

**MIGRANTS AND VIOLENCE IN SOUTH AFRICA: THE APRIL 2015
XENOPHOBIC ATTACKS IN DURBAN**

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ABSTRACT

In 2015, a wave of xenophobic attacks swept across South Africa. The violence was at its worst in Durban, where thousands of immigrants, mainly from Africa, were attacked by their fellow South Africans, their businesses looted and people killed. This article looks at the sparks for the violence, while unpacking the complex relations between locals and African immigrants against the backdrop of an earlier episode of violence in 2008/9. The latter part of the article focuses on the struggle of civil society to build a strong anti-xenophobic front against the background of growing inequality and a government determined to pursue high-end mega projects.

Keywords: Migration, migrants, xenophobia, Durban.

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Simmering Tensions

Both King Dinizulu and King Cetshwayo were arrested for fighting for our country's freedom . . . but when we talk of South Africans in 2015 we talk of people who do not want to listen, who do not want to work, who are thieves, child rapists and housebreakers. People who are lazy and who do not want to plough the fields. When foreigners look at them, they will say: 'Let us exploit the nation of fools.' You find their unpleasant goods hanging all over our shops, they soil our streets. We cannot even recognise which shop is which, there are foreigners everywhere... We ask foreign nationals to pack their belongings and go back to their countries (Sunday Times, 5 April 2015).

These were the words of King Zwelithini of the House of the Zulu spoken at the beginning of April 2015. As if on cue, mobs in Isipingo, South of Durban turned on African and other foreign migrants, burning and looting their shops and forcing thousands to seek refuge at police stations. Researcher at the Centre for Civil Society at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, China Ngubane (2015), recorded the following in the midst of the attacks:

On Tuesday the 31st of March, I received a call from Daniel Dunia, who runs a computer repairs and sales shop in Isipingo. Dunia is also a leader of the African Solidarity Network (Asonet). He told me he was in the shop at around 10am on Monday morning: 'I saw people beating the boys that run a barber shop in Jadwat Street. They beat them and looted from the salons; they took the mirrors, scissors, tents, and everything else. When I came out I saw my fellow African brothers running away. As I went closer I heard people saying 'bashaye' (beat them). 'The king (Goodwill Zwelithini) said we must hit them.' Dunia said at the beginning the attackers numbered less than two dozen, but the more the mob progressed, the more the numbers grew. They were only men. 'I followed them until they arrived near PEP Store where they broke into another salon. They broke the door, they took all the equipment including hair products, and they beat the salon owner.' This is when the police arrived, but there were only two police. Dunia continued: 'At the same time I received a call that they (locals) are breaking another salon again. We rushed to the police van in the vicinity and luckily the Station Commander was also there. I asked what could be done, and he said close all the shops and the salons for today. As we were talking with the police the mob went a few metres away, and started to break

into our computer shops even though they were already closed. As our brothers started running away the mob started throwing stones and beating them. This took quite a while. Zulus were screaming: go away Kwerekweres, our King said you must go! Voetsek! Shaya! Vimba!’

As the violence escalated in cities and towns across the country, claiming lives and displacing thousands, the King hastily assembled his supporters for an *imbizo* on xenophobia. Weapons were brandished by the crowd and the king declared war on xenophobia. But it failed, at least initially, to stem the tide of local tensions and disputes swiftly began to fuel the violence. Six people were to lose their lives in the attacks.

In Isipingo, the tensions had been simmering for some time. In December 2014, a strike by some 50 workers at Jeena’s supermarket was linked to foreign workers. Goolam Khan, the owner of the supermarket, a landmark business and one of the biggest employers in an area where unemployment is in the region of 60%, sought to subvert the strike by hiring what amounted to scab labour. Locals claimed that he had hired foreigners. It is a charge he strenuously denied. What he did concede was that the security company he hired employed foreigners. This became a lightning rod for tensions. According to one employee, “Shoppers had guns pointed at them and their shopping bags checked by foreigners. How would you feel if someone from outside was making you feel like a criminal in your own country?” (*City Press*, 24 April 2015)

Faced with attacks and gathering anger, the supermarket stopped operating for two days. This only stimulated the protestors to broaden their ambit and begin attacking foreign-owned shops in the area. The spiral of violence had now been set in motion and homes of foreigners became the target of protestors. Attacks on foreigners occurred at the Dakota shack settlement in Isipingo, as those who had fled to the safety of makeshift camps in the neighbouring township of Chatsworth tried to return home.

