

CHAPTER IV

THE CONFLICT ASSESMENT OF RACIAL ASSAULT TOWARD INTRA-AFRICAN MIGRANTS IN SOUTH AFRICA

Racial assault case in South Africa occurred because of some structural factors that are linked to each other, for example historical factors that cause racial assault in South Africa called apartheid that gives phobia towards local people of South Africa to migrants both outside Africa and inside Africa. This modern virus of international relation can be spread if this issue still exist in international world, because the effect from this issue is huge and can give significant influence on relation among countries.

This chapter is describing the hypothesis mentioned in the first chapter. This chapter is also describing migrant's roles and contributions in South Africa that are still linked to the hypothesis. Hypothesis stated that based on the current condition in South Africa, racial assault on intra-African migrant workers increase post-apartheid era because of the historical background of South Africa in apartheid era. Racial assault towards migrants caused by the ethnocentrism of South African and its historical record of apartheid in South Africa and Intra-African migrant workers also become a victim of racial assault because of their domination in land of South Africa in some sectors especially in economic sectors which later creates conflict for South African people.

The historical factor in South Africa indirectly affects mindset of people to be independent and free from rules that gives unfair treatment for them. It creates motivation to strengthen their identity and protect it from other who want to intimidate and change it. However, the negative effect is that there is too much feeling that causing the rigid style of nation, and another hypothesis will determine migrants' role especially in economic sector because some questions always came with same words of stealing job of local people in South Africa. The governments and President of South Africa Jacob

Zuma, tried to make some project to eradicate xenophobia attacks because they realized that almost 40% of their infrastructure developed because of migrant workers and labors, it becomes policy dilemma from government between migrants and South African. 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 (Segatti, 2011)..

This is a crucial things that can threaten the relation among countries, because the element of the country which is people itself become the victim. Some critics are stated by some scholars and international organizations regarding this assault and statement from natives people, even President of South Africa Jacob Zuma denied that South Africa is xenophobic. International world choose to eradicate that racial case and cooperating with government to make a balance between natives and migrants.

The differences of causes of xenophobia between apartheid and post-apartheid era are almost same. The object is migrants, but in different context. These two hypothesis are related to the historical effect and current condition. It affects to the psychology of natives and then they relate it in every migrant's activity in South Africa. For some people in South Africa, the existence of migrant in their land is a threat and they feel neo colonialized by them. Even though it is only personal or individual relation they mind it, and it becomes huge because this issue is sustained. Therefore, many actors such as scholars and international organizations put their hands on this issue.

A. The Historical Background of South Africa in Post-Apartheid Era as the Influence on Racial Assault in South Africa

Historical influence of South Africa can affects current condition because South Africa has traumatic tragedy caused by white skinned people that make them feel colonialized for

long time. Some humanitarian issues in South Africa happened in past era, there was colonialism, slavery for example the feeling to be a free man and has authority in their own land become their hopes at that time. Napoleon Bonaparte also said that history is nothing more than past events that people decided to agree upon.

Colonialism is the first root where almost all the issues in South Africa occurred and led to slavery, and forced labor model proposed by Dutch in 1652, this slavery happened for hundred years. The local people in South Africa were forced to make equipment and give their resources to the 1st world country. At first, the Dutch were primarily concerned with supplying their ships with fresh produce as they rounded the Cape en route to the spice-producing islands of the Indonesian archipelago. Indonesia is more rich and has big area, besides Indonesia has more natural resources and some interests of Dutch can be occupied in Indonesia, it makes the Dutch had their most important colonial interests in Indonesia, which included the growing of crops and spices that could not be produced in Europe. In Indonesia, the Dutch enslaved entire populations, ruling them by force and coercing them to produce crops. In the Cape, Van Riebeeck first attempted to get cattle and labor through negotiation, but as soon as these negotiations broke down slavery was implemented until the appearance of English colony, actually Boer did not like the domination of English colony so they moved to the place that still vacant, that tragedy called as “the great trek” that happened until South Africa was dominated by English with some forms of slavery (Jatmika, 2016) .

From that example, the slavery issue and colonialism are not eradicated but it will be developed in different forms of action. The modern issues of slavery are children trading, child labor, and also the sexual mutilation. Regarding to this undergraduate thesis issue, after colonialism era South Africa experienced a bitter era called apartheid, or familiarly called as the era of segregation. Apartheid is popular as the worst

humanitarian case even it is categorized as a crime in 20th century.

