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„The Decline of the African Star: Xenophobia in Contemporary Fiction About South Africa“

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LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

AA	Affirmative Action
ACMS	African Center for Migration and Society
AI	Amnesty International
ANC	African National Congress
ART	Antiretroviral Treatment
BEE	Black Economic Empowerment
DESA	United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs
EU	European Union
HSRC	Human Sciences Research Council
IFP	Inkatha Freedom Party
IOM	International Organization for Migration
NDP	National Development Plan
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NP	National Party
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SAHRC	South African Human Rights Commission
SAMP	The Southern African Migration Programme
SOWETO	South Western Townships, Johannesburg, South Africa
SPLA	The Sudan People's Liberation Army
TAC	Treatment Action Campaign
TRA	Temporary Relocation Area
TRC	Truth and Reconciliation Commission
UNAIDS	Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
WISER	Human Sciences Research Council, Pretoria, South Africa
WITS	University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, South Africa

I dream of an Africa which is in peace with itself.

- Nelson Mandela, South African

1. POINTS OF DEPARTURE

"There is no hurt quite, like being unloved, unwanted, among one's own".

- *Tinaye, Zimbabwean* (in *Men of the South* on page 197).

1.1. INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

In 2014, I worked in an orphanage for HIV positive girls in Namaacha, a border town in Mozambique, and in a hospice for HIV positive and terminally ill patients in Manzini, Swaziland. In that time, I went on a research trip to South Africa for the purposes of writing my Master thesis on HIV/AIDS in contemporary South African fiction. Working, observing, and talking to people of various backgrounds, I started to notice how differently people in these three neighboring countries talk about South Africa. In Mozambique and Swaziland, they spoke of it as a land of plenty, where life is better and there are more opportunities for a bright future. Those with youth or ambition on their side wanted to go there to try and create a better life for themselves.

When I crossed the border into South Africa people there did not return the positive sentiments towards their neighbors. Upon hearing that I just came from Mozambique and Swaziland they would respond saying how poor people from there are, and how annoying it is that so many of them come to South Africa, bringing their poverty, problems, violence, and diseases with them, and how they steal jobs and women from 'more deserving' South Africans. A year after, in 2015, the second big wave of xenophobic attacks against black foreigners in the country hit South Africa.

That is when my decision to write a PhD dissertation about xenophobia in South Africa was born. Having an academic background in literary studies I was naturally interested how literature

and works of fiction have responded to this grave problematic and started an extensive research. However, I was surprised to find that despite the fact that most novels do always briefly touch upon the topic of xenophobia in the country, very few make it a central topic. This factor has profoundly changed my work plan. There is an obvious lack, a hole, an avoidance present in literature on the topic and I wanted to research why. Why would writers of literature, usually so invested and responsive to events shaping the world around them, stay silent on such an important issue?

I selected some of the most influential contemporary African novels and two biographical narratives and decided to use them as illustrations. Building on these vignettes from novels, theories from psychology, sociology, history, and politics, are brought in to explain this lack of literature as well as to help analyze the examples that can be found and offer comparisons with other countries dealing with similar issues.

Xenophobia in South Africa is hardly a new phenomenon. It is an always 'already present truth' and it has been brewing for over twenty years and even long before the 1994 collapse of the Apartheid regime. Bits and pieces of it are always in everyday life, in politics, in books. Not just in novels written and published after the 2008 and 2015 massive xenophobic outbursts, but in novels written in the birth era of the 'Rainbow Nation' that have foreshadowed things to come. It is rarely a central topic, but it *is* always there, between the lines, on the margins just like in real life.

Recently South Africa has become home to many refugees and immigrants from all over Africa. Continental and regional instability has prompted millions to cross-border migration. These changes have not been received well. Xenophobia is spreading like wildfire and is mostly if not entirely directed towards other (black) Africans.

The question of how the violence should be named was very important in the period after the attacks. The Oxford Dictionary defines xenophobia as "a strong feeling of dislike or fear of people from other countries" ("Xenophobia" ch.1). However, Bronwyn Harris from the Centre for Health Policy of the University of the Witwatersrand in Johannesburg, suggest a rethinking of the dictionary definition of xenophobia, since nowadays it is not only a feeling of dislike, but a driving

force that causes physical damage of another, in the case of South Africa, of a black African foreigner (170).