The motives for the violence against foreigners were myriad. Some, such as the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) honed in on the scab labour thesis as the central spark, arguing that in Isipingo, African immigrants were hired to drive down wages, thus creating the conditions to turn locals against foreigners (Bond, 2015).

There is not much dispute that African foreigners are driving down wages as they offer themselves on the market at significantly lower rates. In an article on clothing firms in the greater Durban area, it was reported that a clothing factory had replaced local workers earning R100/day with immigrants paid just R20/day (*The Mercury*, 5 August 2010). As First National Bank chief economist Cees Bruggemann told *Business Report*, “They keep the cost of labour down . . . Their income gets spent here because they do not send the money back to their countries” (22 May 2008). What he should have added is that employers prefer foreign workers as they are vulnerable given their legal status, and once fired, have little or no legal or organisational recourse.

As well as being vulnerable to exploitation in the labour sphere, immigrants are also open to rapacious landlords: As one Mozambican living in Cato Manor, Durban explained:

We don't want to talk about our landlord. But no, I am not happy with this room. Look how small it is. Yesterday it was raining, and the roof was leaking, as you can see that spot on the floor. The room is not only small, but also dirty—look at the mud on the floor. I have a single bed here, nothing else. I keep my suitcase on my bed because there is no space for it in here. The room can accommodate only the bed. Look at the door, it's not even safe living here. But I pay R350 per month. But what can I do? The only good thing here is that, as you can see, we are all from Mozambique here, so we feel that sense of community . . . Yes, but you see, I cannot live anywhere else, I don't want to leave my fellow countrymen here. It's safer. Besides, my salary is not so good. I get R50 a day. So I cannot afford a better place anywhere else. I have a family at home. I get R1200 per month. I take half of that home, and use the rest for rent and food here (in Amisi et al, 2011: 70).

Complex Relations between Locals and Immigrants

As indicated earlier, there is a belief that immigrants, un-skilled and semi-skilled, drive down wages and, as the example of Isipingo revealed, this is often used to undermine strikes by locals. African immigrants come from the front-line states and the system operates with an uncanny resemblance to the old Bantustan system:

The economic logic of drawing inexpensive labour from distant sites is even more extreme now that it is no longer stigmatized by apartheid connotations. Instead of

hailing from South African Bantustans, the most desperate migrant workers in South Africa's major cities are increasingly sourced from Zimbabwe, Malawi, Mozambique, Zambia, Swaziland, Lesotho, Tanzania and the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), countries all partially deindustrialized by South African business expansion up-continent since the end of apartheid in 1994 (Amisi et al, 2011: 66).

Those who do not find low paying jobs often open up small businesses selling basic household products, cellphones and clothing (Chikwendu et al, 2015). As a result, African immigrants have also come under the hammer from local traders for their ability to drive down prices and dominate the lucrative small trader market:

They sell cheap because they do not spend any money on electricity, shop, shop assistants . . . Nothing, nothing at all. They pretend to employ South Africans, how many locals do they employ and how much money do they pay them? This is not possible. We cannot continue like this. Something must be done to stop this . . . and I hope it will be done soon. . . (in Amisi et al, 2011: 75).

Townships are now replete with the ubiquitous Somali and Ethiopian outlets, alongside those from the Indian sub-continent and China. The 'spaza shops' that flourished in the early 1990s and which were seen as the embryo of entrepreneurial activity post-1994 have largely disappeared. Locals have turned their anger on foreign-owned businesses by adopting violent and intimidatory tactics. In Durban in June 2015, locals sought to hold a protest march to highlight the plight of small business owners. The Cooperative Revolutionary Movement's (CRM) secretary, Nhlanhla Buthelezi, said that the march was not about xenophobia, but "about the genuine concerns of local small businesses operating within the City - most of whom are struggling to even access municipality trading stalls as a majority of them have been allocated to foreign nationals" (*The Citizen*, 2 June 2015).

These traders have fanned out across the country and this has made them even more competitive as credit lines increase, bulk-buying is enhanced and networks both grow and deepen.

