralisation of governance which involves multiple partners in governance (both private and public), this then enabled efforts to widen participation to move from closed spaces to 'open ones', new spaces are created which may be referred to as 'invited spaces' (Gaventa 2006:26) with the vision to enable citizens to participate as members of particular community or as citizens of a particular country as against being passive recipients of state services or consumers of state services. This advancement as observed by Gaventa (2006:18) has been read by many experts on citizenship as democratic innovations.

For the expert on 'invited' and 'invented spaces', Andrea Cornwall (2002:7) note that 'invited' spaces are those into which people (as users, as citizens, as beneficiaries) are invited to participate by various kinds of authorities, be they government, supranational agencies or non-governmental organisations. She further notes that a common feature of these spaces is that external resource bearing agents bring them into being and in other cases; visionary bureaucrats assist in creating them. These spaces are then employed by the statutory bodies to project the agenda of the state or political parties, without any effort to ensure that the interest of the citizens is taken into consideration. Von Lieres (2007:1) note that it is the failures of the above mentioned spaces to include the citizens in most cases that have led to citizens claiming spaces which in most cases operate at variants to the state or acting anti-state in an insurgent or reactionary approach. This then leads to the claimed spaces.

### **2.5.3 Claimed Spaces or Invented Spaces**

The pattern of argument around the literature on most invited spaces is situated on the feature of citizens being invited as users and beneficiaries to state spaces, and as observed by Dagnino (2005) without taking into consideration their rights as citizens and more often than not some segments of society read this as exclusion. This sometimes motivates a segment of society to

regard these invited spaces with suspicion compelling them to create alternative spaces, which has enabled the rise of other spaces which are claimed by the less powerful actors otherwise referred to as 'invented spaces'. For Cornwall (2002:7) these 'invented spaces' may emerge organically out of a sets of common concerns or identification, they may come into being as a result of popular mobilisation, such as around identity or issue- based concerns or may consist of spaces in which like-minded people join together in common pursuits. To reinforce this, Miraftab (2009:39) concurred that 'invented' spaces are the collective action of the poor that directly confront the authorities and challenges the status quo and in most cases have received less attention unlike the 'invited' spaces of grass root that have received the support of donors or governments or government agency.

Though of little significance there is also a third space which is spaces where social actors who reject hegemonic spaces and move forward to create spaces for themselves (Soja 1996 as cited in Gaventa 2006:27). This is consistent with the view of Von Lieres (2007:1) who observes that most invented spaces in South Africa are the direct outcomes of the failures of the state to deliver services, as well as failure to include citizens in decision making. She further points out that these grassroots initiatives create new interfaces between marginalised people and the institutions that affect their lives, particularly those of the state. This then navigates to the Subaltern Counter Public which is also another form of claimed spaces.

#### **2.5.4 Subaltern Counter Publics**

The other claimed space is the subaltern counter public. For Fraser (1992:124) who defines, Subaltern Counter Publics as spaces created by marginalised groups who search for greater opportunities for expressing their views through creating their own spaces, these spaces in most cases have a dual character, as they may function as spaces for withdrawal and regroupment and also as abase for training for agitational activities directed towards the general public.

Mansbridge (2000) agrees and further weaves in that some of these spaces may be 'laboratories of self-interest' as they can enable historically excluded groups to build positions, create a politics of engagement and gain greater legitimacy to voice demands within participatory spheres. She further notes that such spaces can come to serve as politics of transformation by giving previously excluded groups the time and opportunity to build their political preferences and express their concerns for themselves. The emergence of these spaces which confronts

public authority on public policy issues has in most cases forced state agents to scout for ways of creating inclusive spaces as there is the fear of possible revolts, thus the creation of hybrid spaces which brings state officials together with citizens in decision making.

### **2.5.5 New Democratic Spaces: the ‘hybrid spaces’**

The increasing exclusion of citizens in decision making has paved the way to a variety of other spaces which are neither invited nor invented. These new spaces have gained prominence in contemporary literature on space. The birth of the hybrid space which Cornwall and Coelho (2007: 1) posit as the ‘new democratic spaces’ are intermediaries situated as they are at the interface between the state and societies; they are also in many respect intermediary spaces conduits for negotiation, influence and exchange. They may be provided and provided for by the state backed in some settings by legal and institutional guarantees into which citizens and their representatives are invited. It further notes that, they may also be seen as spaces conquered by social movements and civil society.

The above scholarship further elaborates that these are spaces which are neither invited nor invented as they are funded by the state or visionary bureaucrats and civil society or social movements are then the main institution coordinating the activities. Assuming that Cornwall and Coelho (2007) are right in their conceptualisation, then the mobilisation campaign by SACAX funded by an agency of the City of Cape Town VPUU fits well with the definition of a hybrid space. The scholarship again notes that these spaces are evident in cases where politicians who are committed to participatory Co-Governance can make it a way to pay political dividends, as politicians and senior bureaucrats can create these spaces to give themselves distinctive public identities as champions or cause of open and accountable government and this was quite evident in the case study in Brazil during the era of the workers party when they employed popular participation to boost the governments’ image in electoral success (Cornwall and Coelho 2007:19-20). The writing of Fox (1996) elaborate that politicians may use these platforms to seek new allies as they provide the funding, the training, the transport and the infrastructure and they may then create, resource these spaces and as such become allies with social movements and civil society, with this the study shifts to the role of networks in this hybrid spaces.

### **2.5.6 The Role of Networks in Co-Governance spaces**

As mentioned above it was noted by Cornwall (2002:7) that Co-Governance spaces are backed in some settings by legal and institutional guarantees into which citizens and their representatives are invited, and in some cases these spaces are conquered by social movements and civil society and are funded by the state or visionary bureaucrats and civil society or social movements are then the main institution coordinating the activities. Therefore, the emergence of a Co-Governance space with multiple stakeholders both from private and public and also national and international non-Governmental actors such as the UNHCR and IOM and all of these groups come with their own networks, but for the campaign to achieve its tangible outcome or its intended objective, these diversified actors and networks needs to be coordinated to avoid the gridlocks or differences in backgrounds becoming obstacles. These then calls for the need for the unpacking of certain concepts: firstly what are networks, secondly how did SACAX employ inclusive and collaborative approaches to achieve their tangible outcome?

Castells delineates networks as a set of interconnected nodes, where one person interacts with two or more persons, and networks seem to contain Social Capital if they are to mobilise resources or beneficial outcomes (Castells 1996: as cited in Baron et al., 2000:19). Networks of civic engagement, such as the SACAX campaign as noted by Putnam et al., (1993:171), refers to it, are relationships between different actors that are an outcome of the norm of generalised reciprocity. Most of the groups involved in the SACAX campaign came together to rally against xenophobia and they were so varied and each group brought its own contribution which worked towards mobilising the entire community to deliberately enlighten the community. Through that process build active citizens who can stand up to challenge prejudice. Mr.Qondela notes that one of the tangible outcomes of the campaign was that participants almost universally accepted what Innes et al., mentioned that as these groups came together they built personal and professional relationships they came to understand each other's' perspective and build considerable trust (Innes et al., 1994 as cited in Booher and Innes 2004:428). Other scholarship argues on the issue of building coalitions with other CSOs and other groups to forester the mobilisation (Connecticut Association of Non Profits Advocacy/Lobbying Toolkit 2003).



The SACAX leadership according to Mr. Nkwenkwezi<sup>2</sup> was quite aware that for this campaign to achieve any tangible outcome they had to work with a broad range of other actors. Thus, the formation of networks was very crucial. This then justifies the need for these groups to work in collaborative processes and this then ushers in the questions as to what are the collaborative processes. Booher and Innes (2004:467) note that these are processes that include all stakeholders and dialogue is at the centre. Booher and Innes (2004) again point out that these networks and coalitions processes seek to address the interest of all parties involved in the campaign and they also allow time for things to be explained and all individuals in attendance, participants, public agencies, powerful private interest, and disadvantaged citizens are treated equally within the discussion, thus the logic of an all-inclusive process, through which SACAX members were ensuring that the community of Site C, actually owns the project.

The SACAX leaders according Mr. Qondela wanted to ensure that through this campaign they ensured that there was firstly, accountability, where they openly informed the community who were the funders and how much money was involved, with the argument that if that is not done some community members may exclude themselves from the project. This accountability and openness ensured transparency and removed any possible obstacles from participation from all segments of the society. Secondly there was also responsiveness which they ensured that they reacted immediately to any call from any community groupings that needed to understand more about the project. Finally these efforts gave the campaign its legitimacy<sup>3</sup>. As explained earlier all participants were given an opportunity to express themselves and this then leads to the transformative power of dialogue.

The work of Robert (2002a) note that when an inclusive sets of citizens can engage in genuine dialogue where all are equally empowered and informed and where they listen and are heard respectively and when they are working on a task of interest to all, following their agendas, everyone is changed. He further notes that they learn new ideas and they often come to recognise that others views are legitimate and they can work through issues and create shared meanings as the possibility of joint action and the transformative power of dialogue. This then lead the investigation into public participation in South Africa Local Government.

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<sup>2</sup> Personal Communication with Nkwenkwezi (March 28<sup>th</sup> 2012) Khayelitsha

<sup>3</sup> Personal Communication with Qondela (August 3<sup>rd</sup> 2012) Khayelitsha

## 2.6 Public Participation in South African Local Government

Following the end apartheid, as observed by Williams (2003:2), the new ANC government embarked on huge reforms. One of the areas that were structured was local government as during apartheid there were no local government structures. William further notes that the vision of the new government was to ensure that government is brought closer to the people so as to meet the socio-economic and material needs of the majority of citizens especially the hitherto historically neglected black communities who were abandoned to live on their own devices during apartheid (Williams 2003:3), and to draw a significant gap between the apartheid era which ignored local communities and as noted earlier this then saw the inclusion of Section 152 of the new Constitution of 1996 which includes among others the object of Local government (1) (a) to provide democratic and accountable government for local communities and community organisations in matters of local government'. Barichievy et al., (2005) point out that in terms of the Local Government Municipal Structures Act, Act 117 of 1998, but especially the Local Government Municipal Systems Act, Act 32 of 2000, through which municipalities are required to complement their formal structures of representative government with a system of 'participatory governance'. Piper and Von Lieres (2008:5) weaves in that participatory governance includes allowing all residents, a say in the passing of by-laws, the development of Municipal budget, Integrated Development Plan (IDP), Municipal Performance and the like.

As explained earlier, the aforementioned Acts (the Constitution of 1996, the Municipal Structures Act 1998 and the Municipal Systems Act of 2000) then formed what Benit-Gbaffou (2008) opines as Institutional Channels of Participation, which gives participation both a *de jure* and *de facto* recognition. Deacon and Piper (2008:63) note that the central function of the new local government is the requirement for it to operate in a more democratic manner. More specifically it refers to the structural and procedural requirements to realise what the Act terms as community participation, which is delineated as the involvement of the community in decision making regarding issues of housing, crime and development as a cornerstone in creating a sense of community ownership of the intended project, which will make local communities more willing to take part, or even contribute towards certain cost bearing in mind that the returns is to benefit the community (Shaefer 1996) in the operation of local government.



Therefore, community participation more widely termed public participation (Deacon and Piper 2008:63) is one of the objectives of the new legislation, especially Chapter Four of the Municipal Structures Act 1998 details procedures municipalities must adopt to promote community participation. These include the receipt, processing and consideration of petitions and complaints lodged by members of the local community, notification and public comment procedures, public meetings and, hearings consultative with locally recognised community organisations and (where appropriate) traditional authorities and reporting back to the local council (Deacon and Piper 2008:64).

### **2.6.1 Local Government and Participatory Spaces**

As noted above, the vision of the ANC government was to ensure that communities were part and parcel of the administration of a local government which was a *volte face* from the former regime, thus enacting laws that envisioned participatory governance. This then ushers in the question as to what is participatory governance. For Deacon and Piper (2008:63) participatory governance refers to the manner in which municipalities are governed between elections as a contradistinction to representative governance which refers to the election of representatives as well as the set of structures and procedural requirements to realise what the Act terms Community Participation in the operation of Local Government. In this regard participatory governance is the mechanism through which Community Participation is to be realised.

The above line of thought is similar to Ackerman (2004:448), who notes that, participatory governance is 'opening up of core activities of the state to societal participation... to improve accountability and governance', and since local government is the tier of government that interfaces with the citizens directly on a daily basis, it was the vision of the new ANC government to get closer to the citizenry who are also the electorate. In this regard, the principal motive of participatory governance is to ensure there is transparency in governance.

The new Act, as explained earlier, emphasised that public consultation or public participation becomes a critical part of governance as it stipulates that the local community must be invited to give their comments on the Annual Budget, the Integrated Development Programme, Review Process, The Performance Management System, Service Delivery Contracting and all by laws amongst other issues. For example the Local Government Finance Management Act 56 of 2003

contains detailed requirements in respect of public participation during the budget process (Deacon and Piper2008:64).

### **2.6.2 Invited spaces in South Africa**

As examined earlier, invited spaces are delineated by Cornwall (2002:7) as those into which citizens are invited by state organs or any other formal developmental structure to participate and the first invited space for citizens' participation in Local government is the annual budget through which according to the Local Government Municipal Financial Act 56 of 2003, state unequivocally that whenever an annual budget is tabled in the Municipal Council, the municipal manager must ensure that it is made public and invite the local community to submit representation on it. The Act further argues that, these representations must be taken into consideration (Deacon and Piper 2008:64).

The second invited space is public participation around the Integrated Development Programme, (IDP), Williams (2003:10) note that the view is to bring as many stakeholders together as possible to delineate, define and promote their common interest. He further notes that the Systems Act makes IDP mandatory at all local level. In theory this means the IDP is a process which a municipality can establish and develop plan for the short- medium and long term, through which it can enable communalities to define their goals, needs and related priorities.

The third invited space of participation in the local government of South Africa is the Local Government Finance Management Act 56 of 2003, the relevance of this document is that the Act contains a series of procedural and structural detailed requirements in respect of public participation within the Local government during the budget process (Deacon and Piper2008:64).

The other invited spaces or public participation space as pointed out by Deacon and Piper 2008:64) is the Performance Management System, which invites the community through surveys to gauge the performance as well as the management systems of the municipality.

The fifth invited space for public participation in Local governance as noted by Deacon and Piper (2008) is the Service delivery contracting where the community and CBOs are invited to express their views as well as their representations before they are passed into law.

The sixth invited space as observed by Deacon and Piper (2008) is that, before the passing of all by-laws, the community has to participate and voice their representations before the laws are passed, this is to ensure full community participation in the processes of the municipality. It is with this that the investigation navigates to invented spaces in South Africa.

### **2.6.3 Invented Spaces in South Africa**

As mentioned above, invented spaces are observed as those spaces created by citizens themselves and in most cases they are against the government. In South Africa, Treatment Action Campaign created by a group of activist to campaign for government rolling out a programme of HIV/AIDS treatment for AIDS sufferers is a good case in point of invented space. Through street campaigns and court cases they were able to force government to roll out treatment to all affected by the disease (Friedman 2010).

Another invented space in South Africa is the Soweto Electricity Crises Committee (SECC) which was a space created by citizens with a vision to force the state as well as a State Owned Enterprise Eskom to remove pre-paid metres and provide affordable electricity to the residents, as the provision of energy is a right which the citizens are entitled to (White 2008:170).

The third invented space is the Sikhule Sonke which is a women led social movement cum trade union created with the vision to deal with all the livelihood challenges faced by farmwomen. This is also an invented space to assist the female farm workers in the Western Cape (White 2008:216), the question that comes to mind is what are the criticisms of these public participation spaces in South African Local Government, and it is to this that I now turn to.

### **2.6.4 Some Critiques of public participation in South African Local government**

Most of these participatory spaces are disempowered as observed by Piper and von Lieres (2008) who note that most of the decision making process does not take place within these spaces rather they are taken within the ruling party in the area. Secondly, they are equally disconnected from the heart of municipal decision-making. Thirdly, decision making process is highly fraught with controversies that do not admit of easy and popular resolution.

Slow policy development and especially implementation as noted by Piper and Von Lieres (2008:9) is also another factor hampering the implementation of public participation spaces notes

that the municipalities were busy with a multitude of post -apartheid challenges rather than implementing the various Acts involved with public participation.

Thirdly, there is also the issue of poor implementation of the consultative planning requirements as pointed out by (Piper and Von Lieres 2008) who notes that more often than not the stipulations of the Acts are ignored as officials are more concerned on protecting the interest of the political parties.

Fourthly, is the lack of elite political will as in most cases, the politicians are not interested in applying the laws both the Municipal Structures and the Systems Acts instead they focus on protecting the interest of their party and themselves.

Fifthly, another reason as pointed out by Piper and Von Lieres (2008) party conflict in a multiparty platform where many parties have Councillors, there are bound to be conflicts as the various political parties focus to protect the interest of the party rather than the municipalities.

## **2.7 Conclusion**

This chapter has examined popular prejudice as related to xenophobia and also the concept of democracy, democratic deficit, and democratic deepening through participation. It has also reflected on the role of civil society in deepening democracy, not least through various participatory spaces. In what follows,` I will use these concepts in arguing that civil society has the capacity to mobilise the community and CBOs and NGOs, working with private and public companies and governance structures at the national and international level including citizens in a campaign to change consciousness and to build a new forum for local decision making. Thus, through the process deepen democracy and this turned the tide against xenophobia.

## **Chapter Three**

### **SACAX and the Perception Changing Campaign in Khayelitsha Site C.**

*Every story is about finding something. Along lost friend, life's purpose or perhaps answers. A refugee's story is about finding peace and safety. But a refugee's story in South Africa is first about finding tolerance (Janet McKnight 2008:1)*

This chapter will explore what SACAX did in terms of challenging perceptions on African immigrants in Site C, building active citizenry and building Co-Governance networks and new Co-Governance relations with the state from the perspective of SACAX. In this regard the thesis will focus on the activities of SACAX and the Co-governance space funded by VPUU and mediated by SACAX will then emerge as the main focus of this chapter as it will be interrogated and it will be shown that the effort of SACAX in mobilising the community and other CSOs, state agencies, building of coalitions of networks between private and public agencies and also national and international NGOs working with refugees.

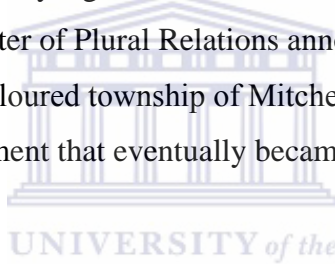
The chapter will open by locating the site, situate the arrival of the first African immigrants in the community, and examine their economic activities and how these economic activities later led to economic competition with some South Africans. It will also examine the xenophobic attacks of May 2008 and its impacts on African immigrants and how the rumours of another wave of xenophobic attacks in July 2010, led to the formation of SACAX and how this CBO acted as an 'assumed' representative to the African immigrants. It will also interrogate the origins and objectives of SACAX, its membership, leadership and also the various phases of its campaign against xenophobia and the networks that were employed. It will also explore the role of community mobilisation and community participation involving residential CSOs. Lastly it will further inquire why political society opted to exclude itself from such an inclusive process and why some other African immigrant groups excluded themselves from this campaign. This then enable the study to elaborate what SACAX did and how they went about doing it.