Prof. Bhekizizwe Peterson, from the Department of African Literature of the University of the Witwatersrand, calls South African xenophobia ‘negrophobia’, the media outside of South Africa refer to it as ‘black on black’ violence, while David Matsinhe, policy analyst with a focus on immigrant integration, uses the term ‘Afrophobia’. However, in order to avoid confusion, in this thesis the violence is commonly addressed as xenophobia.

The massive migration flows inside the continent often result in migrants being perceived as scapegoats for everything that is wrong in South Africa and give a premise for othering and a toxic ‘culture of blame’. This rising ‘culture of blame' encourages a rethinking of the postcolonial theory of 'the other' towards a new more up-to-date concept. Edward Said developed the concept of *Orientalism* as a form of self-construction of the West, building on Michel Foucault’s theory of constructing identity by exclusion. In the book “Orientalism” (1978) Said juxtaposed the West and the Orient, presenting the former as the enlightened, admirable, benevolent one, and portraying the latter as the deviant, backward subordinate. South Africa has adopted this dichotomy in presenting itself as, and playing the role of, the West, while forcing the ‘other’ Africa to play the role of the Orient.

1.2. MAPPING THE TERRAIN

The attacks, discrimination, and xenophobia black Africans coming into, or living in, South Africa are faced with, raise several questions. They are a prominent feature of everyday life in the country and yet addressing them is a taboo topic. There is now a need to develop a new understanding of the African ‘other’ – or the ‘other’ Africa. This thesis aims to map the dynamics and test scenarios of the relationship between South Africa’s self-image and the image of the African ‘other’

Despite the fact that no race is homogeneous, racism was traditionally thought to be between races, in South Africa predominantly between black and white. But now, new history is being written. The internal ‘black on black violence’ conflicts have taken a turn to an inter-race

form of racism or an inter-race segregation creating an uncanny 'enemy' within the black race. All of the above can be seen as indicators that racism is now becoming a general human phenomenon and no longer one of skin color.

My corpus of thirteen texts comprises of novels that describe life of South Africans and foreigners in South Africa. Some are written by South African authors, and some are written by authors from elsewhere in Africa. These novels are: *A Man of Good Hope* by Jonny Steinberg; *Dog Eat Dog* by Niq Mhlongo; *Men of The South* by Zukiswa Wanner; *Room 207* by Kgebetli Moele; *Skyline* by Patricia Schonstein Pinnock; *Summertime: 'Scenes from a Provincial Life'* by J. M. Coetzee; *The Cry of Winnie Mandela* by Njabulo S. Ndebele; *The Good Doctor* by Damon Galgut; *The Lost Boy* by Aher Arop Bol; *Thirteen Cents* by K. Sello Duiker; *Ways of Dying* by Zakes Mda; *Welcome to Our Hillbrow* by Phaswane Mpe; and *When a Man Cries* by Siphiwo Mahala.

The concept and structure of this thesis is meant as a conversation between South Africa and its 'other' - the 'foreigner'. The Oxford Dictionary defines a foreigner as "a person from a country other than one's own / a person who is regarded as not belonging to a particular community; outsider or stranger" ("Foreigner" ch.1). The same dictionary defines an emigrant as "a person who leaves their country to live in another", an immigrant "a person who has come to live permanently in a country that is not their own," and a refugee as someone "forced to leave their country or home, because there is war or for political, religious or social reasons" ("Emigrant", "Immigrant", "Refugee" ch.1). Since these concepts often get mixed up, or a person can be sometimes one or the other, or both at the same time, I will mostly use the more general term foreigner, and when need be, clarify who that foreigner is. In 2008 and 2015 the mobs didn't care if the person they attacked was a refugee, an immigrant, or an emigrant. The 'foreigner' was the target.

My thesis tries to consider all the questions, doubts, insults, and reproaches a foreigner would be confronted with in South Africa while also including what a South African would feel about/ask a foreigner, and see how works of fiction deal with these topics. I have included a citation at the beginning of each chapter as a paratext, a threshold the reader must cross, as a kind of an introduction but at the same time a summary of the chapter. The theoretical framework used in this thesis was first laid out in my 2017 article "Understanding South African Xenophobia Through the Prism of J. M. Coetzee's Summertime 'Scenes from a Provincial Life'" in *Acta Neophilologica*.