As one Congolese trader in the Durban city centre illustrated, there are also divisions within immigrant communities, with some able to dominate:

Ethiopians represent the first group of traders who kill our business. They sell goods to us in bulk and then they begin to sell per unit below the price that we bought the goods from them. As a result, we do not sell. Remember that we do not work like Pick 'n Pay, Checkers or SPAR which retail items for producers. When the products e.g. bread or apples expire, the producers are paid from the quantities sold. The rest is a loss to the producers not retailers. We buy once for all. If I do not sell, I lose . . . All traders are not happy with Ethiopians and Somali traders. I do not really know what will happen one day . . . Somalis, the second group of traders, work like Ethiopians. They are also destroying other people market niches. Let me give an example. I sell on the streets. I used to buy my goods in bulk from a Somali shop owner at R45 per unit. I would like to sell it at R55 or R60. After buying at R45 per unit from a Somali trader, he will resell the remaining goods at R30 per unit. Obviously, buyers will go to Somali and Ethiopian traders rather than buying from me. That is why traders in the formal and informal economy are not happy with the two nationalities. . . . The two groups of traders are so powerful that they own several businesses around the market, and in streets other than West (Dr. Pixley KaSeme) and Smith (Anton Lembede) they own up to 60 percent of businesses. South Africans have only 40 percent except big brands like Edgars, Woolworth, and others. The two nationalities are so powerful in this business that even Chinese are buying from them rather than importing all their goods from China . . . (in Amisi et al, 2011: 74-75).

It would appear that Zimbabweans and Mozambicans cannot compete with the Ethiopians and Somalis in the sector of small trade and in the main, their opportunities remain limited to low paying jobs. Increasingly, the pervasive Ethiopian and Somali trader has become the lightning rod for antagonism and violence. So powerful have these bands of small traders with even smaller margins of profits become in the public imagination that the Minister for Small Business Development, Lindiwe Zulu, demanded that Somalis share their trade secrets with locals to ensure they are accepted in the communities (*Business Day*, 28 January 2015).

What is to a lesser extent acknowledged however is the precarious nature of foreign-owned business and migrants' difficulty in accessing legal advice or recourse, banking systems and other funding sources. The challenges facing immigrants in the small business sector are compounded by the threat of violence and intimidation.

Groups such as the Greater Gauteng Business Forum engage in hate campaigns against immigrants, “using belligerent tactics ranging from forced store closures, coerced price increases, limits on the number of migrant businesses in the area, and public threats through letters or by radio” (Crush and Ramachandran, 2014: 27). Occasionally, protests around service delivery or criminality have turned their focus on vulnerable immigrant shops. Goods are looted, while those who owe the traders money literally have their debts burnt. But despite these raids and the destruction of businesses, immigrants’ shops are hardly ever taken over by locals. The immigrants return and a new cycle of survival begins.

If the occasional looting and burning of shops does not work and the odd burning of an immigrant worker to death fails to stem the tide of employers attracted by immigrant’s willingness to work, how does one deal with the situation? Two years ago, the Greater Gauteng Business Forum’s Pretoria leader, Mpane Baloyi, articulated this sentiment about immigrants: “Our government should stop issuing asylum to these people; they should rather place them in camps. We don’t want them on our streets, not because we hate them, but due to economic space”.¹ The ANC’s Secretary General Gwede Mantashe, responding to the April violence, also raised the idea of the camp as a permanent feature of the South African landscape (Bond, 2015).

The government meanwhile has struggled to come up with a coherent strategy to deal with the xenophobic attacks and the issues driving the violence. Operation ‘Fiela’ or ‘sweep clean’ was initiated, with the intention of rooting out criminals, but the Operation was launched so soon after the 2015 xenophobic attacks that it raised suspicions about its intentions. This was a point made by Alfani Yoyo from the Coordinating Body of Refugee and Migrant Communities who said that Operation Fiela was actually feeding “the perception that migrants are to be blamed for the social ills in the country...Operation Fiela hampers integration and cements the attitude of ‘us and them’” (*Times Live*, 22 July 2015). As if to reinforce this view, arrest figures from Operation Fiela between April and June 2015 indicated that of the 9 968 people arrested, some 6 669 were ‘illegal’ foreign nationals. The latter were sent to the Lindela Repatriation Centre (*Daily News*, 20 August 2015).

Antecedents to 2015 in Durban

One tried and trusted way of defusing uproar is to affirm and valorize bonds that can muffle discord, or channel it in diversionary, more manageable directions The

bonding and disciplinary force of African nationalism remains the cardinal ideological turnkey of South Africa's transition.... There is a real danger of recourse to rousing affirmations of identity and entitlement, and to populist discourses of authenticity – who is 'really' South African, African or black, what is a man, and where do women fit into all this (Marais, 2011: 417).

