

CHAPTER I INRODUCTION

A. The Reason of Title Selection

South Africa is the integrated state in Africa continent that has important role in international relation. It becomes proper place for migrants to go to South Africa as refugee or immigrants. The arrival of migrants can create and maintain good relation between countries in scope of international. However, in South Africa there is racial assault on migrants that has been occurred in the past until nowadays. This problem is quite dangerous because it can break relation, because of violation issue, and assaulting migrants that can create victims. President of South Africa Jacob Zuma, did several ways such as forming committee to prevent and eradicate this issue to bring back the mindset of world that South Africa is not xenophobic countries by South African Human Rights Commission. (BBC, 2015).

Almost in every part of South Africa especially in Johannesburg, there are many phenomena of xenophobic in the form of verbal or action. This issue can attracts global attention and number of countries that concern about violence and racial assault (Manu, 2016). In 2015, there were many upsurge attacks and cases of racial assault for example in the case of Durban, Johannesburg, and Grahamstown, and in early 2017 there were a protest regarding migrants which means South African launched anti migrant protest. Racial assault caused by xenophobia that can create racial gap and conflict is one of barrier in international relation. The case of xenophobia and racial assault also has been discussed in international level and this issue can create big impacts towards world peace. The body of United Nation UNHCR (United Nation High Commissioner for Refugee) always concerning about this, in South Africa there were many refugees came, the security of refugee in South Africa is guaranteed but only in short term, after that the security and protection of life of the refugees is

threatened, because of xenophobic attacks that gives a lot of victim (CTI Reviews, 2016).

Beside it becomes the global issue, racial assault can threaten the security local and national security. This is the important issue to be discussed, since we are now living in globalization era. These phenomena occurred as a product of globalization where the access across border can be reached easily. International organization and Inter-migration organization put their effort and make multiculturalism society in South Africa. Because in South Africa the number of violation because foreigner subjected the attacks from South African. (Katenga, 2015). It attracts local and international scope. The effect is strong, that can affect psychology even leads to conflict in long terms. The inequality and their rights have been proven by some fact by asylum seeker from Bangladesh, India, Srilanka, etc.

According to UNHCR, there are many asylum seeker in South Africa. There were almost 310,000 refugees looking for asylum in July 2004 but in the end of 2015 the number reached fantastic level with 330,000 seekers. South Africa has many asylum seekers from conflicting states. Some of them agreed to pay tax in South Africa but they want their life to be guaranteed as long as they live in South Africa's area. They can be attacked anytime and at anyplace, even local South African steal and cause riot in their shop. Another reason of xenophobia, is that some of South African think that refugees will take their local opportunity which they think it belongs to them, their job field, their land, and their product. Because the number of foreign people that lived in South Africa in 2015, the statistic of south Africa, 21.7% of all South African lives in poverty and 53.8% survives on less than 75\$ in a month (Essa, 2015).

This issues create dilemma in terms of perspectives and arguments. As the result, there is a clash of perspectives that ends in the rejection of migrants in South Africa, which leads to worst situation and trigger violation that can create another specific issues such as human rights. Moreover, it can give an

output of victim. It should be concerned and International organization has put their concern toward this issue because of bad possibility that will happen if this case still existed.

B. Background of the Problem

In the beginning, South Africa is a country that is dominated by white skinned people, and the post-apartheid era issue in South Africa is not done yet. At first, South African people only have traumatic or insecure feeling towards non-African migrants, but now they have the same feeling with intra-African people. Intra-African migrants in South Africa appeared with some purposes in many sectors. We know that South Africa is one of the most important and influential state in Africa continent. The state which is populated by 56 million people is located in southern Africa continent and it is bounded by 2798 kilometers on the south of coastline stretching along South Atlantic and Indian Oceans. As the 25th largest land in the world, with good education system, and the land of opportunity in Africa continent, South Africa becomes the destination of foreigner and migrants. However, South Africa also noted as the land of conflict since until now there are some conflict that still occurred in South Africa.

Racial assault in South Africa is the current problem between South African people and migrants whether they are both of African or non-African. This problem is triggered by the phobia of South African people towards migrants or familiar called as xenophobia. These phenomena can give impacts and there is clear evidence according to the foreign affair minister of Nigeria, Geoffrey Onyema who stated that some minorities in Nigeria is affected by the virus called xenophobia that can create racial conflict (Sumaina, 2017).