It starts out with a chapter introducing the current state of South Africa, why it is not an 'African Star' anymore and describes the xenophobic attacks happening in the country from 1994 onwards. It tries to understand the attacks through a historical as well as a day-to-day media's point of view.

Chapter three asks the question who South Africans really are when not put in opposition to someone else. It analyzes different theories explaining South African xenophobia/negrophobia/Afrophobia and takes a closer look at the ideological coinage 'Rainbow Nation'. It also tries to decipher the white and black South African 'self' constructed in selected works of fiction. Chapter four introduces the African 'other', the foreigner, who he is, and why he is in South Africa. It describes the metaphorical and physical moment when the (border)line is crossed, when the old world is left behind, and the new one proves challenging to get into.

The fifth chapter entitled *Foreigner, Go Home or Die Here* analyzes everyday life of a foreigner in South Africa and his interactions with South Africans. It inspects the most common complaints foreigners are faced with about bringing violence and diseases to the country, about stealing South African jobs and stealing South African women. The closing chapter wonders where South Africa will go in the future, where the foreigner will go from here. Back home, or perhaps to another 'star' country? Will they both start chasing a new dream? And will South Africa be a star again?

Apartheid is an Afrikaans word broadly meaning 'apartness'. Eliminating the sense of apartness, more than twenty years after the regime that established it came crumbling down, remains one of South Africa's greatest challenges. My analysis wishes to contribute a little piece in bridging the gaps in South African society by using examples from works of fiction to illustrate how it can be done and recognize positive patterns of change.

What might at a first glance seem to be a very specific and local problem in South Africa can also be seen in a more Pan-African or even global context. The problems South Africans are facing are universal. How a continent, and within it a country, is packaged or stereotyped transcends a postcolonial frame when the main players are put on a global stage.

The thesis often draws parallels and comparisons to what is happening or how such issues are dealt with elsewhere in Africa, in Europe, in the United States of America. In this way, South Africa's case study can provide global transnational signifiers. It also gives a humanizing perspective and can serve as a human rights narrative overreaching a simple hatred of foreigners. Creating fictionalized narratives or counter-narratives gives encouragement to people to tell their stories or talk about the issues they are facing.

My thesis, while accepting the past, looks forward. Xenophobia is an important topic and dealing with it is one of the biggest issues South Africa, and the world in general, has to face. Tackling it is not an easy task. No one likes to talk about it, but the importance of looking for examples of successful dealings with it, and analyzing how it is done, is of key importance in overcoming it.

On the one hand, understanding how we got here, but on the other hand, asking where we go from here, looking forward, using the mistakes of the past as learning steps for the future. So that in the end, all these people coming from all over the African continent seeking refuge or just new opportunities in the 'African Star' country will no longer be faced with the bitter truth that Zimbabwean Tinaye articulates in a conversation with South African musician Mfundo in Zukiswa Wanner's *Men of the South*: "There is no hurt quite like being unloved, unwanted, among one's own" (197).

2. FOREIGNER, THIS IS SOUTH AFRICA[1]

"White people or no white people,
it was an African country;
it was an African Star".

- *Adaobi Tricia, Nigerian* (for the BBC in 2015).

As the most developed country on the continent, South Africa is often referred to as the 'Europe' of Africa in terms of being the desired final destination of thousands of people. Adaobi Tricia Nwaubani, a Nigerian writer, claims that South Africa was a success story, an inspiration to all of Africa: "White people or no white people, it was an African country; it was an African Star" (Nwaubani 2015). However, one cannot overlook Nwaubani's use of the past tense when she talks about South Africa as the 'African Star' since the relationship between the refugees, asylum seekers, immigrants, emigrants, and the host population is strained because of the socio-economic environment in South Africa, with economic inequality, high unemployment, and poor service delivery.

People migrate from all parts of the African continent to South Africa because they are fleeing political oppression or conflicts in their home countries. They seek economic opportunities and a better life that can only be offered to them there and not in their home country. Many wish to study at the high quality educational institutions in South Africa. Or sometimes, it is a combination of all of these. Since the fall of the Apartheid system in 1994 there have been continuous xenophobic attacks on foreigners. The destruction of immigrant-owned property, burning down their small shops, roadside stalls, and even their houses, became common practice and culminated in the 2008 and 2015 riots, that have continued in 2019.