#### **3.1 Background to Khayelitsha**

Geographically, the area is situated in the Cape Flats and it is 26 km from the Central Business District of Cape Town, and is bordered by the N2 highway to the North and the False Bay coast

to the south with Mitchell's plain to the West". The easiest road from Cape Town is driving through N2, after driving pass the Cape Town International Airport and towards Somerset West on the right (Lingeletu West City Council 1992; cited in Ndingaye 2005:47).

Khayelitsha (in English means 'new home') is one of the youngest, largest and fastest growing townships to emerge in South Africa. It was formed in the Cape Flats in the mid-1980s, and today the area is also rated the third biggest township after Soweto in Johannesburg and Mdantsane Township in East London (Ndingaye 2005:47). He further notes that the township was created due to the housing shortage that the Western Cape faced in the early 1980s due to the huge influx of population of Africans in Cape Town (Ndingaye 2005: 48). He again notes that the housing shortage was equally aggravated by the Group Areas Act no. 36 of 1966 that reserved limited land for Black South Africans. Consequently, by the mid-1980s the established townships of Gugulethu, Langa and Nyanga were overcrowded. Mangwana notes that in March 1983 Dr Piet Koornhof, then Minister of Plural Relations announced that a Black township will be built at Swartklip East of the Coloured township of Mitchell's Plain, this step by Dr Koornhof then led to a new housing development that eventually became Khayelitsha (Mangwana 1990, as cited in Ndingaye 2005:49).



The original plan in 1983 to move 'illegal' informal settlements living in and around Old Crossroad to Khayelitsha never occurred as it was postpone and as it became a symbol of black poverty and resistance to re-settlement. Residents of Old Crossroad refuse to budge, and the decision was postponed (Lingeletu West City Council 1992 as cited in Ndingaye 2005:49). The government then devised a new strategy opting to use the construction of new houses as a bait to entice the 'legal' informal dwellers into the new area and they were enticed with formal houses in Bongweni, Ikwezi, Khulani Park, Thembani, Washington Square and Zolani Park. These formal settlements are located in the original area of Khayelitsha (Lingeletu West City Council 1992 as cited in Ndingaye 2005:49). Ndingaye opines that following the establishment of the formal houses and their occupation by 'legal' informal settlers with their families, a few years later as the sizes of the families grew, some family members and friends started experiencing congestion in these houses and these family members then moved to the vacant land to build informal houses (Ndingaye 2005:49). Bidandi (2006) note that the National Party government at the time removed the people as a way of saving the community from an impending civil strife

between the 'legal' informal residents and the 'illegal' informal residents in Old Crossroad and they had to be moved to Site C. The scholarship from SACAX points out that the movements took place on 16 August 1985. The first 42 families who originally came from Old Crossroads, and they were moved to the serviced land in the area with 3160 plots (Mdewu 2004:6).

The writing of Bidandi (2006) observes that the issue of the movement was that the area had no basic infrastructure and no water, or electricity and also no ablution facilities. This explains why the "illegal" informal residents were resisting moving into Site C, while others threatened that if the government wanted to use force, only their death bodies will leave Old Crossroad to the new site and this then led to resistance as many were not prepared to leave and accounted for the death of many. Tuswa (2002) elaborates that the area was established as a mono-functional dormitory town where the population were to service the neighbouring white areas of Wynberg, Claremont and Constantia, therefore in terms of economic activity; there is virtually no economic base, in the community other than in the service sector.

### **3.1.1 History of Site C**

By late 1985 close to 58000 people had been moved to this site, and they were later joined by new immigrants mostly coming from the Eastern Cape and according to SACAX the population of the area by 2010 was estimated at about 100,540 (Bidandi 2006). Bidandi further notes that it is difficult if not impossible to get the exact figures of the population, in that the area is too congested and full with informal houses, thus any figures will only be based on estimates.

Thompson et al., (2012:5) explain that the average income of the area is between R 1499 and R 2000 per household in 2012. Ndingaye (2005:50-51) note that the majority of the households are sustained through access to state pensions and child support grants, which is indicative that majority of community members rely on state welfare.

Ndingaye further notes that the community of Site C is diversified in its linguistic and its ethnic make-up. This heterogeneity is also extended in their belief systems. Though majority of the residents speak IsiXhosa, mostly from the Eastern Cape, others speak Sesotho, some speak IsiZulu and others speak Afrikaans. The diversity of the area is not limited to only language but also in their belief systems, while others are Christians other belief in ancestral worship (Ndingaye 2005:51).



### 3.1.2 The advent of African immigrants in Site C and their economic activities

Mr. Matoto (2012) observe that prior to the construction of the Kuwait taxi rank between 1990 and 1996, he never saw any African immigrant in the area, and the very first time he came to contact with an African immigrant was only after the construction of the rank, and most of them traded only around the rank. For him the emergence of the Kuwait Taxi rank in 1997 saw the emergence of the area as the main economic centre as many people saw this intersection as a business centre. He further added that the area then started attracting a huge array of economic activities, and most of the economic activities were informal trading, since there were no built structures for them to operate inside. When pressed for details, he added that “they were only three and were mostly using the pavements and these groups were mainly barbers and shoe repairers”<sup>4</sup> He again notes that by 1999, there was a fridge repair business which was also owned by an African immigrants”.

Mr. Musa concurs and adds further that the first groups were mostly shoe repairers and hair saloon owners and he further explained that “the African immigrants had to resort to self-employment because the DHA through the Alien Control Act 1991 ensured that employment and education was forbidden and also the possibility to rent property was refused them in their Section 41 permits”<sup>5</sup>.

Mr. Musa who hails from Ghana and started a shoe repairs business in Site C, in 1996 notes that most of these African immigrants were mostly from Ghana, Nigeria and Cameroon and were involved in services such as shoe repairs and hair salons. It emerged that by early 2000, the numbers started burgeoning, when asked what was going on. Mr. `Musa again notes that the successes of these groups then attracted others from city were they mostly working as car guards and security guards to come to Site C and start their own businesses.

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<sup>4</sup> Personal communication with Mr. Matoto who is a former ANC Councillor from 1999-2009 interviewed in ( May 5<sup>th</sup>, 2012) Khayelitsha Site C

<sup>5</sup> Personal communication with Mr. Musa ( April 3<sup>rd</sup> 2012) Khayelitsha Site C



### **3.1.3 The rise of economic competition and the emergence of tension**

As elaborated above, as the number of African immigrants started to burgeon, they also started to venture into other business sectors. This perspective is supported by Mr. Peter from Nigeria who pointed out that “I had been trading in the township for years and most of the foreigners (Cameroonians, Ghanaians and Nigerians) knew that you can sell anything in Site C, but not food and alcohol”<sup>6</sup>. Mr. Peter further added that this was because of the competition between the locals as these areas are very lucrative. He further noted that “when the Somalis arrived here I told them that they would face problems, they told me that I am stupid”. “You see the Somalis are so daring”. He also concurred with Mr. Musa and further weaves in that “as the numbers of African immigrants in the community increased there was also pressure with host nationals who also needed trading space to trade”. He further adds that the Somalis invited this problem as he observes that:

*the situation was exacerbated with the arrival of Somalis in Site C in 2004 when they started operating spaza shops, renting and living in their businesses as well as selling late at night, thus making themselves part of the community and competing with South Africans in the spaza shop business these then led to the tension with host nationals.*

Mr. Peter again notes that “most of the African immigrants before 2002 never lived in the area as they only come during the day for business activities and late in the evening move to their residential areas”. Mr. Musa agrees with Mr. Peter and notes that this then saw the increasing tension and also the change of attitude between South Africans and the African immigrants in Khayelitsha<sup>7</sup>. This competition and the tension led to the death of 32 Somalis in 2006 in the Western Cape and six in Site C.

### **3.1.4 The outburst of xenophobic attacks in 2008 and its consequences**

As mentioned earlier the xenophobic outburst that started in Johannesburg was copied in Cape Town and as elaborated elsewhere by Mazibuko&Peberdy (2011) the attacks swept the streets of Cape Town on Friday 22<sup>nd</sup> May 2008 and close to 20,000 to 30,000 African immigrants fled most

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<sup>6</sup> Personal communication with Mr. Peter( July 5<sup>th</sup> 2012) Khayelitsha

<sup>7</sup> Personal communication with Mr. Musa from Ghana (April 3<sup>rd</sup>, 2012) Khayelitsha

of the townships to places of safety (see image 145). Mr. Musa agreed that: “the first group of xenophobes attacked spaza owned by Somalis around D section opposite the public library, as the shops were easily looted without any resistant from the owners”.<sup>8</sup> Mr. Guran a Somali spaza shop owner notes that “the taxi owners fearing that the violence will be spill over into the area and might affect their businesses then provided transport for Somalis to transfer their goods to Belleville”.<sup>9</sup>

Mr. Mbetha observes that it was these attacks and the suffering in the resettlement camps that motivated their efforts to prevent its recurrent:

*the effects of these attacks and the suffering in the resettlement camps, then created sad memories, so, towards the end of the World Cup2010, when rumours started resurfacing of another wave of xenophobic attacks; this then led to the formation of SACAX in Site C, to challenge xenophobia in the community*<sup>10</sup>

This perspective is consistent with McKnight (2008:22) who observes that Section 29 (2) (e) of the Immigration Act of 2002 stated that it is within the mandate of the Department of Home Affairs to work with CSOs for awareness campaigns in the communities in an attempt to educate South Africans on the presence of African immigrants in their midst in order to avoid the eruption of xenophobia, but the DHA had not fulfilled this mandate. She further points out that in spite of efforts between the government and civil society to work together in drafting the Immigration Act, a strong divide between government and the community has precluded such cooperation as many people in South African communities believe they must take their own actions against migrants since they felt the state was not doing enough to address the problem.

Therefore, the emergence of such a community leadership ready to mobilise the community, form coalitions of networks with other stakeholders and to deliberately and participatory challenge xenophobia was highly welcome. This change of heart emerged following the sad saga of 2008 which saw the death of many African immigrants as noted by Mr. Mbetha.

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<sup>8</sup> Personal communication with Mr. Musa ( July 10<sup>th</sup> 2012) Khayelitsha

<sup>9</sup> Personal communication with Mr. Guran of Thandabantu Supermarket ( May 12<sup>th</sup>, 2012) Khayelitsha

<sup>10</sup>Personal communication with Mr. Mbetha (July 5<sup>th</sup>, 2012) Khayelitsha

### 3.2.1 The Origins of SACAX

As mentioned in Chapter One, it emerged from Mr. Mbetha<sup>11</sup> that the rumours of another possible wave of xenophobic attacks that led to the VPUU to engage SACAX (Site C, Action Committee Against Xenophobia) as a Co-Governance space for the different groups in Site C to come together and challenge xenophobia. In this regard, Mr. Mbetha then observes that this is a community based initiative that was formed by some community members in Site C with funding from the VPUU project of the City of Cape Town, with the vision to combat xenophobia in the area towards the end of the World Cup 2010.

This then begs the question, as to what is the VPUU, as such an explanation will provide the grounds to ascertain its role and mandate in Site C, and also to explore whether such duties include it assisting to challenging xenophobia. According to the Social Fund Coordinator of VPUU<sup>12</sup>, the acronym stands for 'Violence Prevention through Urban Upgrading Project'. The organisation is an NGO- City partnership funded by the national government and in cooperation with the German Development Bank. She further outlines that the core mandate of VPUU in Khayelitsha is to assist in the prevention of violence and consequently to improve the quality of life of the population. This goal includes a general increase in the safety of the beneficiary population, the upgrading of the neighbourhood facilities, economic development and community development. She further points out that VPUU implements an integrative strategy combining social crime prevention (changing the harmful social culture of the past into caring culture that support victims and limit opportunities for offenders), situational crime prevention (changing the fractured built environment into integrated human settlements), and institutional crime prevention (supporting local organisations to take ownership of spaces and supporting the City to start integrated planning, budgeting, and implementation of projects), and finally the building of So-called Safe Nodes Areas as envisaged in Harare, Kuyasa, Site B and Site C.

The above scholarship is consistent with the view that the SACAX campaign falls within the auspices of the VPUU and appears to agree with the first function which as noted earlier is changing the harmful social culture of the past into caring culture that supports the victims and

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<sup>11</sup> Personal Communication with Mr. Mbetha ( July 5<sup>th</sup>, 2012) Khayelitsha

<sup>12</sup> Personal Communication with Social Fund Coordinator of VPUU (June 20<sup>th</sup> 2012) Civic centre City of Cape Town

limits opportunities for offenders. It also aligns with the fourth function which involves supporting local organisations like SACAX to take ownership of spaces. This then begs the question as to what were the origins of SACAX.

Mr. Mbetha observed that SACAX had its origins from the Cultural Diversity Festival (hereafter CDF), which was a project first started in early December 2009. The CDF was the brainchild of a local activist Mr. Mncedisi Mbetha who was a member of the School Governing Board of Isikhelo Primary as well as a volunteer with Kolping South Africa in Khayelitsha Site C, which is a Catholic lay membership organisation based in Germany which organises work opportunity programs, skills training and youth programs. Mr. Mbetha met with two visiting volunteers from Germany Miss. Sarah Demme and Mr. Martin Meyer volunteers for VPUU and had projects such as teaching kids in the primary schools in the Khayelitsha Site C area and developed a vision of bringing different cultures in Site C together, extending beyond South African borders through arts and culture. Since such projects need financing, the idea was taken up to the superiors and only received their approval in June 2010. This then saw the birth of an art event called Site C Arts and Cultural Diversity Festival, and it ran from 14 to 19 of June 2010. This involved meetings and training workshops leading to the actual festival<sup>13</sup>. “The festival was sponsored by VPUU and was very successful as it succeeded in bringing together different organisations working with people from other African countries including local artists”<sup>14</sup>.

Mr. Qondela notes that the festival ran concurrently with the World Cup 2010, but when the festival finally ended, an evaluation meeting was convened by the organisers, and there was consensus for a community wide meeting where the community could discuss how to consolidate on the gains made from the festival. This community wide meeting coincided with the xenophobic rumours as stated earlier in Chapter One. Since Site C, Khayelitsha was one of the xenophobic hotspots in May 2008, the VPUU asked the conveners of the festival to ponder how to handle these rumours. After a series of meetings, a consensus then emerged that they should now focus on anti- xenophobia work<sup>15</sup>.

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<sup>13</sup> Personal communication with Mr. Qondela (August 3<sup>rd</sup>, 2013) Khayelitsha

<sup>14</sup> Personal communication with Mr. Qondela (August 3<sup>rd</sup>, 2012) Khayelitsha

<sup>15</sup> Personal communication with Mr. Qondela (August 3<sup>rd</sup>, 2012) Khayelitsha

Mr. Nkwenkwezi<sup>16</sup> note that VPUU then extended an invitation to the leadership of CDF to participate in a presentation: amongst those who presented were a delegate from Cape Town Refugee Centre (hereafter CTRC) Miss. Christian Henda and the Agency for Refugee Education Settlement Training and Advocacy (hereafter ARESTA) represented by Mr. Motabasi Charles and Mr. Fred Bidandi. After the presentations a task team was formed to design programmes on how to counter xenophobia following the aforementioned rumours. The major part of this program was to enlighten the community through creating public awareness and civic education for the community<sup>17</sup>. It was also necessary to explain to the community about the Constitutional protection under the new constitution of 1996, which argued that everybody living within the boundaries of country was entitled to protection and the socio-economic rights of refugees as contained in the UNHCR Convention of 1951 and finally why these refugees left their countries in the first place, which was due to civil wars. So there was the need to explain to the community the wars that plagued Africa, civil strife, famine and other push factors. The need to challenge some of the (mis) perceptions, (mis) conceptions, and (mis) representations or stereotypes by the media was very critical in this campaign as the organisers argued that these perceptions were due to ignorance. The task team had to work with various political organisations, CSOs, Youth formations, CBOs, FBOs and governance structures working in Site C<sup>18</sup>.

### **3.2.2 The Objectives of SACAX<sup>19</sup>**

The objectives of SACAX were to:

- (a) Raise awareness on the plight of African immigrants
- (b) Educate the community about African history and geography and educate the community on the wars of Africa. Such as the case in Somalia, Congo and Sudan

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<sup>16</sup> Personal Communication with Mr. Nkwenkwezi (March 28<sup>th</sup>, 2012) Khayelitsha, who is member of the Ward Development Forum interviewed in Khayelitsha

<sup>17</sup> Personal communication with Mr. Nkwenkwezi (March 28<sup>th</sup>, 2012) Khayelitsha

<sup>18</sup> Personal communication with Mr. Qondela, (August 3<sup>rd</sup>, 2012) Khayelitsha

<sup>19</sup> The document produced by SACAX 2011, titled "we are here to serve: Study of foreign owned businesses in Site C," contains most of this literature.

(c) Educate the community on refugee rights as stated in the UNHCR convention of 1951, which states the duties and responsibilities of host nations and assure the African immigrants that they will guarantee their safety and security.

(d) Explain to the community why most of these refugees left their countries in the first place, since most South Africans don't know why the refugees are in South Africa.

(e) Challenge (mis) perceptions, (mis) conceptions, (mis) representation and also countering negative attitudes prejudice and stereotypes. Countering irresponsible reporting by the media such as foreigners are drug peddlers, AIDS/HIV carriers, Criminals, women snatchers, fraudsters, con men, job stealers etc.

(f) Disseminate factual information. Through all these, they will be able to disseminate factual information and by so doing be able to prevent the recurrence of another wave of xenophobia<sup>20</sup>.

### 3.2.3 Membership of SACAX

The document produced by SACAX titled “we are here to serve”, stated that the organisation had close to 100 registered members in Site C, who were attending meetings and working sessions and who were very active in the anti-xenophobic campaign in 2010. Mr. Nkwenkwezi<sup>21</sup> note that he members were mainly drawn from community- based organisations in the area, such as members of the Ward Development Forum (WDF) ward 87 and 89, Khayelitsha Development Forum (KDF), Site C Youth Development Program (SYDPRO), Whizz.IT and Street Committees and also South African Civic Organisation (SANCO), and Neighbourhood Watch. Mr. Qondela notes that most of the SACAX members are individuals who are well known in the community issues as he notes:

*most of the members are actually individuals who are well known to the community and had assumed responsibility roles in many CBOs, in this light their credibility was beyond reproach*

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<sup>20</sup> Personal communication with Mr. Qondela( August 3<sup>rd</sup>,2012) Khayelitsha,

<sup>21</sup> Personal communication with Mr. Nkwenkwezi (March 28<sup>th</sup> 2012) in Khayelitsha

*as most of them did not come to the organisation with any baggage or poor record from any previous activities, hence they were well known in the circles of community activism*<sup>22</sup>.