This problem is quite serious because the racial assault and xenophobia or phobia with foreigner and migrants affect some aspects that lead to split and conflict in long terms because it affects psychological sides, the victims of xenophobia are Irish, Jewish immigrant, Italian, even intra-

African. Some people who are still affected by xenophobia that leads to racism and it can be included to psychological problem as well and quite contemporary issue in psychology (Olowu, 2008). This problem is the old problem in South Africa, post-Apartheid, which is not really over. The foreign policy of South Africa has a strict and tough content and requirement. In fact between 2006 until 2012, South Africa received high number of asylum seekers with 223,000 claims, which is higher than United States with 47,900 claims, because South Africa has great quality of asylum, but the foreign policy to the migrants is quite strict. If the migrants is unskilled and even the migrants is skilled but they don't have a lot of money and commitment, they won't live longer in South Africa. It is like a qualification if people want to enter South Africa, even as refugees, for example the refugees of Zimbabwe were labeled as illegal foreigner because South Africa also gave "Dispensation project" which means South Africa will give the short protection and security to 200,000 Zimbabwean, but when this project is expired, the security of refugee is not guaranteed anymore, according to the data 60 migrants were killed by racial assault and it can be categorized as well as xenophobic attack in May 2008.

The governments and President of South Africa, Jacob Zuma tried to make some projects to eradicate xenophobia attacks because they realized that almost 40% their infrastructure developed because of migrants worker and labor, this is policy dilemma of government related to migrants and South African (Segatti, 2011). Even intra-African can be the enemy in the reason of hijacking and stealing local job, according to South African people that job belongs to local people.

The government believes that the integration between migrants and South African society can create better South Africa in terms of infrastructure and quality of technology in South Africa. The product that originally comes from South Africa can be successful because of the contribution from migrants as well. Based on those reason governments tried to

build strategy to fix the relation, for example between South Africa and Nigeria. Nigeria's foreign minister Aminu Wali has stated that South Africa is one of superpower countries in South Africa. In the first time, he admitted that the relation between South Africa and Nigeria is better and no obstacles. Then it goes to problem when some migrants workers from Nigeria were attacked by local people of South Africa. This situation emerged not only in bilateral relation between South Africa and Nigeria, but also in Pan African. The tension between them is getting high. Because of that phenomenon many speculations of perspectives come from Aminu Wali to Zuma the president of South Africa. He assumes that President Jacom Zuma had condemned the attack of xenophobic in the parliament (Allison, 2015).

So it can be concluded, the local people of South Africa refuses refugee and migrants to come to South Africa, because according to South African people, refugee and migrants take their opportunity in terms of job field, and such a phobia for local people of South Africa because of past tragedy called apartheid. There are some perspectives stated that racial assault is the new form of apartheid, and the other perspectives stated that racial assault is a global issues that has no relation with apartheid. In this kind of situation, Jacob Zuma should take an action in the form of making set of rules regarding rights and obligation of migrants whether it is from Africa or outside Africa and also for local people of South Africa.

C. Research question

Based on the background mentioned before, this thesis has one research question "*Why does racial assault on intra-African migrant workers increase in the post-apartheid era?*"

D. Theoretical Framework

The theory which will be used is theory of Conflict Causes created by Wese Becker. Wese Becker is a scholar

who was experienced about conflict things According to him, conflict is a social process where individual or people are trying to fulfill their needs by many variants of ways including threatening, assaulting, and harming. This theory was built in 1950's and 1960's. The form of conflict can be defined by characteristics of nation or country that is in the conflict. There must be some differences in race, ethnic, religion, social life, economic and politics (Soekanto, 1990).

Michael E. Brown mentioned some reasons why this theory is suitable in international relations studies especially internal conflict. First, the scope of this theory is spread beyond borders of country which means it gives effect the relation among countries. Second, conflict can be done in many forms of violations and it refers to humanitarian violation. Third, internal conflict actors bring other people outside the border or migrants It means there were conflicts of migrants and refugees mentioned as the title of this thesis. Fourth, Internal conflict can attract other countries and some internal organization to take a role because their interests are insecure caused by conflict.

The theory of conflict causes classified into two types of causes. First is underlying causes and the second is proximate causes. Both types of causes have a linkage on causes of conflict. Underlying causes explains why something eventually happen. Meanwhile proximate causes explain why something happens when it did in the way it did.