Post 1994, the number of people from other African countries seeking asylum in South Africa or looking for a better life has increased dramatically. It is estimated that one illegal migrant enters the country every ten minutes and there are approximately 10 million illegal immigrants currently in the country (in Breetzke, 2010). The term 'makwerekwere'ⁱⁱ has become a well utilised and derogatory term to denote foreigners.

Despite priding itself on human rights, South Africans have not welcomed newcomers with open arms and a degree of tolerance enshrined in the constitution, but have rather accused foreigners of 'stealing our jobs', sometimes burning down foreign businesses and looting shops. Perceptions and attitudes towards foreigners tend to be largely negative, linking foreigners to an increase in crime and violence. Deep-seated resentment by locals and negative attitudes by government and police have exacerbated these attitudes (Vahed and Desai, 2013). This puts foreigners in an extremely precarious position; often already living on the margins and surviving in the informal sector, they rely on the social networks of other foreigners to exist. Not only do they have to deal with persistent harassment by police, African immigrants have also been the victims of regular violent attacks, most dramatically in 2008 which left 50 foreigners dead.

The 2008 xenophobic attacks had their genesis in Johannesburg and quickly spread across South Africa. Over 60 people were killed in the violence. In Durban, these attacks had their echo in the Albert Park area where African immigrants had faced threats from local mobs in January 2009. It was during these attacks that Zimbabwean migrant Eugene Madondo was confronted in his room at Venture Africa on 4th January.

Madondo described how the mob forced its way up to the sixth floor. He locked his room and was "so scared" when he heard "the noise of the people screaming" and the "doors being broken with the hammers". He opened his door to escape and saw his neighbour being thrown from the sixth floor to the street. Before he could lock the door of his room, the mob, with the men in front and women following, entered his room yelling, "*Shaya! Shaya!*".

When they discovered that he was from Zimbabwe, they shouted, “*Shaya kwere-kwere! Shaya!*”

Madondo was hit on the head with a knobkerrie. As “the blood started to flow, I felt weak and screamed for help”. He fell and heard one of the attackers say in Zulu, “*Let’s throw this dog outside the window*”. Five men lifted him and tried to push him through the window. He tried to grab hold of the window frame, all the while yelling for help, but they broke the window frames and pushed him from the fifth floor. Fortunately for Madondo, he fell on top of the two men thrown out of the window before him and who lay dead on the street. The mob noticed that Madondo was not dead, and threw empty beer bottles and other objects at him (Desai and Walsh, 2010: 41-42).

The two dead friends that Madondo landed on were Omar Said from Somalia and Victor Zowa. Victor’s brother Raymond had been displaced by the May 2008 attacks in Alexandra.

In the years between the attacks and the renewed violence of 2015, there have been isolated incidents and a level of low-intensity warfare on the streets of Durban. In a study of women refugees in the Albert Park area, Sinenhlanhla Memela (2014: 89- 92) revealed widespread harassment and violence:

They always call us ‘amakwerekwere’... putting a spot light on us... It’s like we are different from them. It’s sad because we are here to stay... we do not have anything left behind... even today our countries are not politically stable... we are scared of going back to our countries (Queen, 20 February 2014).

Another respondent spoke of sexual assaults and harassment:

I was walking along Victoria Embankment at night, coming from my friend’s place... I came across a man, who stopped me and asked for my phone and money... I gave him the phone and told him I did not have money. He heard my accent and started to touch me all over and told me that foreign man likes to take local woman, now it’s his turn... as he was putting the phone in his pocket I run away (Sarah, 26 February 2014).

Memela's research also focused on women escaping their home countries because of violence, only to find themselves imprisoned in their homes in Albert Park:

I only go out if I really need to go... other than that I prefer to stay at home all day (Rehena, 27 February 2014).

The police often refuse to come to their assistance:

People robbed my shop... they took all my money and some of my goods. I went to report to the police station and the police officer told me he was going to call me and give me the case number... up until today I have not received any feedback. It is useless to report to the police station because they do not assist us and fail to protect us... we are confused as to who is responsible for protecting us (Roseline, 18 February 2014).