Mr. Xolani agrees as he weaves in that “most of the members were unanimous that Site C belongs to all those who live in it and this is consistent with the Freedom Charter of 1956, and he continued that “they cannot allow people taking the laws into their own hands and committing crime in the name of xenophobia”<sup>23</sup>.

### **3.2.4 Leadership of SACAX**

Mr. Qondela<sup>24</sup> revealed that the organisation had an Executive Committee headed by Chairperson: Mr. Nkwenkwezi, Vice Chairperson: Mr. Monela Kenneth, Secretary: Mr. Mboxela, Public Relations: Mr. Qondela, Treasurer: Miss Pamela Sipika and Campaign Coordinator: Mr. Xolani. All these members were all South Africans and individuals who had lived in Site C for more than ten years

Mr. Nkwenkwezi<sup>25</sup> notes that SACAX had three structures which comprised of firstly an Executive Committee, secondly a Select Committee and a Reference Group. The executive meets with the SACAX members every Thursday between 11 am to 12 noon to discuss what was their plan of action, they then take decisions on what next step to take, and also what were the new challenges emerging from the last meetings as well as the last plan of action. Based on this they then collect possible feedbacks from their members on the next plan of action. In most of these meetings, the decisions were taken up to a Select committee. This committee then meets with VPUU to chart the way forward and Pastor Sapula who is the Coordinator of VPUU in Site C was always invited for this Select committee meetings. He further notes that there was also the Reference group meeting on Saturdays which invited African immigrants to participate and share their views as far as the developments of the campaign was rolled out. This information sharing exercise enabled SACAX to understand each other better as well as to plan better on the campaign. This process enabled them to take decisions that ensured a smooth campaign.

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<sup>22</sup> Personal communication with Mr. Xolani (May 13<sup>th</sup>, 2012) Khayelitsha

<sup>23</sup> Personal communication with Mr. Xolani (May 13<sup>th</sup>, 2012) Khayelitsha,

<sup>24</sup> Personal communication with Mr. Qondela ( August 3<sup>rd</sup>, 2012) in Khayelitsha

<sup>25</sup> Personal communication with Mr. Nkwenkwezi (March 28<sup>th</sup> 2012) in Khayelitsha



### 3.2.5 SACAX and its campaign

As mentioned in Chapter Two, SACAX emerged as a CBO and its campaign was meant to rally the community to participate actively against xenophobia. According to Mr. Nkwenkwezi the leadership of SACAX then mobilised the community and organised four public participation campaigns in the community of Site C; during which the members campaigned on daily basis in the schools, in the main streets, community halls and the public spaces distributing pamphlets, using artists playing live music and using loudspeakers, explaining their message to the community and to the community members as they were walking pass or driving pass. He further notes that they worked hand-in-glove with advocacy NGOs working with refugees such as ARESTA and Cape Town Refugee Centre. As noted above, these refugee CSOs agreed to work with SACAX from the inception of the campaign and assisted them in all the phases of the campaign to ensure that it actually achieved its goal of rolling out the main message of awareness and civic education in protecting African immigrants living in the township and finally a Grand Rally which was well organised and well attended.

#### *Phase one of the Campaign*

This first campaign took place on Wednesday 23rd of June 2010. It emerged from the interviewees that the organisers of the campaign opted for a strategy that will see the campaign rolled out to all echelons of the community as Mr. Qondela explains that since there are people who are schooling, while others are working and others are unemployed, the campaign should attempt to engage everybody:

*we agreed that since during the week the workers are at work and most of the streets, shopping centers and four way intersections are mostly empty, we elected to work with the various schools in the area, during the week and to use the public spaces during the weekends, to reach out to the working class and unemployed<sup>26</sup>*

Cognisant of this situation, as pointed out by Mr. Qondela, they then embarked on campaigning in the schools in the area. He further explained that “though the formal areas of Site C, actually have schools the campaign focused, on the informal areas of Site C”, which comprises the area

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<sup>26</sup> Personal communication with Mr. Qondela (August 3rd, 2012) Khayelitsha

around the main streets of Njongo Avenue and the main streets stretching through Solomon Tsuku. When pressed for details, he explains that “these were the areas that were highly affected by the xenophobic attacks in May 2008, and are the areas with high levels of poverty, illiteracy, unemployment and crime”.

Mr. Bidandi of ARESTA agrees with Mr. Qondela as he notes that “we then launched the campaign in the various schools in the area to ensure that the awareness and civic education program reaches everybody”<sup>27</sup>. When pressed for details on their strategy, he notes that: “the choice of the schools was based on the fact that, during the week most of the working class were at work, we then campaigned in the various schools in the community”.

Mr. Qondela explain that during most of these visits they used the teaching period for Life Skills/ Life Orientations in educating the young learners, and when pressed for details they explained that they did the following: Firstly, they started by explaining the wars in Africa such as in Angola, Congo, Mozambique, Somalia and Sudan, explaining how these wars led to the death of many Africans and how most lost their loved ones and friends and those who survived were then displaced in millions into other of Africans countries. Secondly, due to globalisation some of these displaced African immigrants had no choice but to move into other parts of the world including South Africa. Thirdly, the UNHCR Geneva Conventions of 1951 on the rights of refugees argues that South Africa as an emerging democracy has a responsibility and a duty to assist in terms of international law, which South Africa is signatory to. This is a moral responsibility as South African exiles were also assisted in some of these African countries during the dark years of apartheid. Fourthly, the South African Constitution of 1996, its Bill of Right and the Freedom Charter also supported the inclusion of non-nationals into the society and also the Refugee Act of 1998 also supported the extension of socio-economic right to African immigrants. Fifthly, the human right culture of the new Constitution argued for the protection of the rights of the refugees. Sixthly the ANC had argued all through its history that the country belonged to all who lived in it, Blacks, Whites, Asians and Everyone who finds himself within the borders of the country, and there was no specific reason to be hostile against African immigrants. Seventhly, some even advanced the Pan African Congress argument of Nzwelethu

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<sup>27</sup> Personal communication with Mr. Bidandi (July 3<sup>rd</sup>, 2012) Athlone

in which they argued that the African land belong to all Africans and they see no reason why African immigrants should be targeted this was discriminatory whereas other groups feel safe on African soil. They proceeded to argue that from Cape to Cairo and from Morocco to Madagascar all belonged to Africans. Eighthly, they blamed the media for being at the forefront of whipping this African immigrant sentiment and not emanating from a deep hatred of other Africans. we then proceeded by challenging some of the stereotype by inviting the community to point out to us some of the businesses where foreigners were selling drugs to our youths in the communities, pointing out African immigrants who were dealing in stolen goods and those who were stealing jobs from the locals as these are some of the stereotypes. For Mr. Nkwenkwezi the strategy was “to confront the community with some of the stereotypes and narratives that had been used to inflate anti-African immigrant feelings and most of them were left dumbfounded”<sup>28</sup>. These were the key points the SACAX leadership adopted as the cornerstone of their campaign in mobilising the learners in the community to participate against xenophobia in July 2010.

#### *Phase two of the Campaign*

The second week of the campaign took place on Monday 5<sup>th</sup> of July 2010 and their focus was still the schools to educate the learners and ensure that they participate actively in the forthcoming rally of 28 August against xenophobia. Mr. Nkwenkwezi explains that they now moved into issues around the internal laws in South Africa such as the South African Constitution, Bill of Rights and the Freedom Charter which all argued on inclusion.

Mr. Nkwenkwezi further noted that it was these liberal laws that attracted huge numbers of foreigners into the country from all over the world, and asks “why African immigrants were the only targets of these violent attacks, whereas other racial groups such as Chinese, Pakistanis, Bangladeshis and Moroccans were never attacked”. They also explained the creation of the UNHCR and the Convention of 1951 on the Rights of Refugees, as the convention outlines the duties and responsibilities of host nations to cater for refugees, since, during apartheid South Africans were also refugees in some of these African countries. Also, they explained to these young learners about refugee rights as envisioned under International Law and also under the South African Constitution and the Refugee Act of 1998. He further notes that “the learners were

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<sup>28</sup> Personal communication with Mr. Nkwenkwezi (March 28<sup>th</sup>, 2012) Khayelitsha

shown maps of Africa, to explain to them how these are also outcomes of forced migration as most of these refugees were forced to leave their countries by circumstances beyond their control”<sup>29</sup>. Mbetha who is well known to the learners as they call him Mr. ‘Big’ Mbetha explains that the youths are very important as they sit at the centre of every society:

*the visits to the schools were premised on the grounds that these young learners, in most cases were the ones who don’t understand national and international affairs, secondly they are well placed to carry the message home to their friends and parents and additionally since the youths are the future leaders of the country. He further adds that “it thus makes a lot of sense to engage with them”<sup>30</sup>.*

Mr. Nkwenkwezi observes that “the support we received from these schools is eloquent testimony that the educators were very supportive, as they all agreed with our view that this phenomenon needed special attention from all sectors of the community”<sup>31</sup>. One learner from Intlanganiso notes that “after most of their teaching we started understanding and seeing things differently, and we were also handed fliers such as ‘SAY No TO XENOPHOBIA’”<sup>32</sup>. This was indicative that these acts of mobilising the community deliberately have positive effects. They equally promised that they were going to do similar campaigning with the parents during the weekends and they were given fliers to take home<sup>33</sup>. One educator from Intlanganiso High was very impressed with the campaign as he pointed out that “the campaign has widen the scope of the learners as the learners were not vested in World Affairs, we were very pleased to have them in our schools as it was a nice learning experience for our learners”<sup>34</sup>.

To broaden the debate, Mr. Mbetha notes that the learners were given an opportunity to ask questions. One learner then asks, “I want to know whether these foreigners will go back to their countries when these wars do finally end?” Mr. Mbetha notes that they were very pleased with these questions as they were indicative that the learners understood the teachings and the replies were very simple, as they were made to understand that as thousands of South African exiles

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<sup>29</sup> Personal communication with Mr. Nkwenkwezi (March 28<sup>th</sup>, 2012) Khayelitsha

<sup>30</sup> Personal communication with Mr. Mbetha (July 5<sup>th</sup>, 2012) Khayelitsha

<sup>31</sup> Personal communication with Mr. Nkwenkwezi (March 28<sup>th</sup>, 2012) Khayelitsha

<sup>32</sup> Personal communication with Learner at Intlanganiso High School (August 4<sup>th</sup> 2012) Khayelitsha

<sup>33</sup> Personal communication with Mr. Nkwenkwezi (March 28<sup>th</sup>, 2012) Khayelitsha

<sup>34</sup> Personal communication with an educator with Intlanganiso High (July 5<sup>th</sup>, 2012) Khayelitsha

returned home with the end of apartheid, so too will many foreign nationals from the rest of Africa return home<sup>35</sup>. These campaigns were to initially sensitise the learners and mobilise them to participate in the Grand Rally in August 28<sup>th</sup> 2010.

### *Phase three of the campaign*

The third phase of the campaign was on weekend of Saturday 10 July 2010. It was to educate the community and prepare them for the rally of 28<sup>th</sup> August 2010. Mr. Mbetha explained that this campaign was to target the adults both the working class and the unemployed, since they are busy at work during the week. Mr. Mbetha notes that the campaigns were then extended into the main public spaces such as main intersections or the main four way stops, like the Caltex Garage in the early mornings on Saturdays and later on moved to the Kuwait Taxi rank in the afternoon and towards the evenings the campaign was moved to the Thembani shopping centre. These rallies as mentioned in Chapter One and Chapter Two were to create awareness and teach diversity, and also political and civic education to community members and it consist of explaining to them the geography and histories of Africa and to further educate the community on issues of refugees and African immigrants. Therefore, the principal role of these campaigns was to change perceptions in the logic that the new ideas will change people's perspectives.

The perspective here as noted earlier in Chapter Two, is that they can hate African immigrant or harbour xenophobic attitudes but they should not attack or kill them as this constitute xenophobic violence, thus, one can be xenophobic without resorting to xenophobic violence. Mr. Qondela explained that "we used our eight point programme which was the cornerstone of the campaign to educate the community, as most community members did not know the geography and history of the rest of Africa". He further notes that "most community members thought that, Congo and Somalia were in a far-away overseas continent, so there was the need to educate them that these are Africans who are victims of wars". He further points out that there was the need to enlighten them on the issues in Africa:

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<sup>35</sup> Personal communication with Mr. Mbetha (July 5<sup>th</sup>, 2012) Khayelitsha

*there was the need to educate them on the wars of Africa, the reasons for forced migration into South Africa, the UN Convention of 1951 and the duty of host countries responsibilities to assisting refugees, this is so as South Africans were equally assisted in other African countries*<sup>36</sup>

To lighten the atmosphere, the SACAX leadership organised artist who played life music and using loudspeakers and dancers wearing t-shirts clad “SAY NO TO XENOPHOBIA” and also “WE ARE ALL FOREIGNERS”, most of these sessions we used in distributing leaflets, T-shirts to the community members. For Mr. Qondela, “this act brought a lot of community members to listen to them and this paid dividend”<sup>37</sup>. He again point out that during the question and answer sessions, the SACAX leadership had the opportunity to workshop the community on some of the misconceptions about foreign nationals such as firstly, they are here to sell drugs, secondly, they are here to steal women, thirdly, they are here to steal jobs, fourthly, they are here to spread HIV/AIDS and fifthly also to commit crime. These were some of the issues that most of the community members kept reminding us about foreign nationals, “we then felt it was an opportunity to engage the community frankly and to point out some of the steel containers or businesses premises, where foreign nationals were selling drugs” and “I also challenged them to point out the containers treating community members badly so that we can address these issues”.

Mr. Monela note that he wanted to prove a point and personally opted to challenge the community on these issues because these are some of the well-known misperceptions about foreign nationals as these allegations are due to ignorance and most of the time had been generalised against all foreign nationals<sup>38</sup>. Mr. Nkwenkwezi agrees with him pointing out that “the point here is we can address our issues better if we have a frank dialogue with the community”.<sup>39</sup> In this light, he acknowledges the role of dialogue, mediation and deliberation in these deliberative participatory spaces.

These community mobilisations created a platform for some community members to speak out against xenophobia, this is so as they had never been given the opportunity to express themselves or the platform, they were given microphones and they spoke out publicly against this

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<sup>36</sup> Personal communication with Mr. Nkwenkwezi (March 28<sup>th</sup>, 2012) Khayelitsha

<sup>37</sup> Personal communication with Mr. Qondela (August 3<sup>rd</sup>, 2012) Khayelitsha

<sup>38</sup> Personal communication with Mr. Monela (July 5<sup>th</sup>, 2012) Khayelitsha

<sup>39</sup> Personal communication with Mr. Nkwenkwezi (March 28<sup>th</sup>, 2012) Khayelitsha



phenomenon and rebuking, the perpetrators to the applause of the crowd that gathered outside. Qondela points out that there was the need to stop these negative attitudes:

*we don't like people doing negative things like beating and killing fellow African in the name of xenophobia, whereas when our people went outside in the rest of Africa they were well treated with dignity, these criminals should be arrested for I don't understand what they call xenophobia*<sup>40</sup>.

The SACAX leadership also points out other activities that they rolled out such as inviting youths and organising football matches, during the weekends such as Saturdays and Sundays to enable more and more youths coming together and during these competitions, the players had to wear "SAY NO XENOPHOBIA" T-shirts and after the competition they were allowed to take home the T-shirts and continue to use them in their neighbourhood and to sensitise their neighbourhood about the anti-xenophobic public participation campaign and as a legacy or a reminder of the campaign. "The massive attendance of youths had a positive effect as they can share their stories with friends about the campaign and further pre-empting the violence attacks"<sup>41</sup>. This third campaign was to mobilise the community to participate actively in their numbers in the final rally of 28 August 2010.

#### *Phase Four of the campaign- the Grand Rally*

The final phase was that of Saturday 28<sup>th</sup> August 2010, this was the principal event of the "SAY NO TO XENOPHOBIA" campaign. "It was the vision of SACAX that for this campaign against xenophobia to be very successful, there was the need to bring the entire community in a mass rally"<sup>42</sup>. Mr. Nkwenkwezi further added that they were able to mobilise people around Intlanganiso High school, which is one of the largest administrative precinct in the community, this main campaign attracted the main actors in the community". It then emerged from Nkwenkwezi that the who is who in Site C was extended an invitation from Community Based Organisations, members of the Ward Development Forum both Ward 87 and 89, Community Development Worker, South African Communist Party, South African Civic Organisation

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<sup>40</sup> Personal communication with Mr. Qondela (August 3<sup>rd</sup>, 2012) Khayelitsha

<sup>41</sup> Personal communication with Mr. Nkwenkwezi (March 28<sup>th</sup> 2012) Khayelitsha

<sup>42</sup> Personal communication with Mr. Nkwenkwezi (March 28<sup>th</sup>, 2012) Khayelitsha



(SANCO), South African Clothing and Textile Workers Union, VPUU, Congress of Democratic Taxi Association, Neighbourhood Watch, Kolping (which is a Catholic Faith Based CBO teaching women sewing and gardening), refugee CSOs such as ARESTA and CTRC and International NGOs such as UNHCR, and also Youth Formations such as INKANYEZI (involved with Youth Programmes and Youth Development Projects and also Site C Youth Development Project (SYDPRO), they were principally responsible for the artistic co-ordination of the campaign and also a host of African immigrants living/and or working in the community.

This final campaign according to Nkwenkwezi brought close to 1000 people in the courtyard of Intlanganiso High School which was used as the assembly ground to launch the rally.

Nkwenkwezi again notes that “we then distributed the T-shirts that were meant for the campaign to all those present as they were now wearing white, red and black t- shirt clad “SAY NO TO XENOPHOBIA” and holding larger than life banners reading “SAY NO TO XENOPHOBIA” and we equally handed them leaflets written in English and IsiXhosa”. He again notes that the leaflets had a special message:

*these leaflets with the emblem of the UNHCR carried messages explaining why the refugees are in South Africa and others explaining the wars in D.R. Congo, Sudan, Rwanda and Somalia, some of the leaflets with the logo of the UNHCR explaining the obligations of host nationals to refugee*<sup>43</sup>.

It emerged that after the opening prayers, many speakers took the microphone and condemned the high levels of crime in the community, and condemned those who attacked and looted the businesses owned by foreign nationals, and calling on the community to be very vigilant on all these perpetrators of these violent acts. Most of the speakers called for peace in the community and they had to march from the High school precinct through Njongo Avenue, passing through the Taxi Rank right down to the Oliver Tambo Hall. “We all had one message, to prevent the reoccurrence of xenophobia in the community and to watch out on any group harboring such negative plans to discontinue”<sup>44</sup>.