The white domination in the monopoly system of economy and politics makes natives have no power in their own land. This system is cruel for local people and makes black skinned people or natives cannot access to some privileges. European sees the opportunity and chance in South Africa. The American investment bank, Citigroup, recently ranked South Africa as the world's richest country, in terms of its mineral reserves, worth an estimated \$2.5 trillion. South African whites and western foreigners own a staggering from 80 percent of this wealth. The domination is unfair to be seen. Throughout the apartheid era, male migration from Mozambique, Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland formed the core of inward migration patterns. In the nineties, migrant labor constituted 60% of South Africa's mining workforce employing vast amounts of unskilled labor within the primary sector. To date, over five million people live as ethnic minorities in the country made up of various compositions. Migrants started to be a threat for local people of South Africa their domination in the land of South Africa also local people also have bad track record from the past with migrants (Dooling, 2007).

According to the xenophobia expert Jean Pierre Misago, the researcher at the African Centre for Migration and Society at the University of Witwatersrand, the xenophobic attack happened because of the legacy of history and it already happened long time ago. He said that the violence against foreign nationals is criminal and xenophobic, it does not have to be either or. The simple history of migrants whether the migrants are from Africa or outside Africa started long time ago and the case or issue of xenophobia is also done by local people since migrants came to the land of South Africa. In May 2008, 62 people were killed in the wave of xenophobic attack, mostly the migrants that being attacked is from Somalia and Ethiopia. They were dragged in the streets of Alexandra, few kilometers from Johannesburg suburb and also

“necklaged”. This kind of action is done in the apartheid era as the tactic of execution toward victim at that time (Aljazeera, 2016).

According to a psychologist Nugent Pam, xenophobia is phobia toward strangers in pathological ways. It can be said as the violence toward individuals, nationalities, or ethnic group. In the case of xenophobia in South Africa he said that his action has been done indirectly by local people because they have traumatic memories even if they did not live at the era of apartheid, it happens because the apartheid era psychologically affects the behavior of the people and this is a disease that cannot be recovered in the short time.

The Counseling Psychology also has some programs in order to change the mindset of people in South Africa towards foreigners, because according to them racial assault is dangerous virus in international relation, the adult that have enough power can do criminal actions even get the victim from foreigner. Some kids also try to copy the action from their parents who did xenophobic attack verbally or directly physically contact. Therefore, the Counseling Psychology provides the framework and essential competencies required in mental health work for local people, using some methods to erase the phobia that happened in the past. The Counseling Psychology make some practices with the method of introducing other cultures. In this framework they introduce completely the behavior and characteristic of others, and give a paradigm to local people that the diversity cannot be denied and give the paradigm of flexibility, Jacob Zuma as the President of South Africa is supporting this program, because Jacob Zuma didn't want South Africa was labeled as xenophobic country, because they have integrated many things and it can be ruined by this issue.

For the next program they have education and training in which the material is about multicultural coursework. They learn about diversity and how to respond toward multiculturalism. We have known South Africa also called as “Rainbow Nation” which means South Africa is the place for

many identities of people gathered. In South Africa the local people are not only black skinned people, the white skinned people are also the local people of South Africa because the case of Apartheid, in the beginning they have different treatment but after Nelson Mandela free from prison and became president of South Africa, their right is equally same.

This education is concerning on how they should understand and respect the multiculturalism to avoid xenophobic attack and racial assault in South Africa. They also did some research by gathering local people with international communities and foreigner group, they try to make them understand each other, they use some method to understand the perspectives of both, and the last method that done by the counseling psychology is to persuade the people to implement and support government policies, and make a change as flexible nation. However, not all of this method works to all South African people, there were still some people as the pioneer of racial assault in their land.

This issue always takes victim from year to year, because of the dramatic historical side that have been explained in the previous chapter. The effort of Nelson Mandela and local people of South Africa and also ANC's to free and make the equalizer for the stability of South Africa in many sectors until South Africa now becomes the most developed country in Africa. The Victim that mainly from Somali and Ethiopia were accused as the separator of HIV and AIDS virus also want to neo colonialized South Africa. Actually, this phenomena is quite unique because it can be said as the clash of African people, but in the reality South African people does not need to be worried about that kind of thing because South Africa is the most integrated country in terms of politic and economic development in Africa/ Based on that status, its not the shocking moment anymore when South Africa is full of migrants, asylum seekers, and refugee to get the opportunity with their own risk.