[1] Parts of this chapter have been previously published in: Zajec, Polona. "Understanding South African Xenophobia Through the Prism of J. M. Coetzee's Summertime 'Scenes from a Provincial Life'". *Acta Neophilologica* Vol.50(1) (Nov 2017): 69-82.

2.1. FOREIGNER, I AM NO LONGER A STAR

The mid-year statistics of South Africa, released in July 2018, estimate the country's population at a little less than 58 million out of which around 51% are females (Mid - year population estimates 2018, 8). The black South Africans make up about 81 percent of the total population, almost 47 million. The second largest group are the coloreds (around 5 million), followed by the whites (4.1 million) and Asians (1.4 million) (Mid - year population estimates 2018, 8).

The South African 2011 census, the last available entire population census with the next one scheduled for 2021, estimated that there were 2.3 million foreign-born nationals in South Africa (Blood at the end of the rainbow ch.1). However, according to the Statistics South Africa 2016 Community Survey, 1.6 million people were born outside of South Africa, which is equal to 2.8% of its population (Chiumia ch.1). The survey also states that almost a million of the foreign-born population is male. Finally, the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (DESA) reports that the number of international migrants living in South Africa in 2015 was 3.24 million, or 5.8% of the entire population (Chiumia ch.1). As can be seen by the different numbers, statistical information varies and can be extremely manipulated. Humanitarian and non-governmental organizations (NGO's) claim that, additional to official figures, the number of undocumented migrants alone is around two million. Altogether, there could be between five and six million foreign born people in South Africa, most of them illegally. Most of the newcomers set Gauteng as their desired destination and the least of them wish to settle in the Northern Cape.

The asylum system is overrun and human trafficking and smuggling are on the rise. According to Brodie three quarters of foreign-born migrants in South Africa are from Africa, mostly from Mozambique, Swaziland, Zimbabwe, Lesotho, Malawi, Nigeria, Namibia, and the Democratic Republic of Congo. Almost all of these countries have a long history of labor migration to South Africa.

Also noteworthy is the fact that over 80% of deportees were from three of those countries, namely Mozambique, Zimbabwe and Lesotho (Meny-Gibert, Chiumia ch.1). The number of foreign born migrants is by far the highest in Gauteng followed by Western Cape and then the

North West, Mpumalanga and Limpopo, where migrants from countries that are neighbors of these last three provinces feel most at home (Meny-Gibert, Chiumia ch.1).

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and the South African Department of Home Affairs, provide information that out of all the newcomers to the country in October 2019 around 260.000 were refugees and asylum seekers mostly originating from Somalia, Zimbabwe, Ethiopia, and the Democratic Republic of the Congo (Wachiaya ch.1).

The main fear in the country is that the population structure of South Africa will change because of the influx of foreign African newcomers. This might eventually affect the country's economy, and the political and social structures, on communal, provincial, and state level. Since 1994, there have been several surveys indicating South Africans' sentiments towards African immigrants. Almost 90% feel that there are too many of them in the country. One fourth believes that there should be a total ban on immigration, and a third that those coming from neighboring countries should be sent home. A third of South Africans asked potentially want to take action against foreigners in one way or another (Misago, Freemantle and Landau 18-19).

Based on the data from the International Organization for Migration (IOM) here is just a selection of xenophobic outbursts since 1994: In December 1994 foreign-owned properties are destroyed in Alexandra township on the outskirts of Johannesburg; in January 1997, Johannesburg, two Mozambicans are necklaced (a tyre placed around their necks, doused with petrol and burned alive); in September 1998 two Senegalese men and a Mozambican are thrown from a moving train outside of Johannesburg; in August 2000 in Pretoria, a Sudanese is thrown off a moving train and seriously injured while two Kenyans are shot in their home; in October 2000 a rebellion against Zimbabweans in the neighborhood starts in Zandspruit; in August 2005, in Bothaville, Free State, there is a severe beating of Zimbabwean and Somali refugees; in December 2005 in Gauteng, foreigners are chased from their shacks, shops and businesses; in July 2006, Western Cape, at least 30 Somali spaza shops are destroyed; in August 2006, in Cape Town, between 20 and 30 Somalis are killed in the townships surrounding the city; in February 2007, in the Eastern Cape, 100 Somali shops are destroyed; in May 2007, in the Ipelegeng Township in the North West, Somali and Ethiopian shops are burned down; in September 2007, Mpumalanga, 41 shops are destroyed, killing one and seriously injuring two; in October 2007, Gauteng, two foreigners are killed, 18 injured and