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<sup>43</sup> Personal communication with Mr. Nkwenkwezi (March 28<sup>th</sup> 2012) Khayelitsha

<sup>44</sup> Personal communication with Mr. Nkwenkwezi (March 28<sup>th</sup>, 2012) Khayelitsha

Most of the SACAX leaders were unanimous that this rally involved distributing leaflets, t-shirts, banners and carrying huge banners marching through the main street Njongo avenue passing through the Kuwait taxi rank, distributing campaign material to most of the bystanders and onlookers inviting them to join the campaign against xenophobia. They further explained that at every intersection, they had to slow down the convoy and using the loudspeakers were explained our message, distributed fliers to bystanders and by-passers, and passing motorist before continuing, we marched slowly right through to the Oliver Tambo hall. Our message was very clear as we had to distribute huge amount of leaflets to the people in the community, also the distribution of T-shirts clad in wordings such as “I AM A FOREIGNER”, “SAY NO TO XENOPHOBIA”, and there were also leaflets written in English and IsiXhosa to enable most of the community members to understand that they owned the campaign<sup>45</sup>.

Mr. Qondela note that after close to four hours the road show finally reached the O.R Tambo hall, where the campaign has to come to an end, by that point they had distributed thousands of fliers, hundreds of T-shirts, spoken to thousands of people, shook hands with thousands of people and spoken to many about Africans, foreign nationals and African immigrants in South Africa and explaining to them some of the misconceptions, misperceptions and some derogatory names the media has labelled African immigrants, such as illegal criminals, illegal immigrants and people who steal jobs, steal women and peddle drugs. “We then tried to change some of these perceptions about African immigrant living and working in the community of Site C” he further added. “Our vision was that if our message was well communicated to the residents it can help in preventing the attacks against foreigners as the threats against them were stating”<sup>46</sup>.

### **3.3 Community Mobilisation and Community Participation**

The SACAX campaign was foreground on two main pillars, firstly the principle of community mobilisation which Williams (2003) observed as a process where people participate individually and collectively as part of their right and duty, in the planning, implementation and control of projects that affect their lives. Williams further notes that this is held to be a basic human right and a fundamental principle of democracy. Thus the campaign relied heavily on the large scale

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<sup>45</sup> Personal communication with Mr. Nkwenkwezi (March 28<sup>th</sup> 2012) Khayelitsha

<sup>46</sup> Personal communication with Mr. Nkwenkwezi (March 28<sup>th</sup>, 2012) Khayelitsha

attendance and participation of the community. This then explains why the SACAX leaders embarked on a campaign of forming coalitions of networks as explained in Chapter Two to ensure that there was actually a massive participation of not just the principal actors in the community such as the political and administrative elites but also the leaders of the CBOs and also the massive participation of the general public as the campaign actually involve the changing of the mindset of each and every individual and not just a segment of the community.

The second pillar is community participation which is also known as public participation or citizen involvement in decision making regarding issues of housing, crime and development is cornerstone in creating a sense of community ownership of the intended project, which will make local communities more willing to take part, or even contribute towards certain cost bearing in mind that the returns is to the benefit (Shaefer 1996), these two concepts were at the core of the campaign and they had been well explained in Chapter Two.

As explained earlier, that for this campaign to succeed the issue of community mobilisation is at the central, but for community mobilisation to achieve its intended objectives, it needs strategies that encouraged and motivate people to participate in programmes and activities. Williams (2003) further argues that, in order to mobilise a community successfully it is important to identify where people's priorities lie and what it is that motivates them and additionally identifying key community leaders, so that there is contact between agency and the community. These steps are vital as involving the citizenry in decisions that affect them as Beierle & Konisky (2000) notes that these enables citizens to emerge as stakeholders which refers to both the participation of citizens as individuals and to the participation of organised groups (Ansell and Gash 2007:546).

As mentioned earlier, a common trope emerging in the current participation discourse as noted by Ansell and Gash (2007:546) is the need for new approaches that emphasise the two-way interaction between decision makers and the public as well as deliberation among participants. Following the birth of complex decision making process as Dryzek (2000) has argued, it requires a more informed citizenry that has weighed the evidence on the issue, discussed and debated potential decision options and arrived at a mutually agreed upon decision which all parties can abide, this then needs an active citizen not a passive one, is the prescription of the day.

As observed in Chapter Two of the thesis, the growing literature of the new citizens discursively supports the above argument as Leighninger (2012:106) points out that today's citizens are simply more vocal, knowledgeable, diverse, skilled and sceptical than the earlier citizens of generations ago and these citizens in most cases copy what others do and these active citizens are more than ready to use these spaces and express themselves and these spaces are democratic innovations. In the case of South Africa, the dawn of the new democracy has brought with it new challenges for the country which need new approaches from citizens.

Following the end of apartheid, the country has faced new challenges and one of this is crime. The United Nation Office for Drugs and Crime (UNODOC 2003:53, as cited in Aleambong 2010:56) concurs that crime has emerged as one of the most pressing and visible social problem that has bedevilled contemporary South Africa and this has been recognised by all spheres of government as a high priority issue. Mattes (2004) adds that a decade after the dawn of democracy, crime has touched each and every household. So when SACAX leadership and members put forward the argument that the xenophobes or perpetrators of xenophobia were criminals the community bought into the argument and agreed to join them as one of the issues around mobilisation is that the issue which mobilizes the community has to win the heart and mind of all members to win their support.

The above perspective is consistent with Williams (2008:3) who notes that xenophobia is reminiscent to economic opportunism or economic crime, it becomes plausible to understand why most community members were up in arms against xenophobia and was very ready to mobilise the community and participate actively. The leadership had the arduous task of convincing the community that this was common crime and they should rally around it. They had to permeate the community through community leadership. In this regard they had to work with residential civil society which Staniland (2008:37) opines as the organisations which deal with issues that affect township dwellers as residents of communities, such as jobs, houses and crime.

Staniland (2008:38) contends that the first is the Street Committees and they consist of representatives elected by residents of each street, and might contain up to ten members, and their main function is to act as a local arbiter, seeking to maintain peace within the street, by intervening in local disputes and calling criminals to meetings to explain their actions. If more serious offences are involved the matter is reported to the police. Street Committees also mediate

between individual residents and both local government and civic society on issues such as housing or jobs (Staniland 2008:38), above the Street Committees, Staniland further notes that they are the Civics: which are residentially based organisations which organise themselves around both mass meetings open to all, at which issues affecting individuals as residents of the township are discussed, and around interactions between Street Committees members and civic officials.

Mr. Nkwenkwezi notes that during the SACAX campaign, the civic that was notable was the South African National Civic Organisation (SANCO), though there is the Area Committee which comprises of about five street committees which send representatives to SANCO meetings (Staniland 2008:38). The SACAX members then worked in tandem with these residential CSOs to ensure that the community participated actively in challenging xenophobia. Thus, through this large scale mobilisation of the community and their effective participation there was the ‘deepening’ of democracy. Site C is a very diverse community, it becomes difficult but not impossible to mobilise the community. Bearing in mind that in such a diverse community, what constitute a priority for one person or group might not be for others. Therefore there is the need to carefully ensure that the issues in question touches or wins the hearts and minds of the community, so as to ensure that the community is mobilised.

Mr. Mbetha observes that this explains why SACAX leaders embarked on a process of building coalitions. The Connecticut Association for Nonprofit Advocacy/Advocacy Tool Kit (2003) observes that a coalition is a group of interdependent people focused on advancing or opposing a particular issue also a coalition’s power lies in its ability to present a united front and mobilising allies in grass root efforts and increase community understanding and support. The document further points out that a coalition is effective only when its issue(s) has merit and the coalition members are well organised, informed and dedicated to communicating the significance of the effort. This then begs the question, as to what is the process of coalition building?

This question is at the core of the discourse as coalitions more often than not are not easy to configure, as such configuration may demand extra facilitation skills. The process of coalition building as explained by the Connecticut Association for nonprofit Advocacy /Lobbying Tool Kit (2003) calls for the establishing and developing contacts that work well together. Secondly, in order to form a coalition, the public must be informed and engaged on the issue(s) at stake,

and in some cases if the issues don't affect the community directly, many may be sceptical of being part of it. Public engagement is different ways of getting people involved in community decision that gets beyond traditional forms.

There is growing international literature pointing to this direction and as Gaventa et al., (2007) agrees that effective public engagement such as the invited spaces articulated above, requires three variables, firstly, they don't only need new empowered institutions, but also they need the political will by the politicians and administrative officials to make them work, and community mobilisation and organisations of citizens by civil society to make use of these spaces.

For this campaign to succeed the implementation of the decisions was key as SACAX needed the assistance of the entire community for its realisation, firstly in spreading the message of the campaign, secondly sending feedbacks to SACAX members of any possible xenophobic outburst in their neighbourhood, thirdly whether the community members who attended these rallies and meetings were convinced about the message. This then made the community an integral part of the equation as observed by El Ansari, as the work explains that it brings about community ownership of the project which implied shared responsibility for the project, as they now became stakeholders and through this own the decisions making process collectively with other stakeholders who may hold differing views (El Ansari 2003 as cited in Ansell & Gash 2007:560).

These twin processes brought about community ownership of the project, which involves the shifting of ownership of decisions making from agency or in this case from VPUU project to the stakeholders acting collectively in this case the community of Site C. This again is tricky as El Ansari points out that this enables stakeholders to no longer see themselves as critics of the process as they now own the decision making process collectively with the stakeholders (El Ansari 2003 as cited in Ansell and Gash 2007:560). This ownership as noted by Ansell and Gash (2007:560) implies shared responsibility for the project and in this case trust is required (as the latter brings about accountability and transparency, public trust and removal of all possible resistance to implementation and since the deliberation or public debate process is engineered by the community and also the decisions also are taken by the community so too with the implementation (the putting into place the decisions agreed) becomes easier. This is thanks to the power of information and information sharing was central in the campaign in order to enable



more and more people be inform about its activities. It is with this that, I now turns to the networks that SACAX employed to roll-out the campaign.

### **3.3.1The networks SACAX employed to roll-out its Campaign**

At this juncture, the thesis will set out to investigate the networks that SACAX employed to roll-out its campaign or the efforts of SACAX to roll-back xenophobia. It will also explain how trust and co-operation in networks enhanced public participation, participatory and deliberative democracy. As mentioned earlier in Chapter One, it was noted that SACAX built coalition with other CBOs working in Site C, and also networks with governance structures as well as national and international NGOs working with refugees to participate in challenging xenophobia in the community of Site C. In Chapter Two, Baron et al., (2000:19) defines networks as a set of interconnected nodes and they mostly develop when one person interacts with two or more persons. In this process Baron et al., (2000:19-22) observes that there is exchange or flow of information and interaction takes place at these nodes. These repeated interactions leads to the building of trust, which is referred to as the level of confidence that is established when the behaviour of the other individual can be predicted as well as when they act in an expected manner. More often than not trust develops over time through repetitive interaction. Which were the networks and who were the partners of SACAX and what were their tacit contributions to the success of the campaign?

It emerged from Mr. Nkwenkwezi that the first organisation that SACAX worked with is the Ward Development Forum, both ward 87 and 89. It emerged that they are principally a development agency in the community in that if the government or the city or the provincial administration or even development agencies want to undertake any project in the community they first have to meet the ward development forum before such a project is undertaken. Thus when the issues of the SACAX campaign came up, the first group the VPUU first had a meeting with were the members of WDF. Mr. Nkwenkwezi emerged as the principal person in this forum. He was very instrumental in bringing other partners into the organisation and his background as a Pan Africanist Congress member as well as tutor at Cape Peninsular University of Technology. Many termed him the mobiliser and whenever there was the need for details many SACAX leaders will insist that “tell him to meet “STAR”. This then leads to the role of SANCO.



During the campaign, Mr. Qondela note that the civic that was notable was the South African National Civic Organisation (SANCO), as noted earlier though there is the Area Committee that comprises of about five street committees which send representatives to SANCO meetings. The SACAX members then worked in tandem with these residential CSOs to ensure that the community participated actively in challenging xenophobia and SANCO brought a lot people into the SACAX meetings and also the rallies.

According to Mr. Nkwenkwezi the Community Development worker also played a key role in the campaign. The office is under the Provincial Department of Cooperative Governance. The CDW is the principal agency that assists in sharing information on how communities participate in formal processes of public participation. The official was very instrumental in informing some of the administrative elites about the campaign and inviting them to the rally of 28 August 2010. It is with this that the investigation transcends to the role of VPUU.

Mr. Qondela also revealed that the other central organisation is the VPUU. As noted in Chapter Three, the Violence Prevention through Urban Upgrading was the main funder of the SACAX campaign. Thus it was the dream of VPUU that the campaign should succeed. As equally noted earlier, being a formal agency of the City of Cape Town, it therefore meant that the city had vested interest to see in to it that the project achieves its set out goals. Thus they had to deploy Law Enforcement Officials, traffic police and City Police Officials to ensure that everything went as planned.

Mr. Monela explained that the Congress of Democratic Taxi Association: - This is the taxi association in Site C and the biggest economic operator in the community with more than 1000 taxis, employing more than 1500 drivers covering the greater Khayelitsha and also long distances to Eastern Cape. They were actively involved in the campaign as noted by Majola that whenever there is violence in Site C, the owners are also worried about the security of their buses as this constitute their only source of livelihood.<sup>47</sup>

Mr. Nkwenkwezi observes that the Neighbourhood Watch was organised by VPUU. They did night patrols in the community of Site C during the period of the World Cup with the vision to

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<sup>47</sup>Personal communication with Mr. Majola Taxi owner (June 20<sup>th</sup> 2012) Khayelitsha

bring down the crime levels. They were headed by Xolani, and they mostly recruited youths in the area of Site C, thus they had a connection with VPUU and by extension they had to work with SACAX during the campaign as an integral part of the SACAX team and also with the Street Committees.

Mr. Bidandi the head of advocacy at ARESTA, explained that they played a central role in campaign as the VPUU invited them to organise the presentations to SACAX at its inception with Cape Town Refugee Centre, and they also participated in the rolling out of the campaign in schools and in the community halls and also in the open public spaces. These two organisations were very instrumental in bringing the UNHCR into the SACAX campaign as they assisted in the design and developing of T-shirts and pamphlets with the logo of the UNHCR. The active participation of the UNCHR especially following their visits to SACAX on the 27 of July 2010 was a big booster both for the resources of the organisation so to with the bringing of the International Organisation for Migration (IOM) into the campaign. The next organisation is the Khayelitsha Development Forum

Mr. Nkwenkwezi explained that the Khayelitsha Development Forum (hereafter KDF) is the main developmental agency in the greater Khayelitsha area. They had been very pro-active of recent ensuring that any effort to develop the Khayelitsha area should be assisted by the grass root and no obstacles should hinder any development in the area. They were informed about the campaigns thank to the WDF and they agreed that the initiative was a good project<sup>48</sup>. The other organisation was the Somali Retailers Association.

According to Mr. Abdil<sup>49</sup> the Somali Retailers Association (hereafter SRA) is the umbrella organisation of Somalis who are trading in the Khayelitsha area. It was initially formed following threats from Zankhanyo that Somalis spaza should close their shops in Site C or limit expanding to further areas. They then group themselves and formed an umbrella organisation to counter all threat emanating from the locals. They then saw SACAX as platform where they could get express themselves against these threats. This organisation brought a good number of Somalis into the campaign. The other organisation that assisted in the campaign is Kolping.

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<sup>48</sup> Personal communication with Mr. Nkwenkwezi (March 28<sup>th</sup> 2012) Khayelitsha

<sup>49</sup> Personal communication with Mr. Abdel (September 10<sup>th</sup> 2012) Khayelitsha

Mr. Mbetha notes that Kolping South Africa also played a role in the campaign, as he explained earlier, this is a Catholic lay membership organisation based in Germany which organises work opportunity programs, skills training and youth programs. In Site C, Kolping help to train women in gardening and sewing projects. They were very instrumental in bringing other FBOs into the SACAX campaign such as the Catholic Church, Gospel Church of Power and the Great Commission Church.

The other organisation of great significance in the SACAX campaign was Whizz.IT and according to Qondela, they also partnered with SACAX in the campaign. This organisation headed by Qondela played a very central role in the campaign as it was the nerve centre where all SACAX meetings were held. The agency was responsible for further contacting other CBOs that had been working with this organisation so as to bring more participants to the campaign. The centre acted as the principal research unit and the nerve centre for the campaign, as it facilitated the planning, production of banners, brochures, flyers and organising presentations and as well as evaluating performance and organising social networking such as sending of e-mails with other CBOS and other organisations.

Mr. Qondela also pointed out that Whizz.IT also brought many youths in the community into the campaign. Firstly, they brought SYDPRO (Site C Youth Development Program) into the campaign and they assisted in providing life music during the campaign. Secondly, they also brought in INKANYEZI which is involved in Youth Programmes and Youth Developments Projects. Qondela points out that the idea of football matches was the brainchild of INKANYEZI to ensure that youth are easy to rally. Thirdly many youths were brought to the campaign because of Whizz.IT especially those who had done short courses in computer training.

Mr. Qondela also notes that the coming together of most of these organisations was based on trust and moreover, Landry (2001:75) trust evolves if reliability and accountability are present in human interaction. The building of trust leads to the development of Social Capital which Putnam et al.,(1993:167) defines as, those features of social organisation (networks, norms and trust) that increases a society's productive potential. It also refers to the connection among individuals-social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness. The idea of the social capital approach is that social networks have value; social contracts affect the productivity of individuals and groups (Putnam et al 1993:167). Connick and Innes (1999) notes that these

networks often proliferated as participants learned the power of the processes and transmitted the ideas and practices to associates. Networks seem to contain social capital if they are able to mobilise resources or have beneficial outcomes (Gomulia 2006:8). Others argue that networks are built on (both formal and informal) interpersonal communication and exchange (Putnam et al., 1993:174). Networks are the key components of social capital through which social capital can become tangible (Gomula 2006:2), as they understand each other's perspective and in most cases build considerable trust.

Mr. Nkwenkwezi<sup>50</sup> notes that, the use of inclusive processes ensured the participation of multiple actors and this has been promoted by the rise in multiple actors in governance from national to international, private to public, civil society and CBOs and FBO. Gaventa and McGee (2003:23) points out that these mobilisation structures are built on complex and diverse alliances around social actors, what is more striking is how they include alliances with actors inside the state as well. Other parallel scholarship such as Gaventa and McGee (2003:23) argues that no single organisation will go far in policy advocacy unless it forges links with a range of other actors.

### **3.3.2 SACAX's Links with other Civil Society Organisations**

There was also the role of FBOs such as the Catholic Church through the Kolping project, the work of Friedman (2010) notes that the church had been involved in assisting progressive projects in South Africa such as its outright support for the TAC, as well and also Latin America it has been helping the marginalised.