According to the UNHCR there were almost 310.000 refugees and asylum seekers. It can be categorized as huge

number, it shows that South Africa seen by people who needed some helps and interest. Their interest have high probability to be achieved in the land of South Africa, therefore the migrants especially for migrant workers must face the challenge and issue of xenophobic attack in South Africa. As we have known that, based on the historical sides xenophobia in South Africa is not new thing. According to the survey that done by Michael Neocosmos, the director of global movements research at the University of South Africa (UNISA), in post-apartheid era there were only 6% of South Africans were tolerant to immigration, and another survey that cited by Danso and McDonald in post-apartheid era, 75% percent of South Africans had negative perceptions toward migrants even they are black African foreigners. The reason that they were having bad perceptions and argument toward black foreigner or intra-African foreigner is about disease, genocide, and dictatorship. The ills of apartheid in terms of complexion and skin color are the heavy discrimination in international relation (Aljazeera, 2016).

The current condition in South Africa has a linkage with the past era. Based on some surveys and psychological things, apartheid era gives legacy in current condition in South Africa. The legacy is the form of racial assault toward foreigner. It is not perfectly same with apartheid era, but the case or issue that faced by South Africa and concerned by international world nowadays is application and modification of issue from apartheid era. The element of nation in South Africa tried to find the way to go out of this issue, because it is an internal issue which means the one of main actors is from South Africa. The government of South Africa cannot stop to find the way to free South Africa from xenophobic virus with some actions mentioned and by creating cooperation with some INGOs, NGOs, and international organizations in order to solve this issue.

B. The Domination of Intra African Migrant in Economic Sectors as the Cause of Racial Assault in South Africa

Supported by the theory of conflict causes, the underlying causes and also the economic causes describe economic sectors as one of causes of conflict. IT happened in South Africa where the economic sector is one of main sources of conflict that can cause xenophobic or racial attack towards migrants.

In underlying causes, economic factor consists of three factors there are economics problem, discriminatory economic system, and economic development and modernization. First, economics problem the main problem of unemployment, job field, income, inflation become big barrier on economic side, this is the factor creates gap in economical sides between people inside country due to competitiveness of individual and group. Second, the classification of their wealth can be called as the discriminatory of economic system where people in different classes have different treatment from the authority. Third, development and modernization cannot be denied in globalization era. However, not all people can accept or follow the flexibility of that era by development and modernization of economic because it can be seen as the survival competition based on their wealth and capability.

Meanwhile in the proximate causes, economic factor consists of three factors, there are worst economic problem, economical gap, and rhythm of development. The first factor is the modification from underlying causes of economic for example the unemployment that getting worse can cause unfair competition and it makes some people are forced to do crime or xenophobic action to get their interest in economic sector.

Second, if the gap in economic is getting wider, it means clash of civilization in terms of economic is getting bigger as well, because the unfairness of treatment, and unjust of wealth. The gap of economic also can be seen through the privileges for wealthy people and poor people. This case is

almost same as the rights in the segregation era where the rights of black skinned people and white skinned people are different.

Third, the interval of development era is quite quick. It makes several people struggled towards development because they are not capable enough to follow the changes of economic development. For those people who are still rigid about development there are two more causes whether their paradigm could not accept the change or they are not capable in economic sides to follow that change, and it happens in South Africa where some local people of South Africa still leave in poverty, less educated, and still have rigid paradigm towards development in many sectors including transmigration that can cause xenophobic attack or racial assault towards migrants (P.Hermawan, 2007).

South Africa as one of all nations with high integration in economic sectors means that South Africa is a rich country compared to other country in Africa island. The differences of economic growth in terms of potential per capita GDP in South Africa between apartheid period and post-apartheid period have growth up. The turning point can be seen in Nelson Mandela's administration and in the 2010, the real per capita GDP beyond the potential per capita GDP. It shows South Africa has good development in economic terms as the attraction for migrants or foreigner to come to South Africa.

Picture 5 : Potential per capita GDP growth in South Africa 1960-2010

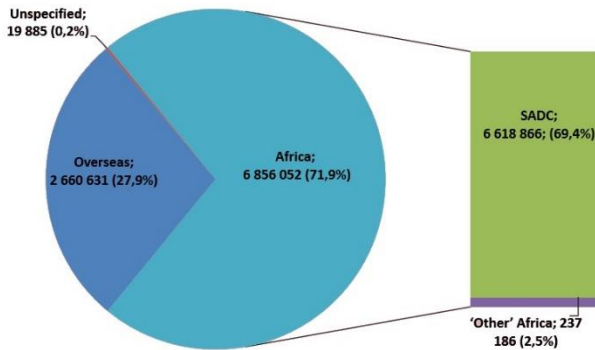


(Koch, 2017).