Alongside this, the police have sought to control the influx of African migrants by also making high profile and heavy-handed raids in the Albert Park area. On 20 November 2014 for example, the police, along with officials of the Home Affairs immigration unit, raided the area:

The police had to use pepper spray to force out the illegal occupants, who had hidden behind boxes stacked in the ceiling in one of the buildings. Both the occupants suffered coughing fits after inhaling the chemical inside a dimly-lit room with no ventilation...About 35 people were arrested...As the police raided a building in Dennis Hurley Street, using a front entrance, the people they sought escaped by the back entrance, but the police were hot on their heels. Arrests were finally made...Some of those arrested were manhandled and pushed inside a metro police truck while others, teenagers among them, had their wrists tied with cable ties. Two young women were loaded into the back of a police car (Sunday Tribune, 23 November 2014).

Feelings towards foreign migrants have not improved since 2008, with a number of incidents reported throughout the country of foreign-owned shops being desecrated. In a study carried out in 2014,

11% said they were prepared to use violence against the migrants. The predilection to use violence was actually slightly stronger in areas not affected by the attacks of May 2008. What this means is that around one in every ten South Africans is predisposed to turn hostile attitudes into violent actions (Crush and Ramachandran, 2014: 16).

Crossing Borders and Immigrant Camps

In the immediate aftermath of the attacks, the state response to the 2015 violence in Durban was to set up a border between locals and immigrants in the form of camps. One of the largest was in the former Indian township of Chatsworth.

The camps, which at one point housed 5000 people, were heavily guarded. As David Smith from *The Guardian* witnessed, many of the immigrants were preparing to return to their home countries rather than face the prospect of more attacks. The mother of a family from Zimbabwe said: “I came to South Africa for a better life and I worked for everything... But we are going home empty-handed, without funds, without passports, without the kids’ birth certificates. Now we have to wait for the transport provided by the government to take us home” (*The Guardian*, 17 April 2015).

Many of the camp residents from Burundi and the Democratic Republic of Congo are asylum seekers and cannot go home. But the fear of more attacks is giving people no choice.

Durban is a city with high levels of poverty amidst wealthy neighbourhoods. The mega projects and events that were supposed to act as a catalyst for growth and redistribution have largely benefited the new Black elite and old Indian and White money. In turn, these projects have siphoned off money and resources that could have been used to build houses and provide basic services (Bond and Desai, 2011). The City cannot keep pace with building houses for existing families in shack settlements, let alone deal with the influx of new migrants into the City every day.

Hostels, the usual incubators of cheap labour, have found stiff competition from African immigrants who offer themselves at low wages and have a vulnerability to exploitation that locals do not. In turn, some hostels have become seedbeds of xenophobic violence.

When African immigrants cannot find formal means of employment, they often operate as car guards or run hair salons for the lower end of the market. Somehow, locals find these markets either not worthy of their efforts or cannot compete with the networks of African immigrants. Like migrants from the old Bantustans whose wages were based on their own upkeep while their families were supposed to subsist in the rural areas, immigrants are susceptible to exploitation. Similarly, the African immigrant is paid as a single person and seeks to improve this situation by sharing accommodation and relying on credit networks.

In Durban's CBD, especially in the Point and Albert Park areas, immigrants have carved a monopoly and locals are reduced to consumers and occasional looting. The small local African trader is a rare species.

With the City and the national government still committed to the advancement of mega projects and events as levers for growth and eventual redistribution, this uneven geography will continue to deepen and fuel tension. What Rob Nixon (2011) in another context refers to as "slow violence" eats away at poor communities and compounds environmental degradation, sickness caused by the lack of basic services and social pathologies that often see aggression directed inside of settlements rather than at those who hold power.

South Africa continues to display huge levels of inequality and all the indicators are that the government is not making much headway in reducing these levels. In the context of severe unemployment and economic pressure, xenophobia becomes one social response. As David Harvey (1989: 13–14) puts it:

The response is for each and every stratum in society to use whatever powers of domination it can command (money, political influence, even violence) to try to seal itself off (or seal off others judged undesirable) in fragments of space within which processes of reproduction of social distinctions can be jealously protected.