The SACAX team were very happy for the support they received from various media houses, firstly SABC, Radio Zebonene a Community Radio station as they organised interviews for SACAX leaders to explain the main message of the campaign to the community, also Bush Radio, a local Radio Station which also organised interviews, thirdly, the print media also came to the party as Vukani (community Newspaper) covered the SACAX campaign and also participated in the Grand Rally of 28<sup>th</sup> August 2010 and fourthly, the electronic media News 24 was also present<sup>51</sup>.

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<sup>50</sup> Personal Communication with Nkwenkwezi ( March 28<sup>th</sup> 2012) Khayelitsha

<sup>51</sup> Personal Communication with Mr. Qondela (August 3<sup>rd</sup>, 2012) Khayelitsha

The campaign benefited greatly from the technical and management assistance of Whizz Information Communication Technology Training Centre, which Qondela notes is an Information communication Training Centre in Site C.<sup>52</sup> "...we were also responsible for bringing the Artist and a host of Youth groups into SACAX and they all became active partners as we played the role as the principal body coordinating the campaign". The training centre had also been very instrumental in spreading anti-xenophobic messages even in the aftermath of the campaign, and it has also been very friendly in championing anti-xenophobic practices and sensitizing community members against poor treatments and discrimination against African immigrants<sup>53</sup>. The campaign enabled SACAX leadership to liaise with international CSOs like the UNHCR, Cape Town refugee CSOs such as ARESTA and CTTC, and CBOs like, CODETA, SYDPRO, and INKUNYEZI) Administrative elites had to lend their support to the initiative. There was also the Neighbourhood Watch that organised nightly patrols in the area, to look-out for any possible criminal acts such as robbery<sup>54</sup>. At this level, it will be instructive to examine what was the interest of all the CBOs that participated in this campaign.

For CODETA, when asked why they bought into the idea, Sassa noted that, "we agreed to be part of the campaign as we feared that being the biggest firm in Site C such violence if allowed may affect business operations and the general fear is nobody can predict when some of these incidents can erupt and how far they can go. We wanted a peaceful environment for our business, some of our colleagues were afraid that the violence can lead to loss of buses, while others feared also it can prevent commuters from commuting and not the least contribute negatively to the loss of income. Which for us, this was the worst case scenario, which we were not ready to see<sup>55</sup>.

For the VPUU, the Social Fund Coordinator explained thus; "...we have operations in the communities of Site B, Site C and Harare" and as explained earlier it emerged that social crime prevention is at the heart of their operations. In this light they were very pleased to get a Community Based Organisation like SACAX to work with as an "informal implementation partner" whose presence in the community of Site C would help us in realising our vision and we

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<sup>52</sup> Personal communication with Mr. Qondela (August 3<sup>rd</sup>, 2012) Khayelitsha

<sup>53</sup> Personal communication with Mr. Qondela (August 3<sup>rd</sup>, 2012) Khayelitsha

<sup>54</sup> Personal communication with Mr. Qondela (August 3<sup>rd</sup>, 2012) Khayelitsha

<sup>55</sup> Personal Communication with Miss. Sassa (July 20<sup>th</sup> 2012) Khayelitsha

were very pleased and ready to work with SACAX and prevent such violent attacks reoccurring in the community<sup>56</sup>.

On the part of UNHCR, Mr. Bidandi of ARESTA explained that the organisation was deeply involved in the campaign, this is so as the protection and security of refugees is at the centre of our activities. In accordance with the UNHCR Convention of 1951, the primary duty of this UN agency is the protection and assistance of refugees. Since the sad incidence of May 2008, the UNHCR has opened offices in Cape Town to coordinate our activities in the province and the city. The UNHCR had been working with Cape Town Refugee Centre as its implementation partner<sup>57</sup>. Thus with these rumours and the emergence of SACAX we were quite happy to work with these groups and since SACAX has deep roots in the community, thus a Community Based Organisation and their ability to leverage their campaign in one of the official languages which is well spoken in the area and understood by many<sup>58</sup>.

On the part of the CSOs involved in assisting refugee, such as ARESTA, Mr. Bidandi notes “that our interest was focused more on the security of the refugees, as these groups constitute our constituency”. The livelihood, safety, and security of these groups became very vital for us, this then explain why were so involved in the campaign before, during and after the campaign<sup>59</sup>.

For the Youth Formations involved in the campaign they were willing to participate, because some of these attacks give the community a negative image and this negativity contributes to investors shying away from the community and investing elsewhere, and the youths are the ones suffering from these unemployment and negative publicity. Secondly, in 2007, the Irish assisted in building close to 800 houses in Site C, this is a positive development for the community.<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>56</sup> Personal Communication with VPUU (June 20<sup>th</sup> 2012) Civic Centre in Cape Town

<sup>57</sup> Personal Communication with Mr. Dickson (5<sup>th</sup> July 2012) Wynberg

<sup>58</sup> Personal communication with Mr. Bidandi (July 3<sup>rd</sup>, 2012) Athlone

<sup>59</sup> Personal communication with Mr. Bidandi in (July 3<sup>rd</sup>, 2012) Athlone

<sup>60</sup> Personal communication with coordinator of SYDPRO (June 5<sup>th</sup>, 2012) in Khayelitsha



### 3.3.3 Why did some key actors not participate in the campaign?

As elaborated earlier that the campaign was an inclusive process but why did some key actors in the community opted to exclude themselves? Paradoxically, the main stream Political parties in the community of Site C such as the ANC, Pan African Congress and United Democratic Movement in the community, which were supposed to steer the direction of the campaigns, were conspicuously absent. This was principally because the campaign was led by a CSO and some political leaders have question representation by CSOs, but as argued by David Plotke (1997:19) “the opposite of representation is not participation. The opposite of representation is exclusion. And the opposite of participation is abstention... Rather than opposing participation to representation, we should try to improve representative practices and forms to make them more open, effective and fair. Representation is not an unfortunate compromise between an ideal of direct democracy and messy modern realities. Representation is crucial in democratic practice. As elaborated elsewhere (Benit-Gbaffou 2008:1, Piper and Nadvi (2010) note that invited spaces in local governance in South Africa such as Ward Committees and consultations around the budget and IDP are firstly disempowered, secondly disconnected from the central issues, and thirdly attached to weak politicians. Benit-Gbaffou (2008) reinforces this perception by insinuating that Ward Councillors are also reluctantly absent from public spaces as far as municipal decisions and debates are concern.

Furthermore, in most cases whenever these politicians are present, they seek to capture the project for their own purpose and they take the decisions and the projects ends up not being participatory (Cornwall 2002), in most cases the politicians are answerable to their parties and care little about issues affecting their constituencies. In addition, there is also the argument of political society in most cases undermining civil society in some cases sedates CSOs (Staniland 2008). When asked for an opinion on why they did not participate in the SACAX campaign to challenge xenophobia in his community, the former ANC Councillor pointed out that they were not contacted early enough, he said:



*I learnt from my ANC colleagues that they were never consulted on the campaign and there was no public participation on the campaign, we learnt about it late and we could not join because we don't know what direction it was going to take, and I asked who organized it<sup>61</sup>.*

The leaders of SACAX such Mr. Monela posit that the formal political structures wanted to control all activities in the community and also preferred everything in the area to be channelled through them, as they believed they are the pillars of the community<sup>62</sup>. Houtzager&Lavalle (2010:2) agrees that civil society representation in institutions that make binding decisions and compete for jurisdiction with legislative bodies is stirring unease and uncertainty among civil society leaders, secondly political parties and labour unions have come in for particularly strong criticisms of their oligarchic and exclusionary tendencies.

There are some African immigrant groups which did not participate in spite the fact that the campaign was to assist them. When asked why some of them were not interested in the campaign that was focused towards protecting them? Mr. Isaac from Ghana had this to say:

*...My brother listen to me, we have huge challenges in this community and whenever there is a problem between African immigrants and South Africans most taxi owners are not ready to listen to the dispute they just start shouting that the foreigners must pack their containers and leave, so I don't think this campaign can make much difference.*

“The absence of these groups did not in any way disturb the organisation of this campaign as we were united in our effort to mobilise the community members against xenophobia in the community”.<sup>63</sup> Apart from the reluctance of mainstream political bodies to join, the SAPS did not play a role in this campaign despite the fact that internal security is the prerogative of the SAPS. When asked what went wrong? Mr. Qondela explained thus: “We made several visits to the Site B, Police Station, to seek help from the station commander of our intention, to organise a campaign against xenophobia in Site C and we got no response”. “When we finally saw his deputy and explained our mission to him he blushed that they had their own plan of action”. The SAPS later commented that they were following instructions from their superiors:

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<sup>61</sup> Personal Communication with Mr. Xolani (July 10<sup>th</sup>, 2012) Khayelitsha

<sup>62</sup> Personal Communication with Mr. Monela (July 5<sup>th</sup>, 2012) Khayelitsha,

<sup>63</sup> Personal Communication with Mr. Qondela (August 3<sup>rd</sup> 2012) Khayelitsha

*Due to the security concerns and strategies put in place by the National Police Commissioner, Bheki Cele especially with high profile guest around Cape Town due to the World Cup; we had serious crime preventions strategies and programs that we could not divert from<sup>64</sup>.*

The SACAX leaders noted that, they were very disappointed with the lack of response from the police, but still went ahead with the campaign nonetheless since they had the support of the community.

### **3.4 Conclusion**

This chapter has examined principally what SACAX did and how they went about doing it. It has explored how SACAX was able to firstly mobilise the community through the formation of complex networks both private and public and secondly, organising Co-Governance participatory spaces which were used in spreading awareness campaigns, teaching diversity, human rights issues, civic and political education to the communities, and also spreading issues of democratic values. The campaign also enabled citizens to participate directly with the SACAX leadership and also citizens to be represented directly and to interface directly with CSOs and state officials and also officials from UNHCR. These deliberative and participatory spaces empowered the citizenry and build an empowered an active citizenry through the awareness programmes. In this light citizen empowerment improves their capacity to deliberate effectively in public spaces and for Dryzek (2000) it is this effective deliberation that is the real democracy. These efforts of SACAX are observed by Cornwall and Coelho (2007) as alternative spaces of CSOs deepening democracy through participation.

Following this mobilisation and participation campaign, the next question that comes to mind is did SACAX achieve its set out goals: which was to substantively change the perception of the community against African immigrants? With this in mind, the study will then transcend to examining the impact of the SACAX campaign in changing perceptions on African immigrants in Site C in 2010. This discourse then forms the central thrust of the next chapter.

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<sup>64</sup> Personal communication with a SAPS member (July 23<sup>rd</sup> 2012) Khayelitsha

## **Chapter Four**

### **The Impact of SACAX Campaign**

*Let us remember that no one is born a racist. Children learn racism as they grow up, from the society around them and too often the stereotypes are reinforced, deliberately or inadvertently, by the mass media (Secretary General Kofi Annan 2001 in Durban)*

On reading of the words of Mr. Annan, one is then tempted to pose the question whether Co-governance spaces created with the vision of mobilising citizens and including citizens in decision making, creating awareness and civic education for the community can reduce xenophobia and enhance democracy.

The current chapter will attempt to explore the impact of the SACAX campaign in changing perceptions on African immigrants among the residents of Site C, and whether there have been any other citizenship enhancing benefits. This chapter will then attempt to develop this argument through interrogating the main themes that emerged during the research and secondly presents the results of the analysis of the focus group discussions, in-depth interviews and thirdly mini-questionnaires. It will then also explore the informal observations, and further examine whether this campaign actually deepened democracy as well as examining the democratic strengths and weaknesses of this campaign. The data obtained from the focus group discussions with the leadership of SACAX and the individual in-depth interviews with CBOs, FBOs, political and administrative elites, Advocacy NGOs working with refugees ARESTA and CTRC also VPUU is grouped together as the first category. The survey-questionnaires then form the second category and have been analysed and are presented and interpreted in a table and in a bar chart and also informal observations will be examined.

#### **4.1 Local Elites**

Data was gathered from focus group discussions with SACAX leadership and interviews from other SACAX members so as to compare and contrast the findings and scout for differences and similarities emerging from the discussions. The researcher first started with six SACAX leaders in the first week and proceeded in the second week with ten. An interview guide was used see (Appendix 156-158)

The leadership of CBOs were also interviewed these were SANCO, CODETA, SYDPRO leaders. Political and administrative elites were also interviewed an interview guide was used.

The researcher made use of mixed- method research and therefore had to immerse himself in the community and also in the qualitative data. The data was then grouped together in themes for responses or other elements of responses that were similar through that process creating categories, which were then grouped to form themes.

Themes emerging from the focus groups discussions and in-depth interviews were:

The arrival of African immigrants in the community of Site C by the late 1990s, and their economic activities that they operated

The impact of their businesses on local businesses especially on food retail businesses (spaza shops), when specifically Somalis started operating spaza shops,

The xenophobic attacks of 2008 and their effects on the African immigrants

The birth of SACAX and its campaign of 2010,

What was the nature of the campaign and its main activities around 2010?

The participatory nature of the campaign

What did they achieve in terms of changing attitudes and deepening democracy and what were the indicators?

### *African immigrants and their economic activities*

The central theme for the researcher was to ascertain from the leadership of SACAX through the focus group discussions and the in-depth interviews with the CBOs, and local elites as well as residential civil society, when precisely the first African immigrants became visible in Site C and what attracted them to the area as well as what economic activity were they involved in? It then emerged from Mr. Matoto<sup>65</sup> that, the first African immigrants came to the community of Site C between 1998 and 1999 and this was after the construction of the taxi rank in the area. Secondly,

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<sup>65</sup> Personal communication with Mr. Matoto (April 30<sup>th</sup>, 2012) Khayelitsha

he revealed that they were mostly attracted, by the desire to get a trading space and operate their businesses or ply their trade, as they were many empty spaces. He also added that most of these African immigrants were shoe repairers and barbers and these were mostly in open air without any proper shelter and they were three of them. They were two Ghanaians and a Nigerian, while the Ghanaians were in shoe repairs, the Nigerian was a barber. It also emerged that their presence and the growth of their businesses such as the transition from open stands into steel containers then attracted some locals to open their own businesses side by side the African immigrants.

By the dawn of the year 2000, there were close to eight African immigrants and by 2002 the numbers burgeoned to about twelve. Their activities expanded into fridge repairs, lady hair salons, foot wares and the sale of clothing. Between 2004 and 2006, the number climbed to 20 and they became involved in a diversified scale of activities ranging from car repairs, auto electrical, automotive spares, furniture shops, fridge repairs, cell phone repairs and the running of spaza shops. Their increasing number and their involvement in the spaza shop business then saw the dawn of tension between South African spaza shop owners and the African immigrants but more specifically the Somalis.

*The economic competition that emerged*

It then emerged from the focus group discussions with SACAX leaders<sup>66</sup> and the in-depth interviews with economic operators<sup>67</sup> and political and administrative elites<sup>68</sup>, that the increase in the number of African immigrants especially the involvement of Somalis in spaza shops accounted for this tension. It further emerged that this tension later led to the killing of 32 Somali spaza shop owners in the Western Cape and more than five of these deaths were in Site C (Ndenze 2006a). The tension also led to the formation of Zankhanyo which was an association created by South African spaza shop owners to protect the interest of South African owned businesses as well as prevent the opening of more Somali owned spaza shops in the Greater Khayelitsha area. Their vision was to pre-empt the rampant expansion of Somali owned spaza shops which were having a negative impact on indigenously owned spaza shops due to the competition. To

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<sup>66</sup> Focus Group Discussions with SACAX leadership (April 5<sup>th</sup> 2012) Khayelitsha

<sup>67</sup> In-depth interviews with economic operators (September 20<sup>th</sup> 2012) Khayelitsha

<sup>68</sup> In-depth interviews with political and administrative elites (September 25<sup>th</sup> 2012) Khayelitsha

ensure that their interest was protected and to get their concerns also addressed in most meetings the Somali reacted by creating the Somali Retailers Association, an umbrella organisation for Somali Retailers who could represent them in any meetings convened by Zanokhanyo or any government agency<sup>69</sup>. In spite of the efforts of Zanokhanyo to preclude the spread of Somali owned spaza shops, Mr. Qondela of SACAX argues that the Constitution of South Africa is clear and the Somalis have right to expand and today in 2010, there are close to 40 Somali owned spazas operating in the area<sup>70</sup>. This expansion has seen an increased tension between South African spaza owners and Somalis. Attempts to investigate how this problem could be resolved mostly from South African businesses it emerged that a segment argue that the Somalis should leave as they were making life difficult for indigenous businesses. One respondent asked the researcher in a subtle manner “please my friend in your country can a foreigner just move in and be opening one shop after another”? He further added “people cannot come from Somalia and be opening one spaza shop after another, without any restriction, how are we going to feed our children?”

#### *Xenophobic Attacks of 2008 and its impact on African immigrants*

It emerged from the focus group discussions<sup>71</sup> with the leadership of SACAX and in-depth interviews with Somalis spaza shop owners<sup>72</sup> that the area that was mostly affected was the informal areas the periphery of the taxi rank, and the principal targets were spaza shops owned by Somali nationals as well as Somalis themselves. This finding is consistent with Marias (2008) who notes that these attacks took place mostly in socially, politically and economically marginalised peripheries of the city, which are homes to new arrivals from inside and outside of the country and where competition for resources is rife and low levels of social cohesion. Peberdy and Mazibuko (2011) notes that the xenophobic attacks of 2008 reached Site C on Friday 22<sup>nd</sup> May 2008 at about 2pm. Some community members pointed to the fact that it might have been spurred by the successful attacks in Makhaza where the Police did nothing to assist those whose businesses were looted. It also emerged from SACAX that the first attacks took

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<sup>69</sup> In-depth interview with Mr. Guran, Somali trader ( May 12<sup>th</sup> 2012) Khayelitsha

<sup>70</sup> Mr. Qondela explains that when Zanokhanyo leadership asks him about Somali businesses he told them the truth. (August 3<sup>rd</sup>, 2012) Khayelitsha

<sup>71</sup> Focus Group Discussions with SACAX leaders ( April 5<sup>th</sup> 2012) Khayelitsha

<sup>72</sup> Personal Communication with Mr. Qondela in ( August 3<sup>rd</sup> 2012) Khayelitsha

place opposite the public library in D section when six youths entered a Somali owned spaza first requesting money then airtime and later looted rice and meat. The ease with which they were able to loot and apparently encouraged other community members to enter the same shop and carried rice, chicken and sugar<sup>73</sup>. Emboldened by their earlier successes they now swarmed through Solomon Tsuku Avenue attacking spaza shop owned by African immigrants mostly Somalis, they continued right through to Tembani shopping centre where they attacked the Bangladesh owned Check-out super market.