118 shops burned; in January 2008, Eastern Cape, two Somalis are burned alive; also in January 2008, Gauteng, a person is burned alive, three others dead, ten injured and over 60 shops destroyed; also in January 2008, in KwaZulu-Natal, there is a community vote for foreigners to leave; in February 2008, Gauteng, shops are burned down; also in February 2008, Western Cape, Somalis are forcefully removed by residents (Matsinhe 307-308).

As can be seen above, the outbursts of May 2008 cannot be described as unexpected, but were significantly different from others in magnitude. On the 11th of May 2008, in the township of Alexandra near Johannesburg, an armed mob started destroying foreign-owned shops, stealing the goods and then setting them on fire, killing foreigners and raping foreign women. From this epicenter the violence spread like wild-fire across the land to the new informal settlements outside of Cape Town and Durban, pitting South African urban newcomer against foreign black urban newcomer, in which over 60 people were killed and over 30.000 displaced (Matsinhe 297). Adjai and Lazaridis claim that over 150.000 people were displaced (250). Misago, Freemantle and Landau provide information that at least 62 people died, 670 were wounded, dozens raped, and more than 100.000 displaced (20). Steinberg confirms the latter, adding that 35.000 homes were destroyed (*Security* 345).

The news of the attacks spread quickly, mostly via television, with images of mobs singing former anti-Apartheid freedom songs that now had different lyrics about foreigners stealing jobs, houses and women (Steinberg, *Security* 348). The state, and the then President Thabo Mbeki, condemned the attacks sixteen days later claiming it was not xenophobia but mere criminal activity that caused them. Jacob Zuma, at the time the President of the African National Congress (ANC), was reported saying "we cannot allow South Africa to be famous for xenophobia. We cannot be a xenophobic country", while Winnie Madikizela Mandela, Nelson Mandela's former wife, visited two families of immigrants that died in the violence, telling them "I am sorry…it is not all South Africans that are like this" (Adjai, Lazaridis 252). Matsinhe worries about the "normalization of violence against black foreign nationals by black nationals and the black state's persistent pattern of denial" claiming that this might be one of the biggest and "most salient sociological questions confronting not only South Africa but also the entire continent today" (309). All in all, there was a lack of leadership in the ANC's response to the attacks.

These 2008 xenophobic attacks were described as "the most dispiriting moment in the country's brief democratic history" (Steinberg, *Security* 345). During the liberation struggle, between February 1990 and April 1994, around 14.000 people died in public violence (Steinberg, *Security* 345). The violence of 2008 brought all these memories of uncertain times back deeming the 'miracle' of South Africa too good to be true and reading it as a sign that: "South Africa's public reckoning had been delayed rather than averted" (Steinberg, *Security* 345).

Both the Southern African Migration Programme (SAMP) and the South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC) condemned these attacks and deemed that the victimization of black African foreigners is unacceptable (Matsinhe 296). SAMP is a network of organizations working towards harnessing the potential of internal and international migration in the interests of development in the Southern African Development Community (SADC). The SAHRC, established in 1995, aims to eradicate inequality and discrimination based on race, color, disability, age, social origin, and sexual orientation. It releases annual equality reports and recommendations to promote, protect, and monitor the realization of human rights in South Africa (Establishment and History ch.1).

After May 2008, many people ended up living in refugee camps as they were afraid of failed integration and some even decided in favor of voluntary deportation to their home countries. These xenophobic attacks became the 'big story' drawing mass media attention from around the world questioning what the 'Rainbow Nation' did wrong.

Between 2008 and 2010 foreigners were targeted even more often than before. In that period 20 people were killed, over 200 shops looted, and 4000 people displaced. 120 in 2011, and 140 in 2012 foreigners were killed. In these two years, over 1000 people were displaced, and further 350 serious injuries were recorded. Statistical reports by UNHCR show that in 2013 at least three attacks against foreign Africans across the country were recorded every single week. 2014 came to an end with reports of 300 violent incidents against foreigners, 900 of them displaced, and around 200 of their shops looted (Misago, Freemantle and Landau 21).