1. Underlying Causes

Table 1. Underlying causes and internal conflicts
(P.Hermawan, 2007)

<p>Structural Factors</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Weak States 2. The insecure Concern of Internal Security 3. The Geography of Ethnic 	<p>Political Factors</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Discriminatory political institution 2. The exclusiveness of national ideology 3. Elite Politics 4. Intergroup Politics
<p>Economic/Social Factors</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Economic Problem 2. Discriminatory economic system 3. Economic development and Modernization 	<p>Social and Culture Factors</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Patterns of cultural discrimination 2. The history of problematic groups

Structural Factors consist of three factors. There are weak states, the insecure concern of internal security, and the geography ethnic. First, weak states can be the trigger for other country for taking opportunity toward that state. Weak states are labeled by weak border, weak structural governmental institution and its policy. It will drive internal conflict about the fulfillment of needs. Second, the insecure concern of internal security means several group can make security dilemma when state is weak in internal

security which leads to conflict. Third, the geography of ethnic can be classified as thread of diversity. There must be a majority and minority ethnic. If the relation cannot be cooperative there must be a conflict inside.

Political factors consist of four factors. There are discriminatory political institution, the exclusiveness of national ideology, elite Politics, and intergroup politics. First, discriminatory political institution is the unjust treatment and related to the fairness of political institutions. Second, the exclusiveness of national ideology means every country has its own national ideology, but egocentrism leads to conflict that assume their ideology is the best ideology to be implemented among all. Third, Elite Politics is a group which hold a power and has some authorities and policies, if there is a misused of power, it will lead to conflict. Fourth, Intergroup politics can create confrontation because they were made whether based on religion, ethnic, and race. Sometimes it can leads to discrimination about rights and obligation

Economic/Social factors consist of three factors. There are economics problem, discriminatory economic system, and economic development and modernization. First, economics problem has been experienced by almost all countries, for example the main problem of unemployment, job field, income, inflation that become big barriers on economic side. These factors create gap in economical sides between people inside the country due to competitiveness of individual and group. Second, in some countries, we can find the class of civilization who classify people based on their wealth. It can be called as the discriminatory of economic system where people in different class have different treatment from authority. Third, development and modernization cannot be denied in globalization era. However, not all people can accept or follow the flexibility of era by development and modernization of economic because it

can be seen as the survival competition based on their wealth and capability.

Social and Culture factors consist of two factors. There are pattern of cultural discrimination and history of problematic group. First, cultural discrimination can be seen in many forms of sectors for example in education and social life. The pattern is quite simple to determine which culture is better. Second, problematic group history is called problematic because in the past they left bad memories or tragedy toward several object's inside or outside the country.

2. Proximate causes

Table 2. Proximate causes and Internal conflicts
(P.Hermawan, 2007)

<p>Structural Factor</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Failed state 2. Military power 3. Changes on demographic pattern 	<p>Political Factor</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Political transition 2. The exclusive ideology 3. Competition of political group 4. Competition of leadership
<p>Economic/Social Factor</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Economic problem is getting worse 2. Economical gap 3. Rhythm of development 	<p>Social and Culture Factor</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Ethnic conflict & Propaganda 2. Strong Culture discrimination

Structural factor consists of three factors. There are failed states, military power, and changes on demographic pattern. First, if government cannot handle the weak state, it leads to failed states in which the government no longer controls and it will be very weak in political and also economic sectors. Second, the conflict cannot be handled or even become stronger if there is no capable military power. That is why military is holding an important role in the security of the state. Third related to the demographic that means population, the bad changes of demographic causes uncontrolled number of population that will create huge competition among individuals or groups.

Political factor on proximate causes consists of four factors, namely political transition, the exclusive ideology, competition of political group, and competition of leadership. First, political transition is the transition or interval between regime. There will be different treatment to people based on the style of regime. Second, the exclusiveness of ideology can trigger big conflict because it will leads to the political system and ideology has a role as a basic decision and policy. Third, in politics, there must be a competition among political groups in which each group have different interest and goals. Sometimes these differences of ideas and ideologies can lead to the conflict. Fourth, the position in order to rule and implement the policy in the country is normal. Every people from the elite group are trying to test their ability and make competition, but if it is getting intense, it may create political conflict.

Economic or Social factor consists of three factors. There are worst economic problem, economical gap, and rhythm of development. First, the high rate of unemployment in a particular country could be an example as the worst economic problem. There will be an unfair competition even crime inside the country that

leads to the conflict. Second, if the gap in economic level is getting wide, it means clash of civilization in terms of economic is getting big as well. Because the unfairness of treatment, and unjust of wealth. Third, the interval of development era is quite quick short that makes several people struggled towards the development because they are not capable enough to follow the changes of economic development.

Social and culture factors consist of two factors. They are ethnic conflict, propaganda, and strong culture discrimination. First, propaganda is quite dangerous and becoming vital things to make a conflict. Because it manipulates and provokes situation to several objects. Second, when it goes to discrimination, several group will get different treatment or rights. Because of the diversity of ethnic, race, culture, and religion.