In-depth interviews with taxi owners such as Sassa revealed that the violence did not spread to the taxi rank as most of the youths are quite aware of the fact that taxi owners are no-nonsense individuals who will not easily succumb to cheap threats as they are always armed. Later in the afternoon the taxi owners barricaded the rank and controlled all those who were either entering or leaving the rank in order to protect their businesses and their property as they feared any attack on their motor vehicles. Sassa further explained that they if any bus is burnt that will end up being the problem of the owners. Later that evening the taxi owners then arranged transport for all Somalis who wanted to carry their goods out of the area<sup>74</sup>.

Following these attacks and the lootings of close to 16 spaza shops and a fridge repair business, most of the African immigrants operating and or living in the area had to leave for places of safety either to stay with friends who lived out of Site C or to places of safety mostly community halls, police stations, mosque or churches. According to Mr. Guran the Somali community was most affected, since most of them are involved in groceries in an impoverished community and live in their business premises and so lost most of their investments and livelihood. He also revealed that other African immigrants groups from the SADC region like Zimbabweans, Malawians and Mozambicans who could speak one or two South African languages such as IsiZulu and IsiXhosa and lived amongst South African informal settlements, had their houses ransacked. African immigrants from West Africa whose interest in the area is only commercial and mostly lived in middle class areas like Mandalay, Mitchell Plain, and Salt River were not badly affected as their places of residence was still intact. Following these violence, the area then became deserted as most of stalls owned by African immigrants were closed. Those whose

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<sup>73</sup> Personal communication with Mr. Guran a Somali spaza shop owner ( May 12<sup>th</sup> 2012) Khayelitsha

<sup>74</sup> Personal communication with Miss. Sassa Taxi owner in (July 20<sup>th</sup> 2012) Khayelitsha



businesses were partially affected and not their entire livelihood were able to return to the area on Monday 25<sup>th</sup> May for business. Most of those who actually live in the area had to stay in the shelters provided by the state and CSOs, as the community was still deem hostile for their safe return. These findings are consistent with those of Peberdy and Mazibuko (2011).

### *The 2010 rumours*

A key claim of this thesis is the xenophobic rumours of 2010 which was the main trigger that led to the formation of SACAX and its campaign was principally geared towards challenging or rolling back xenophobia and preventing the actualisation of these rumours. The various phases of the campaign and the mobilisation of the community, CBOS, FBOs, residential civil society (Street Committees and SANCO) then saw the effective participation of the community in the programmes of SACAX. The next question that comes to mind is firstly what did they achieve in terms of changing attitudes and deepening democracy and secondly, what were the indicators and lastly perceptions on how this campaign pre-empted xenophobic outburst.

The administrative official responsible for Public Participation in South African communities is the Community Development Worker (hereafter CDW), as he represents the Provincial Department of Cooperative Governance in the community as they are community based resource person helps fellow community members to obtain information and resources from government departments, thus the CDW is to facilitate community participation in government initiatives, in this role his views are vital.

Apart from the CDW there is also the Ward Committees and as noted earlier these are statutory bodies created in terms of the Municipal Structures Act (Act No.117 of 1998). The purpose of Ward Committees is to assist the democratically elected representative of a ward (the Councillor) to carry out his or her mandate. As noted earlier that municipalities must establish ward committees, with the view of enhancing participatory democracy in the local government, thus the views of this official will be vital, and also the Former Councillor, SACAX leadership and the refugee CSO ARESTA. These were the key informants whose insights are vital to the thesis.

*What did this campaign achieve?*

According to the CDW<sup>75</sup>, the SACAX campaign was one of the greatest developments that had happened in Site C. It brought together key role players in the community, and also with external role players to fight against a phenomenon like xenophobia which is borne out of ignorance, hatred, jealousy, poverty and illiteracy; he further added that “I was personally happy to be part of it”. He added that he wished another campaign is organised as he explained that these campaigns need to be done from time to time and he personally hold a strong view that it did not touch the width and breadth of the community, as Site C is very large and diverse, his believe is, most of the people in the informal areas of the community might not have heard or participated in the campaign, thus, enlarging the campaign is vital to reach more people.

From the view of the CDW, the campaign might not have reached all layers of the community, this is so, as the campaign was too focused on the main streets without entering deep into the informal settlements, were most of the people are living and for him even if the campaigners can enter deep into these areas, it is necessary to divide T-shirts in these areas and some of the flyers so that the message should reach these informal communities, as Site C is not limited to the formal areas only. This then navigates to the views of Ward Committee Member.

According to the Ward Committee member<sup>76</sup> who also note that the difficult issue with the community is due to the fact that most of the youths are not well informed and others are not educated. Thus programmes like these are very important in the community as they help to enlighten the youths. This then leads to the view of the VPUU.

The Social Fund Coordinator for VPUU project<sup>77</sup>, she notes that they were very scared with the rumours initially, but from the onset with the threats from these people but she latter reveal that her “fears started to change to hope with the presentations from ARESTA and CTRC, and when SACAX which has members in the community agreed to lead the campaign, I then saw it clearly that it’s doable”. She further noted that she was very happy that the leaders of some of the CSOs dealings with refugees, finally accepted to work in the townships and to ‘dirty their hands in that

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<sup>75</sup> Personal communication with CDW (August 1<sup>st</sup> 2012) Khayelitsha

<sup>76</sup> Personal Communication with Ward committee member (August 10<sup>th</sup> 2012) Khayelitsha

<sup>77</sup> Personal communication with VPUU Social Fund Coordinator (June 20<sup>th</sup> 2012) Civic Centre in Cape Town

process' spreading the message, educating and creating awareness around issues of African immigrants and refugees. This is a step in the right direction as she points out that "they should not sit in their offices and argue that they are protecting/or speaking for refugees without knowing what is going on in the field".

For the leadership of SACAX<sup>78</sup>, they explain that they were very ecstatic arguing that this campaign enabled them to form broad coalition of networks with other agencies both private and public, CSOs, residential CSOs, national and international NGOs working with refugees enabled us as a team to change the perceptions of the community against African immigrants and in the aftermath.

SACAX leaders pointed out that this campaign has brought a lot of CBOs, and CSOs together and it enabled SACAX to now liaise with a lot of CSOs involve with refugees and VPUU, as many organisations can now see their passion to manage community issues especially whenever the need arises. They further noted that this success story enabled them to be linked with many international NGOs like UNHCR, which had been contacting them to find out how they can work together in the future. They again noted that the campaign brought them closer with African immigrants as they now see SACAX as a 'one stop shop' for all their community problems and through this campaign a lot of African immigrants had been given hope, and community members who had received poor services from African immigrants had always gone to report their cases, and they had always made it a duty to help.

For the former Councilor<sup>79</sup> who prides himself on having been a Councilor when Mbeki was President revealed that this campaign was very important for the community of Site C. I was very happy about the campaign and these campaigns are very good in that they bring people with new and good ideas together. This enables us to have a safe community towards the end of the World Cup 2010. He further notes that these violent xenophobic attacks could have been avoided if these campaigns were conducted in 1990s immediately after liberation, so that, our people could understand. If our people were told from the onset that these are African brothers from

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<sup>78</sup> Focus Group Discussions with SACAX leadership ( April 20<sup>th</sup> 2012) in Khayelitsha

<sup>79</sup> Personal communication with Mr. Matoto (April 30<sup>th</sup> 2012) Khayelitsha

across the borders, there is no way any reasonable person can call them foreigners, how will these same people call the Indians and Chinese’.

The head of Advocacy for ARESTA Bidandi<sup>80</sup> indicated that; though this was one of the greatest opportunities for community to be educated on refugee issues and the responsibilities of host countries on refugee issues. He added that: “though this project was a pilot project, it gave them the space to engage with stakeholders in the communities and interface with African immigrants”. He further added that the Site C campaign though was a pilot phase for them, it has opened a lot of doors and they have learnt a lot from it, from crowd management to media arrangements, to time managements, to the distribution of the leaflets/brochures and some of the challenges of running campaigns have emerged as a learning curve. It also emerged that the campaign touched all echelons of society, from the youths in schools, to the working class and the unemployed. This approach enabled all the groups to participate actively and own the campaign and to a greater extent carry the message to others who did not participate in the campaign.

*Perceptions of the indicators of the successes of the campaign*

The CDW revealed that his greatest fear was to avoid a scenario where African immigrants or foreign nationals would have to pack bag and baggage and leave the area out of fear of xenophobia. That is why we stood with SACAX and said as one family we shall sit here and wait for xenophobia to come and kill all of us as a family. Since the World Cup came and went without any person killed for us we think it was a great success.

The former Councillor of the area, explained that such activities are good because it is the duty of the community leaders to inform and teach people about what we call ubuntu (humanity) and Batho bele, (people first) because we are all Africans, since we have a common ancestry and from one soil because, The fact that no-body was killed and there was no damage to property was thus a great success. He added “this campaign has drastically changed the way people

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<sup>80</sup>Personal communication with Bidandi ( July 3<sup>rd</sup> 2012) Athlone

regard, live and treat African immigrants in the community, and it is good that no-body was beaten, no body killed and no shop was looted”<sup>81</sup>.

For ARESTA it emerged that, the success of the project has enabled them to move to the Greater Khayelitsha area with the awareness campaign. The campaign also now includes Ward Councillors, SAPS, teachers and even some DHA officials, to ensure that these state officials change their perceptions on African immigrants and this project has now been extended into the schools, and they have carried the campaign to other schools in the Capemetropole. They are working hard to extend it to the rest of the province to increase awareness on refugee issues and to reduce the tension between African immigrants and host national. He further notes that one of the tangible outcomes for the education sector is in the integration of refugee awareness courses and refugee rights into Life Orientation courses of most of the learners in the schools that they conducted campaigns.

For the SACAX leadership<sup>82</sup>“the project was a success as it brought the principal stakeholders in the community together and we were able to safe our African brothers from any attacks” They further explained that the fact that there was a standby organisation ready to assist and the circulation of our phone numbers to all the Somali Spaza shop owners to call us in the event of any attacks was very assuring for the business owners.

For VPUU, “this campaign beat our expectation as we never expected many stakeholders to come on board and participate actively”, she further added that “it was not easy to be campaigning for close to six weeks campaigning every day in the community bringing all levels of the community together”<sup>83</sup>.

#### *Perception of the participatory nature of the campaign*

According to the CDW, “since the campaign brought most of the community members’ together youths, adults, working class, unemployed and all genders were well represented”. They all participated in the campaign as one family for close to six weeks. It also emerged from the

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<sup>81</sup> Personal communication with Mr. Matoto, (April 30<sup>th</sup>, 2012) Khayelitsha

<sup>82</sup> Focus Group Discussions with SACAX leadership (April 20<sup>th</sup> 2012) Khayelitsha

<sup>83</sup> Personal communication with VPPU Social Fund Coordinator (June 20<sup>th</sup>, 2012) Khayelitsha

interviews that the fact that most of the literature or the flyers that were distributed were written in IsiXhosa, a local language which is a common vernacular in the community, enabling all the people to read and understand that even the UN and the UNHCR recognised that these African immigrants have rights enshrined in international conventions it become easy for our people to understand.

The SACAX leadership was very impressed about the campaign as it emerged that they were happy with the fact that all echelons of society were represented, from learners in schools, youth groups, women groupings and men were well represented and the main political and civic groupings participated as individuals rather than as representatives of these groups. On the other hand, the campaign had the full support of the CBOs such as CODETA, VPUU and CSOs dealing with refugee issues like ARESTA, CTRC and UNHCR were well represented. These groups were part and parcel of the campaign from the conceptualisation, to initial launching of the programme to the final campaign in August. Their support before, during and after the campaign lend some credence to SACAX as it became well recognised as it was deeply rooted in the community and carrying the campaign in a popular language in the community.

For ARESTA, it emerged that, since they wanted to get everyone into the campaign and since most of the adults were at work during the week, they used the weekdays for schools were they taught the children issues on refugee rights, the causes of the wars, in Africa and the responsibilities of host nationals on refugees and the convention of the UNHCR 1951, while on weekends they the address the adults in the public places, town halls, shopping centers and garages. Thus this campaign reached all groups of the society and all parts of the community.

#### *Perception of how this campaign forestalled the outburst of xenophobic violence*

Mr. Bidandi of ARESTA, he explained that, they think xenophobia is an on going challenge and any effort to change mindsets is very vital hence campaign did the right thing and they argued that this campaign did the right thing by protecting African immigrants from this xenophobic scare.

For the leadership of SACAX, this campaign was able to explain to the communities their duties of protecting the African immigrants in their midst and it makes no sense killing people who are running away from wars. There are three things to look at notably this campaign gave hope to

most of the African immigrants, secondly, many were advised not to pack and leave as their security was guaranteed, thirdly, the fact that SACAX leadership were ready to ensure that no body was harmed. Most African immigrants cognisant of the support they were receiving from the community decided to stay and not the least the fact that even the street committees were in favour of them staying and promised protection. The campaign helped in preventing the outbreak of another wave of xenophobic attacks in the community.

As for the SACAX leadership they point out that the fact that they carried out a dynamic campaign in the community and they involved huge numbers of youths both in the debates and in the football matches and their ability to work with the street committees to sensitise the community against any attacks ensured that there was going to be no incident. Nkwenkwezi<sup>84</sup> note that, the SACAX leadership also worked with the Neighbourhood Watch to ensure that during the nights most of the ‘hotspots’”. The Neighbourhood Watch were quite on alert patrolling the streets of Site C, every night, monitoring the ‘hotspots’ on hourly bases to prevent any such attacks. This was a pro-active method of preventing any attacks. Secondly, it emerged that SACAX leadership distributed their cell phone numbers to all the Somali Spaza shop owners to call them in the event of any incidents, this prevented any possible attacks. Not the least the role of the youths who were involved in the campaigns and sport activities these enable a crime free environment as most of these youths knew who some of the perpetrators of crime were in their various streets. These efforts led to a very peaceful post World Cup2010 era as no major incident took place in Site C.

For the former Councillor “this campaign made it possible for the community to have an incident free World Cup 2010, as not a single person was attacked and no business was attacked during this period”.

For CDW, his opinion is that “campaigns like this can stop violence for now but what about after SACAX”, he went further by explaining that “I think these campaigns should be done every year as new people keep coming into the community and need to be informed that this community is against xenophobia”. He further added that “We need the government to put money to make sure

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<sup>84</sup> Personal Communication with Mr. Nkwenkwezi (March 28<sup>th</sup> 2012) Khayelitsha



that these campaigns are organised in other parts of the country as these attacks sometimes start elsewhere the country”.

#### 4.2 The perception of the local businesses

To investigate whether the campaign achieved it set out objectives, the thesis has to investigate from the economic operators of the community of Site C. The thesis took this trajectory to take into consideration on the argument of Misago et al (2009) who posits that the violence is more often than not associated with the micro-economy of the townships. Secondly, since some of these economic operators are citizens as well, whose businesses are affected one way or the other by some of these violent activities? This strand of thought is consistent with Charman and Piper (2012b) who observes that some of these xenophobic violent is sometimes violent entrepreneurship pitted between African immigrants and South African businesses. The researcher then organised a mini survey involving 100 businesses in the area to ascertain their attitudes.

It emerged from the survey questionnaires that African immigrants are involved in the following economic activities as the table below illustrates:



Nationality	Business	Participants contacted	Respondents
Cameroon	Furniture shops/fridge repairs, foot-wares and clothing and auto repairs	6	6
Ghana	Hair saloons/shoe repairs	5	5

Eretria	Spaza shops	4	3
Ethiopia	spaza	6	5
Somali	spaza	25	23
South Africa	Barber	8	6
	Dress making	8	7
	Fruit and vegetable	11	10
	Shebeens	12	10
	Spaza	15	10
	Total	100	88

The economic activities that African immigrants operate varied although most of them are involved in spaza shops are mostly Eritreans, Ethiopians and Somalis, Cameroonians are mostly involve in motor parts, car repairs, fridge repairs and foot-wares and clothing, whereas Ghanaians are involved in shoe repairs, hair salons and cell phone repairs and accessories. The table also reveals that most South Africans are involve in shebeens, spaza shops and fruit and vegetable stands, others have meat stands and also herbal shop.

*Is business competition real?*

When asked whether there was business competition in Site C, 53 of the 88 respondents which comprised the sample answered Yes, while 12 indicated No and 23 did not answer the question. From the above response it is an indication that competition is a reality in Site C businesses, this then leads to our second strand of thought to gauge the extent to which this competition affects businesses.

Furthermore of the 43 South African businesses surveyed and responded to the question, 39 gave a yes response, while Somalis did not give any response to the question and Eritreans and other African immigrants operating in the area did not respond to the question.

Further 26 of the 43 of these South Africans blamed African immigrants for the competition. According to 15 South Africans involved in the spaza shop businesses, they were of the opinion that African immigrants and specifically Somalis were the problem as they sell 'below cost'. When asked to explain further, 20 of the South Africans indicated that they were working with Zanokhanyo<sup>85</sup> in order to search for solutions. Conversely, of the 23 Somali who participated in the survey 18 stated that there were meetings with the Somali Retailers Association on how to resolve the problem.

### *Xenophobic attacks of 2008 and its aftermath*

Of the 88 respondents, it emerged that 62 were actually in Site C when the 2008 xenophobic attacks took place and also of the 88 respondents 80 answered that they were too afraid at this time to help anyone else, and only four said they helped the victims to the hospital. While six said they assisted in protecting business premises from attackers.

A further 85 of the 88 respondents explained that they felt sorry for the victims of the 2008 xenophobic attacks. Notably, of the 43 South Africans who participated in the survey 40 indicated that they did not experience any problems in 2008. Conversely 18 of the 23 Somalis responded that they were attacked and only three indicated that they had transferred their stock out of the shop before the attacks. For West Africans who are made up of 11 respondents, they reported that they had left the area early enough to avoid being physically attacked.

Notably almost all respondents, including South Africans reported having their shops looted, and almost all know of someone directly affected by the attacks. All the 88 respondents answered that the attackers were wielding weapons. This is indicative that in most cases the attackers prepared before attacking the victim and a vast majority of attacks took place in broad daylight.