Seven years passed and little changed. Between 2008 and 2015, approximately 350 black foreigners had been killed (Blood at the end of the rainbow ch.1). As foreigners are seen as

scapegoats for the decline of South African economy, in 2015 between March and May, another wave of xenophobic attacks hit the country that left seven people dead and thousands displaced and fleeing their homes again (South Africa: Events of 2016 ch.1).

According to UNHCR, 2015 started with a number of attacks on shopkeepers in January in Soweto. In April, violence against foreigners spread near Durban and in Johannesburg that resulted in nearly 9.000 people being displaced (UNHCR Operation in South Africa 2). Arguably, these attacks were sparked by a statement made by the Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini on the 21st of March 2015 when he said that "foreigners must pack their bags and go home" (Smith 2016). The SAHRC examined Zwelithini's speech in 2016 and ordered him to apologize to foreigners in KwaZulu-Natal which he refused to do. Even though his words were considered hurtful and discriminatory, the SAHRC did not classify it as 'hate speech' (South Africa: Events of 2016 ch.1).

President Jacob Zuma, in office 2009-2018, was again worried about how this would echo and damage South Africa's reputation in the world but refused to take part of the blame. At a SADC meeting held in Harare in April 2015 he wondered why the citizens of South Africa's neighboring countries don't stay in their homelands instead of contributing to South Africa's problems (Mutanda 287). Similarly, his son Edward was quoted saying "we are sitting on a ticking time-bomb of them taking over the country" (Blood at the end of the rainbow ch.1).

Darlington Mutanda of the University of Johannesburg's Department of Politics and International Relations sees three mistakes South Africa is making towards other African countries. He points out how South Africans have forgotten about how many African countries offered them help in Apartheid times. They also seem to forget that South Africa is not the only country facing developmental difficulties. According to Mutanda it doesn't help that the official response to the violence against foreigners has been late and mild (280). In 2015, across Africa, South African products were boycotted and there were protests in front of South African embassies.

After these repeated attacks foreigners fear for their lives as well as not being able to earn a living because they lost their livelihood. Government and public schools are reluctant in admitting or accepting students of foreign origin (UNHCR Operation in South Africa 2). Amnesty International's Report on South Africa noted the excessive use of force against foreigners by the

South African police which included torture and rape. Too many incidents still resulted in deaths, injuries, and displacements or involved stealing of goods and burning down small businesses in townships owned by foreigners (South Africa 2017/2018 ch.1). In 2016, in Pretoria, 12 migrants were seriously injured and hundreds displaced in a mob raid against them, and in the Western Cape the looting of foreign businesses was prominent during the whole year.

More than ten years after the deadly attacks in 2008, 2019 has seen another wave of xenophobic attacks on a scale comparable to the ones in 2015. In September 2019, foreign businesses were targeted, foreign-owned shops looted, and at least 12 people killed. This sparked anti-South African protests under slogans such as 'Africa Unite' or 'No Brotherly Love' across Africa from Zambia to Nigeria. South African politicians were again quick to point out that when dealing with these attacks we must speak about criminality and not xenophobia. Further 'hate' speeches were reported like the one from Deputy Minister of Police Bongani Mkongi saying that South Africans cannot 'surrender' the country to foreign nationals, while President Cyril Ramaphosa did address and condemn the attacks, and labelled them as xenophobia. It is the same story repeating itself with no solution offered and remains a ticking bomb ready for another explosion.

In general, the attacks are most common in urban areas in Gauteng, Kwazulu-Natal, the Eastern and Western Cape, and especially in townships of Johannesburg, Durban and Cape Town. Nevertheless, the violence has now spread and has become common practice in urban and rural areas across the land. In order to limit the attacks Amnesty International (AI) suggests further education of the public, but especially of the government employees, organizations, and public figures about foreign citizens and their situation as well as their rights to encourage unity (South Africa 2017/2018 ch.1).