Based on that data, South Africa becomes a sought place for migrant workers to get the opportunity because the potency of land in South Africa is quite big in terms of economic and trade. There are many vacant spaces to build some companies and firms. There also many people that can be employed to reduce the unemployment in South Africa. The survey by US news and world report in economic sector shows as South Africa reaches rank 38th in global or international world, with GDP \$350.1 billion and \$13.209 billion GDP per capita. It can be categorized as medium to high economic development, and it is also categorized as integrated country in terms of economy in Africa after Nigeria and Egypt (Koch, 2017).

This economic status triggered migrants from overseas and intra-African migrant workers to get their interest in South Africa, as it can be seen the number of migrant movement is quite fantastic in 2013.

**Picture 6 : Distribution of migrants by region of residence
2013**



(SA ePublication, 2008).

From this chart, the movement of migrants from overseas and inside Africa to South Africa is quite comprehensive. Over 9.536.568 migrants move to their countries to the destination countries, and South Africa receive 69.4% from that numbers. Mostly the migrants come from intra-African countries rather than other countries. It makes a huge population change in South Africa that can affect many things, for example the fertility transition, demographic, and economics structure. From that number as well the domination of migrants in South Africa is quite dominates in terms of selling something and job field. The migrant workers not only apply for job but also create job, even local people are employed by migrant workers in South Africa. The example can be seen in industrial sectors, in which based on the survey of tourism and industrial account for South Africa in 2015 the number of people employed in the foreign industry reached 711.746 people. It shows that the role of migrants sometimes brings positive impact for local people but in the other hand some local people assumed that the migrant workers from other countries only bring the cost for them by stealing their opportunity and job field in their own land (SA ePublication, 2008).

The domination of migrant workers in terms of economy and trading become the triggering factor of racial assault on migrants, especially for intra-African migrant workers. There are some cases of xenophobic attacks towards migrants related to their activity of trading and selling goods or services. In 2009 there were shop looting by local people towards shop owner from Somali and Nigeria. This thing makes migrants from other nation feel insecure and they ask for help to government. Government accepts their proposal and the request of protection by arresting more than 150 people as the actors of xenophobic attacks.

Another case comes from a Somali workers named Salat Abdullahi. His story almost represents the feeling of migrant workers that have jobs in South Africa. Based on the interview done by Al Jazeera team, Salat Abdullahi stated that he can be

attacked anytime in the shop. It makes him scared and close his shop almost for a month. He cannot sleep peacefully at the night because he doesn't know what he is going to face tomorrow. Salat also said that, even he felt insecure toward condition that occurred in South Africa, South Africa still better rather than his country, because he came to South Africa in purpose to get their interest and benefit in economy. It can be called as economical force that force someone to move from their country or their comfort zone to do some action in order to fulfill their needs in economic terms. Most of migrants need more protection from government or some actors that concerned about this case, the migrant do not blame the government but they blame on the people (Aljazeera, 2016).

Ebrahim Khalil-Hansen, the public policy analysis in Johannesburg South Africa speaks about the opportunity of business in South Africa for migrant. He stated that there are many obstacles in informal business because there is no strong law in South Africa that stated about protection while xenophobic attack is commonly done by local people towards migrants that open their business. Ebrahim also said that migrant needs more protection and must be careful to open their business if its informal (Aljazeera, 2016).

In local people's point of view, they feel neo colonialized by migrant workers that come to South Africa. The xenophobic things nowadays are not only targeting oversea migrants, but now mainly targeting intra-African migrant workers. The interview towards local people that have business in South Africa with Cynthia Khanyile also can be the strong evidence representing how xenophobic people feels about migrants. She said that she really hates foreigner or migrant workers, because they are stealing the job that actually it belongs to local people of South Africa, She upset because she already work hard but foreigner just come and take the slot, building, land for their business. This statement as the main reason why they really hates migrant workers in economic sides, because the poverty of local people in South

Africa based on the survey from figure released of South Africa 21,7% people of South Africa lives in poverty and 53.8% people of South Africa lives with 75\$ income each month. The local people of South Africa also demand government to empower South African business to make it more powerful rather than foreign business (Aljazeera, 2016).

The matters of perspectives between South African people and migrants are still debatable. Economic and historical sides are the main factors why racial assault still occurred in South Africa with some xenophobic actions. The matter of perspectives is really hard to be solved, because it needs high understanding and tolerance to each other.