Based on this theory, the case of racial assault in South Africa has several causes in forms of underlying and proximate causes. As it has been mentioned, there are some interests of South African in economical, structural, political, and socio cultural sides. This theory can examine the factors and causes why migrants especially for intra African are being discriminated and assaulted by local people in South Africa. In the structural side, South Africa is quite weak in military or internal security, In politics, African National Congress becomes dominant since 2009, In economic, South African's field of job has been dominated by migrant workers. Meanwhile in social culture, there are many discriminations in forms of verbal or physical action.

E. Hypothesis

Based on the current condition in South Africa, and the theoretical framework of conflict causes, racial assault on intra-african migrant workers increases in post-apartheid era because of :

1. The historical background of South Africa in post-apartheid era. Racial assault towards migrants is caused by the ethnocentrism of South African and its historical record of Apartheid in South Africa.
2. Intra-African migrant workers that become a victim of racial assault. They become the victims because their domination in the land of South Africa in some sectors, especially in economic sector which creates conflict for South African people.

F. Purpose of Writing

The purpose of this undergraduate thesis is to explain the triggering factors of racial assault on intra African migrants in South Africa 2015-2017. In the apartheid era, the land of South Africa ruled and dominated by white skinned people. Meanwhile, in the post-apartheid era, the establishment of racial virus called xenophobia which means the allergy and rejection towards migrants is getting big. Now, the rejection on the migrants is not only to non-African migrants, but also to intra African migrants which become victims of xenophobia in the form of racial assault.

Other purpose of this research is to implement the studies from international relation studies at “Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta” by using theory mentioned to give a contribution of research especially for international relation department in addition, it aims to achieve the undergraduate degree in International Relation department, faculty of social and politics, “Universitas Muhammadiyah Yogyakarta”.

G. Research Methodology

This research was conducted using qualitative method by collecting information from sources of library researches, articles, books, journal, reference books in forms of electronic and printed media to figure out the fact in South Africa and to

explain about racial assault in South Africa that happened in 2015-2017.

The data that were used are related to past condition of South Africa in apartheid era and also data of current condition about racial assault tragedy that occurred in South Africa in forms of its variants, delivery, and motive. The writer used secondary data which means data that are received are not directly from objects. The writer used time series which means data were collected from time by time to describe the evolution of phenomena.

The data that had been collected need to be edited to simplify data that has been collected to manage the focus of data. Besides, it makes data become tidy and well managed. The writer used some steps for managing the data. The first step is editing which has been mentioned before in order to make the data stable and managed. Second step is coding by giving symbol or sign in form of number. The last step is tabulating to serve data in the form of table to make it simple and easy to understand.

H. The Scope of Research

The system of Apartheid comes to an end in the year of 1991. However, post-apartheid era gives some influences toward society in the form of xenophobic treatment towards migrants. The year of 2015 is the triggering point of racial assault in South Africa. In 2015, there were many upsurge attacks and cases of racial assault, for example the case of Durban, Johannesburg, and Grahamstown which takes victims from the other country.

In 2016, there was an attack in Tshwane where almost all foreigner shops were destroyed and some numbers of foreigners from Somalia were attacked. Moreover in early 2017, there was a protest regarding migrants in which South African launched anti migrant protest which leads to the big conflict among them. Although this issue of racial assault in South Africa has started long time ago since post-apartheid era, however this research will only focus on analyzing

conflicts within the timeline of 2015 until 2017. However, other references from previous year are also used as connectivity to recent timeline of the discussion.

I. Organization of Writing

The organization of this thesis writing consists of the framework of clear outline from five chapters, the following are the description of outline. First chapter describes the background of the issue, research question, the theoretical framework, the hypothesis determined, research method, and the outline of the paper. The second chapter explains about the historical sides of racial assault on intra Africans migrant workers issues in South Africa. This chapter also discusses about some speculations and assumptions to call the issue of racial assault as the new form of Apartheid, and their action and effort to erase politic of apartheid. This chapter provides assaulting record done by South African towards migrant workers.

The third chapter explains the tragedy that happened between 2015 until 2017 in the forms of action and the responds and assumption from international world. This chapter explained about the effect of some actors in domestic and international towards this issue. The fourth chapter explains the migrant's role and how far the migrant influences in some areas, for examples in politics and business. The structural factors why racial assault on intra African migrants increased also become the main part in this chapter. The last chapter summarizes and concludes the whole research and explanations that have been analyzed in the previous chapters.