They once lived on the same street in Soweto and have both gotten a Nobel Peace Prize, but Nelson Mandela, South Africa's first democratically elected President often called 'Madiba' or 'Father of the Nation', and Archbishop Desmond Tutu, an anti-Apartheid and human rights activist, also shared a dream for a brighter future for their homeland. However, in the post-Apartheid reality their rainbow unity dreams seem far from reality as South Africa's diversity is seen more as a source of division than richness and strength. In response to the 2015 attacks Tutu stated: "Our Rainbow

Nation that so filled the world with hope is being reduced to a grubby shadow of itself. The fabric of the nation is splitting" (Blood at the end of the rainbow ch.1).

2.2. FOREIGNER, I BLAME HISTORY

The historical conditions that brought South Africa to where it is today, started in 1488, when the country was 'discovered' by a Portuguese voyager named Diaz. However, the colonization of South Africa began in 1652 with the first European settlement led by Dutchman Jan van Riebeeck at Table Bay (Grünkemeier 22). Cape Town is often called the 'Mother City' because that was where the first whites from the sea landed. From then on the indigenous people of South Africa endured oppression, elimination and separation from the whites. In 1795, the British briefly took over the colony for a year or so but officially permanently took control in 1806. The Cape Colony was a British possession in the southernmost part of Africa until the Union of South Africa in 1910. Originally inhabited by indigenous groups such as the Khoikhoi, the region later became home to Bantu-speaking African groups such as the Xhosa.

Audie Klotz, a Professor of Political Science at Syracuse University, New York, conducts research on the origins of xenophobia in South Africa and draws parallels between migration, the demarcation of borders, and separate citizenships. Considering the link between nationality and territory, and their consequent connection to anti-foreigner violence, Klotz draws attention to specific points and periods in the region that mostly shaped national narratives (180). The 1910's Union of South Africa mapped out the borders almost untouched till this day. The decolonization process in the region in the 1960's created new citizenships in southern Africa, and the fall of white rule in the 1990's granted full citizenship to all nationals (Klotz 180).

In today's South Africa, nationality is put above ethnicity or religion. That is somewhat understandable as the country has eleven official languages; Xitsonga, English, Sepedi, siSwati, isiXhosa, Sesotho, Setswana, isiZulu, Tshivenda, Afrikaans, and isiNdebele, and a religious map that is just as diverse. While the largest percent of the population identifies as Christian, be it

Anglican, Apostolic, Dutch Reformed Churches, Catholic, Pentecostal or Zionist to name a few, there are also Jewish, Hindu, and Muslim minorities as well as traditionalists (Butler 37).

The Union of South Africa left many territories outside of its jurisdiction. Though it was widely debated and negotiated throughout the whole twentieth century, Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland, Basutoland, and Swaziland, remained outside the union. From the controversial Lands Act of 1913 that "drastically undermined the African property rights," or the Immigration Act of the same year that restricted movement of black South Africans between its provinces, to the 1927 Native Administration Act bolstering segregation, Immigration Quota Act of 1939, and finally to 1948 when the National Party (NP) rose to power, these territories did not consider joining South Africa as a viable option (Klotz 190).

Apartheid, as previously mentioned, is an Afrikaans word broadly meaning 'apartness' and is a name for the era ruled by the National Party that created laws and mechanisms to support white supremacy in South Africa. The system was created and maintained by Prime Ministers Daniel François Malan, Johannes Gerhardus Strijdom, Hendrik Frensch Verwoerd, Balthazar Johannes Vorster, and Pieter Willem Botha.

The Apartheid administration wanted to divide the country by skin color and isolate different groups so there would be no mixing on any level. First, in 1949 mixed marriages were prohibited, then in 1950, the Population Registration Act recorded people by race differentiating between white, black, colored or Asian. The same year the Group Areas Act made it clear who can live where, physically separating racial groups, and forcefully removing groups from their homes, like the coloreds from District Six in Cape Town.

This was followed by laws that prevented some racial groups from voting, forbid illegal squatting, created homelands, obliged all people of color to carry identification at all times, and in 1953 the Bantu Education Act ruled that black people would only receive education appropriate for their level and position in society. Education again became the hot topic in 1976 when students in Soweto started protesting against the white minority language Afrikaans being the language of instruction in their schools. In the demonstrations that followed hundreds of people, many of them children, were killed.