### *SACAX*

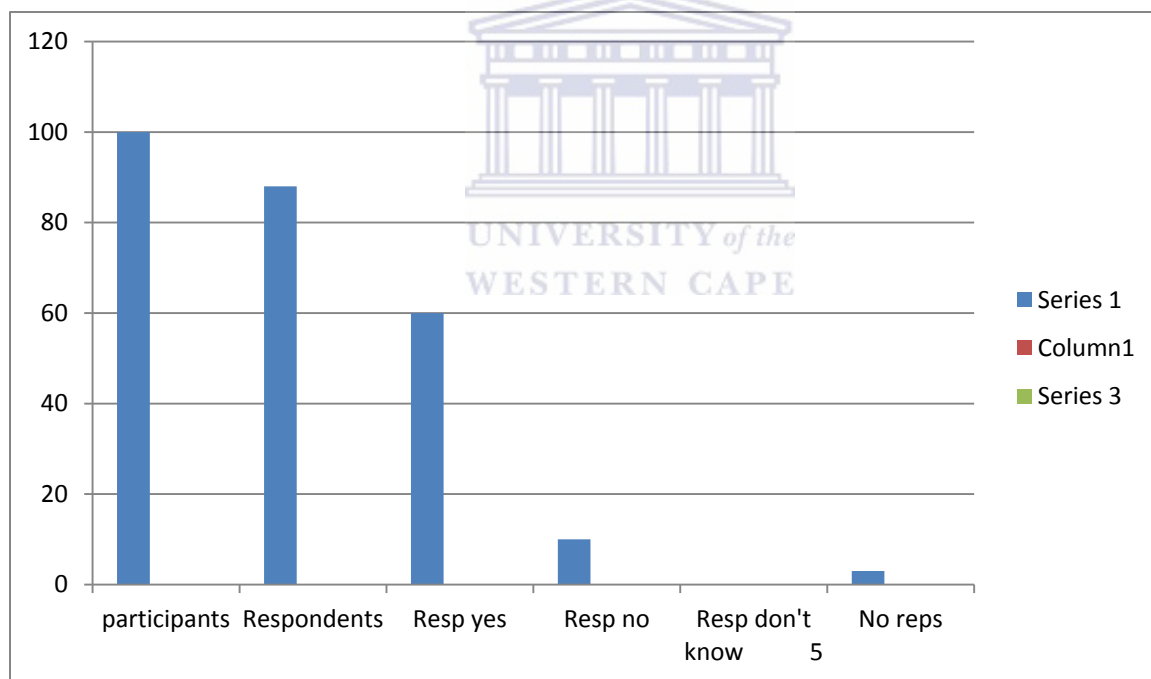
All respondents reported hearing the rumours of another xenophobic wave of attacks after the World Cup 2010. 76 of the 88 reported that they heard about SACAX's 'SAY NO TO XENOPHOBIA CAMPAIGN'. While ten indicated that they did not hear about the campaign.

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<sup>85</sup> Zanokhanyo is an association formed by Spaza shop owners in Greater Khayelitsha to protect the interest of its members and had been vociferous against the economic activities of Somalis.

Perhaps just as impressive is that 60 of 88 respondents reported they heard of SACAX more specifically 80 of the 88 reported seeing someone wearing a ‘Say No to Xenophobia’ T-shirts, and 75 felt the campaign was a positive initiative. Notably, only 20 respondents participated directly in the campaign, but most held positive perceptions about the inclusivity of the campaign across age, groups, religions and organisations.

As shown in the graph below, the majority of respondents felt that the campaign had positive impact on how they perceived and treated African immigrants. In spite the fact that the campaign took place in 2010 and the study was conducted in 2012, this then explains that the responses relied heavily on the collective memory of the respondents and errors of judgment are bound but the findings can still be used as the aura of the campaign still looms large in the memories of most of the community members who participated in the study. One respondent indicated that he still has a graphic memory of the campaign.



Of the 88 participants who participated in the study, when asked whether this campaign actually changed the way you see and work with African immigrants in the community? 60, respondents answered yes, the campaign one way or the other has enabled us to understand things better about African immigrants, while 10 said no, they don't think the campaign made any significant difference in the way they view African immigrants or they don't know and a further 4% did not

provide any response to the question. Since these figures are just a recollection of the memories of the developments then I don't expect accurate responses and are mere perceptions.

### **4.3 Informal observations**

During the fieldwork, the researcher made some important observations. The first was that since the campaign, more African immigrants have moved into the area, which is indicative that the community is friendly to African immigrants. This leads firstly, to our understanding that the setting up of early warning systems and sets of collaborative infrastructure between civil society, governance structures and national and international CSOs working with refugees working together to monitor the possible uprising of xenophobia, and also working together to assist the victims in the aftermath is vital. This infrastructure is to assist in terms of managing the issues of xenophobia before they explodes, when it explodes and after it explodes, because more often than not, when these issues take people unaware the consequences are always disastrous.

The second issue that emerged from the researchers' notes is that this Co-Governance space made it possible for African immigrants especially Somalis who are a close knitted community to be part of some of the SACAX committees sitting to elaborate programs such as the football matches and the Reference Committees. This is a step in the right direction as African immigrants are now part of the decision making processes of SACAX and no longer sitting on the fringes to be told what has been decided. This new trajectory enabled many African immigrants who were initially were reluctant, skeptical and doubtful of SACAX to start attending SACAX meeting, this then is the building of trust. Notably this Co-Governance space has emerged as an informal conflict resolution mechanism between African immigrants and the entire community.

The new trajectory as noted above encouraged more peaceful co-existence between African immigrants and the entire community. This peaceful co-existence has attracted more African immigrants into the community as the findings revealed that more African immigrants have moved into the area and most of them are from Delft. This is indicative that the community is friendly to African immigrants following the campaign and the setting up of early warning systems as well as new sets of collaborative infrastructure between civil society, governance structures and national and international CSOs working with refugees to monitor the possible

uprising of xenophobia, and working together to assist the victims in the aftermath. The study will now move towards examining whether this campaign did deepen democracy.

#### **4.4 Did this SACAX campaign Deepen Democracy?**

The thesis at this stage will attempt to investigate whether this campaign did deepen democracy. This will be achieved through examining the framework of analysis presented by, Dryzek (2000) Gaventa (2007) and Young (2000:21-26). These frameworks may be employed in assessing whether a participatory space contributes to the deepening of democracy. In this regard the framework which fits well with the SACAX campaign was that of Iris Marion Young (2000:21-26), who contends that democracy is deepened when four criteria do exist.

Firstly, she points out that when there is a high level of inclusion of citizens, such as in a campaign or to vote or a demonstration and allowing for the maximum expression of interest, opinions and perspectives relevant to the problems for which a public seeks solutions. The SACAX campaign employed a multipronged strategy to involve all layers of the community, through the classrooms in the primary schools, visiting six primary schools with close to 5000 learners and three High schools with enrolments of close to 4000 learners and meetings in the town halls involving 1000 community members, three street campaigns in the public spaces touching close to 12000 people and two football matches attracting about 2000 spectators each. These multiple platforms saw a massive inclusion of close to 20.000 citizens in a community of close to 100,000 people.

Secondly, she notes again that when civil society initiates participatory and deliberative spaces citizens ought to be included in decision making on the same terms with equal rights whether they are poor or rich, employed or unemployed and be given opportunities to express their interest. The SACAX campaign provided at least some space for all citizens to participate on equal terms, the poor and rich, the employed and unemployed, learners and students and all layers of society where offered spaces to participate in the deliberations such as asking questions. The campaign also brought men and women together, Muslims and Christians, believers and non-believers, traditional herbalist and Rastafarians.

Thirdly, citizens engage in publicly accountable discussions with reasonable open mind in some cases with state officials. The SACAX campaign brought some political and administrative

officials from the City of Cape Town and also the VPUU, and other governance structures together in the community and created a platform for local communities to interface directly with these state officials. Notably, the campaign enabled substantive engagement between various community representatives and state officials, and also at the broader level the campaign initiated a public debate in which most social groups participated.

Fourthly, a willingness to accept the interest of others whether the person in question is from a disadvantaged background, poor, or rich or even unemployed. The SACAX campaign was a platform for all the community and ensured that whether refugees, African immigrants , poor , unemployed and state officials, advocacy NGO officials international civil servants working with UNHCR and IOM were able to share the space and feel comfortable in asking questions. In the above light, the SACAX campaign did deepen democracy. Our next task is to explore the democratic strength and weaknesses of the campaign.

#### **4.5 Democratic Strength and Weaknesses of the campaign**

##### **4.5.1 Democratic Strength**

###### *Challenging popular prejudice*

The central theme of the thesis is to argue a case that prejudice can be challenged if civil society is able to mobilise the community and other community based organisations and stakeholders with vested interest in the community are brought together with governance structures working in tandem with civil society at national and international level working with refugees to participate in challenging such attitudes. In order to change these popular prejudices is the building of an active citizenry, this then led to SACAX organising a series of campaigns that appear to have met both of these goals, at least according to the perceptions of key local leaders and some popular constituencies too. These efforts to mobilise the community to participate against prejudice led to the formation of SACAX which is a co-governance space.

###### *The Emergence of SACAX as an organisation*

As noted earlier, the rumours of the resurgence of another wave of xenophobic attacks led to the birth of this organisation, with the objective to mediate the campaign to challenge perceptions against xenophobia. The presence of this organisation then acted as framework and as noted



earlier, it saw the construction of new sets of relations in terms of capacity building across civil society, the state and local and international actors for both the creation of early warning mechanism and setting up of infrastructure in the prevention of future acts of xenophobia as well as to coordinate efforts in future outbursts. This then brings to the fore the democratic role civil society can play in influencing citizens directly, government and public policy. One of the tangible outcomes of these networks is that it forms the basis of a substantive partnership between state and civil society from local to national and also to international levels. This co-governance infrastructure has assisted in managing the issues of xenophobia in the community. With this, the thesis now turns to investigating how this project built an active citizenry.

### *Empowering democratic citizenship skills*

In spite significant inequalities among citizens and the levels of poverty and unemployment, the didactic features of the public participation campaign succeeded in a large part in off-setting these potential for domination. The didactic component of participation is worth appreciating; from the perspective of individuals, the campaign saw many meetings devoted to learning procedures and rules as well as more specific technical criteria like the writing of minutes, organising presentations and allocating time for each speaker without interruptions. Participants then acquire these skills and other specific competencies related to the art of advocating, debating, deliberating and mobilising communities. In the process they are able to learn as the processes unfolded such as processes on how to run meetings and how to develop norms for dialogue that were respectful of different types of speech. Meeting facilitators are always aware of their functions as partially learning procedures (Baiocchi 2001:43). It emerged that SACAX employed networks and partnership in this campaign it is with this that we now turn to.

### *Networks/partnership*

This Co-governance space between the state and civil society is based on a new set of partnerships or a new plurality of governance which Chandhoke (2003) notes that it involves private and public companies and these creates new sets of collaboration between the state and civil society which had ushered in new forms of engagements. Mohanty (2010) notes that the role for civil society in this partnership framework ensures that they do what governments' finds unable to: for instance, dissemination of information in popular languages like IsiXhosa,

awareness building, and capacity building through training. This form of participation works as mediation between the interest of the powerless and the host communities, as it created spaces for other actors.

### *Creating Space for other Actors*

The other key feature of the project was that it created space for most stakeholders to participate in this Co-governance space. It ensured many actors participated actively in the processes through deliberation and participation. This massive community mobilisation of the community from political elites, CBOs, CSOs, FBOs, and also Youth Formations as well as representatives from residential civil society (SANCO and Street Committee), has the potential to unite the community against any possible actions from any xenophobes. This is premised on the grounds that the actual implementation of this campaign depended greatly on the participation of the entire community and not only the leadership of SACAX.

### *The Co-governance space*

The public participation campaign organised by SACAX to challenge perceptions against xenophobia in Site C Khayelitsha was a Co-Governance space. As noted earlier the increasing exclusion of citizens in decision making has paved the way to a variety of new spaces which are not invited or invented. Gaventa (2007) note that a functioning participatory sphere in local governance requires three variables: firstly, good institutions (VPUU), secondly, political will (political and administrative elites) and thirdly, a strong civil society (SACAX). These new spaces have gained prominence in contemporary literature on space and are the hybrid space which Cornwall and Coelho (2007: 1) posit as the 'new democratic spaces' which are intermediaries situated as they are at the interface between the state and societies; they are also in many respect intermediary spaces conduits for negotiation, influence and exchange.

For Ackerman (2004:447) they are seen as the best way of tapping into the energy of society through Co-Governance that involves inviting social actors to participate in the core activities of the state. He further notes that citizens should play direct roles in public choices or engage deeply with substantive political issues. They may be provided and provided for by the state backed in some settings by legal and institutional guarantees into which citizens and their representatives are invited and these spaces are a paradigmatic shift from the Realist State centric

space or command and control (Baiocchi 2001:43).The scholarship further notes that, they may also be seen as spaces conquered by social movements and civil society. They are funded by the state or visionary bureaucrats and civil society or social movements are then the main institution coordinating the activities. Assuming that Cornwall and Coelho (2007:1) are right then the mobilisation campaign by SACAX funded by VPUU, is an example of a hybrid space.

The findings in the study, confirm that the funding from VPPU assisted in repelling any attacks towards in 2010.In the lens of a democratic reformer this auger well for democracy as such effort geared towards creating alternative spaces for democratisation is the deepening of democracy.

The other strength is the theoretical expectations of the project, in that there is a high possibility of its reproduction in other parts of the city, province or country. Whatever dimensions such a campaign may take; it's worth applauding as it helps to deepen democracy.

#### **4.5.2Democratic Weaknesses of the campaign**

##### *Male dominance*

The first issue that came up in the campaign was that, the organisation was dominated by males and this stratification where women and the less educated are not included. As noted in most of the interviews and also those who participated in the campaign it emerged that most women and also the less educated did not participate. This is consistent with Mohanty (2004), where invited spaces created for citizens' participation did not create the necessary atmosphere for the inclusion of women. This is a common feature of spaces for participation as in most cases especially in poorer communities and townships, women are always often marginalised and are not given opportunities to speak or represented and be elected in leadership positions. In the case of SACAX this was equally true as most of the leadership roles were assigned to males and only one lady was part of the committees. This applies equally to the less educated as they are more often ignored. Strikingly in this study, the most passionate about the campaign were less educated and when they were ignored they were co-opted by other CSOs. This was the case of Mr. Big Mbetha who has been co-opted by ARESTA as a full time employee from SACAX.

### *Resource and local capture*

The second issue is that in most of these participatory spaces since resources are involved and especially in poor communities like Khayelitsha there is always the fear that organisers will seek to appropriate or capture the projects. Thus, these deliberative settings in which citizens meet to deliberate formally as equals could be dominated by the more politically or economically powerful. This feature is very common in situations where participatory spaces had emerged to become spaces for elites jockeying and jostling for influence and competition for power

### *The Politics of legitimacy-claiming*

The third issue is that of accountability of CSOs, this representational model being 'assumed representation' this scholarship argues that many are accountable to neither the donor community nor the vulnerable community they purport to assist. Piper and Von Lieres (2011) notes that these organisations have the potential to fund raise huge amount of donor funds but at the same time they are not accountable to any institution and some have been involved in financial malpractices and poor administration.

Relatively, there is also the issue of power relations where the educated elites expressed themselves in a manner to prove that they are the ones with the intellectual capacity to liaise with top level government officials and the representatives of international NGOs (UNHCR and IOM) and other refugee CSOs, as the only ones who can express themselves in English. Thus, language is used as an instrument of power. This was evident in the SACAX campaign and many who could not express themselves in English were elbowed to the peripheries, also participation and deliberation produces hierarchies. This is very significant in that the less educated and those who can't speak in public and/ or unable to express themselves may be unable to vie for leadership.

### *Technical exclusions*

The fourth issue was the theoretical expectation that the relatively technical discussions involved and the types of time pressures on a poorer person would act together as disincentives to participation. This is so as in most cases poor people are more involved in sorting out their bread and butter issues, rather than investing time on issues of advocacy, dialogue, debate/deliberation and mediation. This is a great social barrier inhibiting citizens' participations. In the case of the

SACAX campaign most of the unemployed and the poor who attended were ready to participate but not to be there for the full session. Others openly requested for coffee and refreshments which were offered. Therefore, some were more concerned with scouting for food, rather than being on the streets participating in anti-xenophobic marches. This is very common in townships which Misago et al., (2009) point out that have unemployment levels higher than the national average of 40%, but these areas record close to 60% with high levels of poverty.

#### *State co-option*

In spite the successes of these mobilisation efforts, one of the often cited criticism is that the caveats in this partnership under neo-liberalism, which calls for pluralisation of governance, there is always the fear that the state may control and manipulate civil society by outsourcing activities to civil societies that are friendly to the visions of the state. Hence, while mediation is essential for levelling the playing field for democratic politics, it has the potential to limit the autonomy of civil society (Mohanty 2010). In the case of this campaign, the fissure that emerged between SACAX and VPUU over accountability for resources dispensed to SACAX for the campaign was worth noting and VPUU opting to work with another CBO for the Harare Campaign of 2012 was a clear case in points.

#### **4.6 Conclusion**

This chapter has examined the impact of the SACAX campaign to challenge prejudice against African immigrants in Site C and build active citizenship in Site C. It first discussed findings from the local elites, the leadership of SACAX and also Social Fund Coordinator of VPPU. The data gathered from this mixed method was presented according to the themes that were identified in the interviews: the arrival of African immigrants in the community of Site C, their economic activities and the impact on local businesses especially on food retail businesses as well as the outburst of xenophobic attacks 2008 and its effects on the African immigrants. The SACAX campaign of 2010 its nature and its main activities in 2010. The informal observations were also factored into the investigations and also a framework of analysis was employed to evaluate whether this campaign actually deepened democracy? The democratic strength and weaknesses of the SACAX campaign were also examined. The findings revealed that the deliberative and participatory nature of the campaign enabled SACAX to challenge xenophobia.

## Chapter Five

### Conclusion, Recommendations and Suggestions for Future Research

*The challenge for South Africa is to formulate policy that takes advantage of the positive aspects of globalisation, including the unprecedented movement of people with skills, expertise, resources, entrepreneurship and capital, which will support the country's effort at reconstruction development and nation-building*

(Republic of South Africa, White Paper on International Migration 1999)

“...fears about migrants taking jobs or lowering the wages of local people, placing an unwelcome burden on local services, or costing the taxpayer money, are generally exaggerated”

(Helen Clark 2009, x UN Development Program Administrator)

As elaborated in Chapter One, the huge movement of African immigrants into South Africa has emerged as a problem, and the question one is tempted to ask is whether South Africa can productively use these migrants for its developmental challenges. This is so, as the presence of African immigrants into the country has emerged as an issue as the various xenophobic attacks have revealed. Therefore, to resolve this issue, this thesis attempts to explore one endeavour by a civil society organisation to mobilise the community and other CBOs and stake holders to challenge xenophobia. The research question emerging from this thesis read thus: “How did SACAX try to challenge anti-foreigner prejudice in Site C, in July 2010? This then leads to our research objective which is to investigate the role civil society and especially community based organisations can play in challenging popular prejudice and deepening democracy in the communities that they live and work through the case study of SACAX in Site C, Khayelitsha.

Thus, the core of the research is specifically to ascertain whether prejudice like xenophobia can be challenged if civil society is able to mobilise the entire community and form coalitions with governance structures with other public and private companies and national and international agencies working with refugees in a co-governance participatory space.

This final chapter will conclude the study by examining firstly the conclusions that were arrived at secondly examine what were the main findings or the contribution of the study, thirdly the

limitations of the study and also recommendations for public policy and for government as well as recommendation for future researchers.