Many of those who left South Africa as a result of the 2015 violence will return. Steven Maware from Malawi, who worked at an NGO caring for disabled people here in South Africa and came to the country in 2010, explained:

This xenophobic system that just happened now – it's forcing me to go back home. But even if I'm going back home now, I'm planning to come back here in South Africa, because since 2013 in June I was working in a non-profit organisation whereby they are taking care of people with a disability. I will come back because there is money here in South Africa that I have already worked for...I can say people are feeling all right seeing the buses standing there, because they're waiting to go back home alive...Let me go back home first and I will come back if I heard that there is a little bit quiet. But I know in South Africa, this attack will never come to the end. That's what I know. Because first of all they put in their mind that foreigners are not humans. If they came to understand that foreigners are people like them, then all these things will come down.ⁱⁱⁱ

Steven Maware's sentiments are symptomatic of the dilemmas faced by so many African immigrants. The outbreaks of violence scare people, propelling them back to their home countries, but just as often they come back to South Africa. Many have invested a lot in building a life in South Africa and have built networks that facilitate getting jobs. As a result, they are loathe to completely give this up, given the lack of possibilities in their home countries.

Meanwhile, there is a persistent and growing rush into the city estimated to be between 3000 and 4000 new job seekers each week. According to Chantal Ashbury, a member of the city's emergency and services committee, they are at a loss to know how to deal with this influx: "There are no plans and no solutions. Something needs to be done, and quickly. We need sustainable solutions" (*Sunday Tribune*, 23 November 2014).

All this makes for a volatile mix that places African immigrants in the line of fire. Thus far, while there has been admirable work by NGO's and various religious groupings, a significant anti-xenophobic front that not only provides support in the aftermath of attacks but builds a coalition with local militant community organisations has not emerged. Rather what tends to happen is that the attacks encourage immigrants into tighter enclaves. On the other hand, militant protests around housing and basic services by local movements are insular and place-based, building a sense of entitlement for not only South Africans but also those of a particular linguistic or ethnic group. In this context, Francis Nyamnjoh makes an important point:

The fact that the new, purportedly liberal, South African constitution has little room for the rights of migrants and immigrants is most telling. Citizenship has been defined narrowly around the rights, entitlements and interests of nationals...the failure of the South African constitution and authorities to protect the rights of non-citizens is clearly at variance with all claims that South Africa is building a “culture of human rights” (Nyamnjoh 2006: 40-41).

Conclusion

In 2008/9 and in 2015, xenophobic attacks in Durban made headlines around the world. In between, African immigrants have come under the cosh, both from local enforcement agencies and locals in a low-intensity siege. Médecins Sans Frontières psychologist Penni Cox revealed that interviews with Chatsworth camp residents and victims of the 2015 violence,

indicated they have suffered cumulative traumas. First they have experienced violence in their country of origin; again during the 2008 xenophobic violence, and yet again now in 2015. They also tell us about the daily level of discrimination and alienation they experience – at hospitals, getting around in minibus taxis and from police elsewhere.^{iv}

The immigrants themselves have not built a fighting coalition as their own ranks are trespassed with divisions. The Somalis and Ethiopians have rather spent their energy and resources building networks that sustain trading outposts. Many qualified Zimbabweans have found jobs in the education sector and government, while others, along with many Malawians and Mozambicans have filled the ranks of the low-paid sector. But almost all immigrants want to stay and those forced out desire to return.

In this context, Durban will continue to be a place of anti-immigrant sentiment. The last attacks, which saw street battles between locals and immigrants in the Point area of the city centre, both indicated a capacity of immigrants to mobilise when threatened, but also illustrated the continuing tensions and divisions which can easily translate into violence.

The balmy climate and the laid-back atmosphere easily deceive one into believing this is a city that offers a warm embrace to everybody. Below the surface, in the alleyways of the

city centre and the limited spaces of the shack settlements, there are anti-African immigrant feelings openly displayed.

The response of the authorities in 2008/9 and 2015 has been the same. Force people out of the camps and either into busses back home or to areas in which they were attacked in the first place. Faced with these alternatives, those who have not jumped on the busses to go back to their home countries have largely sought spaces where they can live with their fellow country people, feeding into an enclave mentality while breeding resentment.

Notes

ⁱ <http://ewn.co.za/2013/05/28/Place-foreigners-in-camps---Business>

ⁱⁱ Zulu for foreigner.

ⁱⁱⁱ <http://www.thedailyvox.co.za/xenophobia-camp-resident-they-put-in-their-mind-that-foreigners-are-not-human/>.

^{iv} <https://www.msf.org.za/msf-publications/msf-southern-africa-launches-anti-xenophobia-video-campaign-ahead-africa-day>

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