The study will be drawing conclusions about the role that civil society can play in successfully challenging popular prejudice through mobilising the entire community and the building of networks with other community based organisations and also working with private and public companies and also governance structures and also involving national and international NGOs working with refugees.

The investigation will be drawing conclusions specifically on the role that civil society can play in successfully challenging popular prejudice through mobilising the entire community and the building of networks with other community based organisations and also working with other private and public companies and also governance structures as well as working with national and international NGOs working with refugees.

The literature review of the thesis showed a symbiotic relationship in these three interrelated and interdependent umbrella variables. Firstly, that xenophobia can be challenged through community mobilisation by civil society, secondly, if such effort is in partnership with other governance structures, and thirdly, efforts are made through working with public and private companies in challenging this prejudice through a series of awareness and civic education.

This then ensures three democratic outcomes firstly the building of an active and empowered citizenry and secondly the birth of the Co-governance participatory space and finally the construction of new sets of relations between civil society and governance structures to monitor xenophobia. In the data collection process, the researcher employed the methods triangulation which comprises a combination of documentary analysis, focus group discussions, in-depth interviews, survey questionnaires and finally informal observations. In the course of gathering the data, focus group discussions and in-depth interviews emerged to provide the most vital information for the study and also the necessary information for the analysis. Following a huge collection of the data which the researcher deemed important to arrive at an informed conclusion, the data was then analysed and synthesised.



## 5.1 Conclusion

The over-arching problem this Master's Thesis has addressed as mentioned in Chapter One, it emanates from the swift reaction of VPUU in the creation of a Co-governance space to challenge prejudice in Site C Khayelitsha. Therefore, this Master's Thesis has attempted to explore the contribution of this Co-governance space in changing perceptions on African immigrants and deepening democracy. It then emerged from the investigation that the SACAX campaign had some positive spin-offs, firstly, the SACAX campaign to a greater extent empowered the citizens in Site C, Khayelitsha and secondly, the campaign also transformed the political consciousness of the community and thirdly, the campaign also changed some citizens into social justice activists who are ready to rise to the occasion and challenge negative attitudes such as xenophobia following focus group discussions, in-depth interviews, survey questionnaires and informal observations.

The greatest democratic outcome of this process is that it demonstrates that civil society has the capacity to mobilise other constituencies such as other community based organisations and building coalitions and networks with both private and public agencies and governance structures and working with other national and international NGOs working with refugees to challenge prejudice. In order to challenge these popular prejudices is the building of an active citizenry, this then led to SACAX organising a series of campaigns that appear to have met both of these goals, at least according to the perceptions of key local leaders and some popular constituencies too. These efforts to mobilise the community to participate against prejudice led to the formation of SACAX which is a co-governance space.

The second democratic outcome was the creation of a democratic citizenship. The didactic features of the public participation campaign succeeded in a large part in the creation of democratic citizenship. The educational component of participation is worth appreciating; from the perspective of individuals, the campaign saw many meetings devoted to learning procedures and rules as well as more specific technical criteria like the writing of minutes, organising presentations and allocating time for each speaker without interruptions. Participants then acquire these skills and other specific competencies related to the art of advocating, debating, deliberating and mobilising communities. In the process they are able to learn as the processes unfolded such as processes on how to run meetings and how to develop norms for dialogue that

were respectful of different types of speech. Meeting facilitators are always aware of their functions as partially learning procedures.

The third democratic outcome was the Co-governance or participatory space. These new spaces have gained prominence in contemporary literature on space and are also known as the hybrid space while other posits as the 'new democratic spaces' which are intermediaries situated as they are the interface between the state and societies; they are also in many respect intermediary spaces conduits for negotiation, influence and exchange. They are also known as co-governance as they involve inviting social actors to participate in the core activities of the state as well as direct role in public choices or engage deeply with substantive political issues. These spaces may be provided and provided for by the state backed in some settings by legal, as noted earlier as the drive more towards a citizens' centred administration and development rather than the Realist state centric, this is a paradigmatic shift which is populated with a variety of actors, but despite their different backgrounds all focused towards the same vision that of challenging perceptions in the community of Site C. This is a clear indication that organisations in spite their differences can achieve the same objective if they are united and good leadership is provided.

The fourth tangible democratic outcome of this Co-governance space is in the construction of new sets of relations in terms of capacity building across civil society, state and local and international actors for both the creation of early warning mechanisms and setting up of infrastructure in the prevention of future acts of xenophobia as well as to coordinate efforts in future outbursts, this then brings to the fore the agency of civil society in influencing citizens directly, government and public policy. This network then forms the basis of a substantive partnership between state and civil society from local to international levels, such co-governances around the policy issues can be seen as a nascent form of participatory space.

## **5.2 Recommendations**

This thesis has examined the role that civil society working with other structures within the community and others out of the community but with vested interest in community issues can achieve, but the above notwithstanding there are some recommendations worth pointing out both for civil society, government and public policy.

In South Africa, the government in most of its legislative framework from the Constitution of 1996 to the Municipal Structures Act 1998 and the Systems Act 2000 has been very consistent in both involving civil society and the engagement of the public in all its operations but in some practical cases more often than not this ends up being mere rhetoric or demagoguery as the government fails to engage the citizenry in administrative decision making, which is generally referred to as public participation. As mentioned in the investigation such engagement or involvement would eradicate all forms of demonstrations and protest marches that have dominated most South African communities in recent years.

The involvement of civil society in governance works to the benefit of the state as civil society would always assist in executing some activities that the state cannot deliver, such as organising campaigns like these and as noted in the study the closeness of these organisation to the communities helps in assisting the government in conducting campaigns which help in deepening democracy.

The study also revealed that at micro level such campaign can play a crucial role in spreading democratic values such as tolerance and inculcating a democratic culture which in turns prevent the outburst of violent attacks such as the sad events in May 2008. These campaigns can be done by civil society working in tandem with other community base organisations.

The study also notes that the setting up of new sets infrastructure that involves civil society, governance structures in the community and private and public companies and also national and international NGOs working with refugees to monitor such incidences with early warning systems ensuring that minor conflicts are resolved before they escalates into major outburst are only possible with community based institutions like SACAX and in communities

### **5.3 Limitations of the study**

The study had some shortcomings, which are common to qualitative research. The researcher took necessary steps in accounting for these and some are worth noting.

The research was confined to Site C, Khayelitsha in Cape Town

The surveys do not necessary portray facts, but the perceptions of the participants in Site C, residents and African immigrants.

The limited time allocated for the field work could not allow me the latitude to understand deep perceptions on attitudes.

The unavailability of certain documents from the City of Cape Town and VPUU to explain certain project

The failure of certain key respondents to avail themselves limited my research. The study had some shortcomings, which is common to qualitative research. The researcher took necessary steps in accounting for these caveats and strategies of minimising their effect. The key concerns are the researcher bias, interest, perceptions, needs and the researchers' multiple roles: firstly as a member of one of the community's under investigation, secondly as a researcher, thirdly, as an interviewer, a phenomenon Maxwell (1996) describes as participant reactivity. In view of the fact that some of these participants knew the researcher their responses may have been influenced, by answering the questions in a way that might try to please the latter. Such responses may affect the integrity of the study, as it infringes on the credibility

#### **5.4 Future research suggestions**

As noted in Chapter One, the end of the Cold War has ushered in an era of globalisation and with it international migration. This new challenge brought a host of issues that needed to be addressed by the affected countries. Many developed countries in the North have made huge shifts in their immigration policies and also efforts had been made to educate their citizens to accept that globalisation and international migration is here to stay. In keeping with this mindset, most European Countries have embarked on steps aimed at educating their citizens to accept globalisation and as globalisation expert Jan Scholte (2005:1) cites a case in the British Midlands crèche where several children wore sport T-shirts emblazoned with the words "Global Generation". He further notes that at two and three years old, with no basic idea of what is politics, they are made to know that globality is a reality as it is here to stay.

Thus the new South Africa should accept this reality rather than denying its existence and resorting to xenophobic acts. In this regard future scholars should conduct research on how the country could accept globalisation through awareness campaigns through civil society.

Future researchers should investigate whether these co-governance spaces can be implemented in other parts of the country to ensure that participatory spaces can be employed in challenging

intolerance against all forms of prejudice such as the hatred for Lesbians and Gays and Bi-Sexual, hatred for Muslims, and anti-Semitism or hatred for Jews, and hatred for other migrant communities and not only against xenophobia.

Thirdly, there is the need to focus on evaluating the contributions of civil society organisations in building active citizens and deepening democracy in the communities either in facilitating peaceful co-existence or in crime prevention as this will clearly bring out the complementary role of civil society in governance, rather than the state focusing its energy in stifling the activities of civil societies and Non-Profit Organisations which the state considers to be adversarial to its policies as this is one of the emerging trend in Africa.

Fourthly, researchers can conduct a cross- national study in evaluating whether mobilisation nationally in challenging popular perceptions against African immigrants in South Africa employing co-governance spaces organised by civil society and building coalitions with public and private companies bringing in national and international actors involved in assisting refugees can curb xenophobic attacks against African immigrants.

Fifthly, future researcher should investigate whether these co-governance spaces which bring together diversified actors can be used to challenge crime in the country, as this is one of the biggest challenges, facing the citizens and costing lives.

Sixthly, future researchers can focus on investigating how SACAX had employed this Co-governance space to build peaceful co-existence between South Africans and African immigrants in Site C since 2010.

Last but not the least; research is needed to determine whether as African conflicts are fading out like the case of Angola, The Democratic Republic of Congo, Somalia, and Sudan the nationals from these countries in South Africa are actually returning home.

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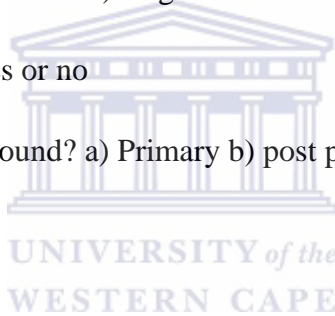
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## **APPENDIX A**

### **MINI-QUESTIONNAIRES FOR THE BUSINESS COMMUNITY OF SITE C, KHAYELITSHA**

#### **A –Background questions**

- 1) How old are you? a) less than 20, in the 20's, in the 30's, in the 40,s above 40 and over.
- 2) What is your gender? Male or female
- 3) What is your family status? a) Married b) single
- 4) Please do you have children? Yes or no
- 5) What is your educational background? a) Primary b) post primary c) high school d) post high school e) graduate f) post graduate



#### **B-Economic Status**

- 6) Please state your employment status a) employed b) unemployed c) student d) dependent
- 7) Where in Site C do you live?
- 8) Do you live in your business or in a house separate from your business?
- 9) Do you have your own business? Yes or no
- 10) If the answer above is no, are you looking for work or you are working for somebody?

#### **C- Issues around African immigrants and their economic activities**

- 11) Are you a South African or an African immigrant? A) South African b) African immigrant
- 12) If you are a South African which is the year you saw the first African immigrant in Site C?
- 13) Which year did you see the first African immigrants in Site C?

14) If your answer in question 11 above is African immigrant, which year did you come to Site C?

15) Which business activity are you involved in?

16) Which year did you start your business?

17) What kind of challenges or problems has your business been facing?

18) Following question 16 above have you been receiving any form of assistance from either the police or community? Explain further

#### **D Issues around business competition**

19) Following question 14 above, in the type of business that you stated, do you sometimes feel like there are many people doing the same business closer to yours?

20) The competition you are experiencing is it from South Africans or African immigrants?

a) South Africans b) African immigrants

21) Is this competition actually harming your business?

22) Is there any way you think this problem can be resolved? Explain.....

23) Has your business been attacked or that of any of your friend because of this competition?

24) Is the community doing anything to resolve this problem?

Explain.....

25) Do you belong to any trade organisation that is aimed at resolving this problem?

26) When there are meetings on business competition do you attend?

#### **E-Issues around the xenophobic attacks in 2008 and its impact**

27) Were you in Site C the week African immigrants were attacked? Yes or No

28) Was there any way you tried to help?



29) How did you feel about the attacks? Explain further.....

30) Were you personally attacked?

31) Was your business attacked? Can you explain further the type of attack.....?

32) Do you know of any individual/ friend and or family who were attacked?

33) Please can you explain the form of attack?

34) As mentioned in question 32 above what time of the day was this attack?

Morning, Afternoon, or evening, or night.....

**F- Issues around the anti- xenophobic campaign World Cup 2010.**

35) Where you aware of the rumours that after the World Cup all African immigrants must leave South Africa?

36) When these rumours about another attack on African immigrants started to spread how you did feel? Explain.....

37) Did you hear anything about the 'Say No to Xenophobic campaign'? Yes b) no c) I have no idea

38) Did you know about SACAX?

39) Did you see any of the T-shirts on Say No to Xenophobia?

40) Concerning question 36 and 37 above did you thing this campaign was a good project?

Explain.....

42) Did you participate in the campaign a) yes b) No?

43) If your answer above is no do you have any reason for not participating? Explain.....

44) For you did you think the idea was good for the community or not

- 45) Do you have any friend who was involved in the campaign? a) Yes b) No
- 46) In your opinion was this a good idea or initiative? a) Yes b) No
- 47) In your opinion did this campaign involve a) youth b) adults c) women, d) men e) all of the above.
- 48) Did this campaign involve women and men or both?
- 49) Did it involve Christians, Muslims and Rastafarians and Sangomas or all the above?
- 50) In your opinion was this campaign organized by any political party a) ANC, b) DA, c) UDM d) involved all the parties
- 51) Do you think campaigns like this can change the ways people understand and see certain things in society a) yes b)no c) I don't know
- 52) If your answer above is yes did this campaign change the way you see and work with African immigrants in the community a) yes b)no c) I don't know
- 53) In your opinion did this campaigns stop xenophobic attacks in Site C? Yes or no

## **APPENDIX B:**

### **In-depth interview Questions with Community Leaders and elites of Site C Khayelitsha.**

#### **a) The advent of African immigrants**

- 1) In which year did you start to notice the presence of African immigrants in the community of Site C?
- 2) What did you think attracted them to this community?
- 3) In these early years which were their primary economic activity?
- 4) Since the early years stated in 1 above have their numbers stayed the same or the numbers have been on the increase?

#### **b) Issues around business competition**

5) Do you have any idea about the business competition that started between African immigrant businesses and some South Africans especially in spaza shop businesses?

6) Have you heard of the existence of a business organisation with the view to check the expansions of Somali businesses in the community of Khayelitsha?

7) What is your opinion around this competition?

8) Is there any way you think this may be resolved?

9) Were you aware of the 2006 killings of Somali traders in Khayelitsha?

10) Do you think these killings were linked to competition?

**C) Issue around xenophobic attacks in 2008 and its impacts**

11) In your opinion what was the principal cause of the xenophobic outburst in Site C?

12) Can you remember how many shops and or people were attacked that you saw?

13) Did the community try to help the displaced?

**D) Issues around xenophobic rumours and the birth of SACAX and its campaign.**

14) When rumours of another xenophobic outburst started what did you think was the cause of these rumours?

15) Did you hear anything around the Say No to Xenophobia campaign?

16) Were you involved in the campaign?

17) In your opinion was this campaign participatory in the sense of involving everyone in the community?

18) In your opinion did this campaign change the way people see and work with African immigrants in the community?

19) As a follow up to question 17 above, did this campaign prevent the outburst of xenophobic attacks towards the end of World Cup 2010?

Thank you

## **APPENDIX C**

### **Focus Group Discussion with the leadership of SACAX**

#### **a) Presence of African immigrants in Site C**

- 1) In which year did you start to notice the presence of African immigrants in the community of Site C?
- 2) What did you think attracted them to this community?
- 3) In this early years which were their primary economic activity?
- 4) Since the early years stated in 1 above have their numbers stayed the same or the numbers have been on the increase?

#### **b) Issues around business competition**

- 5) Do you have any idea about the business competition that started between African immigrant businesses and some South Africans especially in spaza shop businesses?
- 6) Have you heard of the existence of a business organisation with the view to check the expansions of Somali businesses in the community of Khayelitsha?
- 7) What is your opinion around this competition?
- 8) Is there any way you think this may be resolved?
- 9) Were you aware of the 2006 killings of Somali traders in Khayelitsha?
- 10) Do you think these killings were linked to competition?

#### **c) Issue around xenophobic attacks in 2008 and its impacts**

- 11) In your opinion what was the principal cause of the xenophobic outburst in Site C?

12) Can you remember how many shops and or people were attacked that you saw?

13) Did the community try to help the displaced?

**d) Issues around xenophobic rumours and the birth of SACAX and its campaign.**

14) When rumours of another xenophobic outburst started what did you think was the cause of these rumours?

15) What is SACAX?

16) What motivated the formation of SACAX?

17) If the idea was good what role did you firstly as a group and as individuals play in 2008 attacks?

18) Who was your principal funders and how did you get to know them?

19) What methods did you use to challenge xenophobia in the community?

20) How did you think these methods were going to work in challenging xenophobia?

21) A project like this needs a multitude of actors, in this case who were the other CBOs that worked with you?

22) Apart from the Community Based Organisations other groups out of the community also participated can you name some of these organisations?

23) Looking into your campaign how was the organisations structured in terms of leadership and coordination.

24) How were internal meetings organised and where and when were they held?

25) In your opinion was this campaign participatory in the sense of involving everyone in the community?

26) In your opinion did this campaign change the way people see and work with African immigrants in the community?

27) As a follow up to question 18, in your opinion did this campaign prevent the outburst of xenophobic attacks towards the end of World Cup 2010?

Thank you

### **The Images**

The first image is that of the Mozambican Alhaberto who was burnt alive in Diepslot in Alexandra on the 11<sup>th</sup> of May 2008 xenophobic attacks.

The second is the campaign organized by SACAX to challenge xenophobia in the streets of site C Khayelitsha.

The third are the resettlement camps organized by the City Council and other NGOs like UNHCR to house the displaced African immigrants following the attacks of May 2008.





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# Housing battle leaves two dead

OLWETHU APESHE

Tempers are running high in Nyanga after the killing of two people in what is believed to be a battle between the amagaduka and Mau Mau backyarders over the allocation of houses in Mkhonto Informal Settlement.

Lindiwe Mqulwana, former secretary of the housing project, and Thandisizwe Maghatha were shot down.

they did not know where she was, the men assaulted them before shooting Mr. Maghatha on their way out.

Ms. Mqulwana's sister, Dora Sikhuni, said that after the men shot Mr. Maghatha they sent a young boy to Ms Mqulwana's house to say that the windows of the new houses at Mkhonto Informal Settlement were being stolen. When she went to investigate, she was gunned down.

Phantsi ngokubukulana ngokobuzwe: Ngaphesvu kwekhulu labahlali base Site C bathhe bhazalala isisa izifalato ngeliphikisana nokuhlaselwa kwaberni bamanye amazwe. Funda ibali elizeleyo



UMVALEZO ONGQONGQO