The lines that represent borders between South Africa and its neighboring countries are a result of political decisions made by white elites and can be seen as the roots of the xenophobic notion of the thinking 'us' here and you 'there' separated by a line. With the 1963 Bantu Laws Amendment Act and the Alien Control Act, border posts were established, and gave birth to the idea of Bantustans modelled on the protectorates (Klotz 191-192). In 1966, Botswana and Lesotho, followed by Swaziland in 1968, and Zimbabwe in 1980, in light of the British fear of the Afrikaner nationalism, managed to claim their independence.

The last two State Presidents before the collapse of the Apartheid regime, Pieter Willem Botha and Frederik Willem de Klerk, tried to incorporate reforms to satisfy the critique of both the black majority and the general world opinion, as well as to prevent the growing economic isolation of South Africa. In 1990, Mandela could leave prison after 27 years, and the ban of the African National Congress (ANC) was lifted. The negotiation process between 1990 and 1993 resulted in the first democratic non-racial elections on the 27th of April 1994. The ANC won the election, and with over sixty percent of the votes Nelson Mandela became the President of South Africa.

Before the handover of power Mandela promised that white civil servants would not lose their jobs, even though a lot of these workers were not qualified enough for their jobs and only got them because of good connections. The second promise he made was a division of power and a creation of equal units across the country. Under Apartheid South Africa had four provinces and ten homelands. This has now been reconstructed in nine provinces diverse in population, culture, and economic activity (Butler 38). The provincial system has been criticized for poor service delivery, especially regarding health and education.

Gauteng has the highest population density, with Johannesburg serving as the center of migration from all over the continent. The province's segregation shows the country's richest, for example in Pretoria, living at a very close proximity to the poorest of the land, like in the township of Soweto. However, the province accounts for almost forty percent of the country's GDP, and is characterized by a high degree of political sophistication, linguistic and cultural diversity (Butler 39).

KwaZulu-Natal provides fifteen percent of the country's GDP and is home of the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), "South Africa's only major ethnic-based political movement" as over eighty percent of the population are Zulus (Butler 40). The Western Cape is number three in economy in the country and also accounts for around fifteen percent of the GDP despite having smaller population numbers. More than a half of its population speaks Afrikaans, with the other half speaking English and isiXhosa (Butler 41). The six other provinces are marked by poverty and development struggles. The Eastern Cape is predominantly isiXhosa speaking and gave the country the first two freely elected presidents, Nelson Mandela, in office 1994-1999, and Thabo Mbeki, in office 1999-2008.

The Northern Cape is a sparsely populated and farming oriented province. The Free State has mostly Sesotho speaking inhabitants and is significant for the now declining mining industry. The three smallest provinces are linguistically diverse. The North West Province is mostly home to the Setswana speakers, Mpumalanga inhabitants speak siSwati, isiZulu and isiNdebele, while Limpopo's population speaks Sepedi, Xitsonga and Tshivenda. All three are united by experiencing difficulties living up to their potentials (Butler 43).

The end of Apartheid brought freedom to the 'Rainbow Nation' but also unmasked some severe problems hidden by the façade of political issues. What helped bringing down Apartheid was the mobilization of people in South Africa. When South Africans again felt like the government was doing very little to protect them, local political and economic leaders mobilized the people, and given the long history of demonstrations in the country, it was almost inevitable that foreigners would become targets (Landau 12). South Africa can in a way be seen as a victim of its own success. The seemingly more stable governance and boosting economy became a magnet for nationals all over Africa. The acceptance of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, meant that the rule of law, respect for human rights, and liberal economic policies have to be respected (Adjai, Lazaridis 237).

However, the Aliens Control Act No. 96 of 1991 and its amendment No. 76 of 1995 use the word 'alien' to describe all non-South Africans, and thus mark them as almost non-human outsiders. The then Minister of Home Affairs, Mangosotho Buthelezi, often used the term aliens with relation to the term illegal, publicly claiming that between the years 1997 and 1999 the number

of ‘illegal aliens’ rose from two to nine million and that the public should help the police in detecting and removing them (Adjai, Lazaridis 239-40). The newly arrived ‘aliens’ were not to be held in detention for over 48 hours, but as the charges against Lindela Repatriation Facility where forty illegal immigrants were held for more than sixty days’ show, the reality is far from being covered by legislation.

The 1995 Amendment kept the term ‘aliens’ and even presented them as threats to the economic development of South Africa with the African National Congress (ANC) being more concerned about the image of South Africa in the world than with the actual socio-economic conditions causing the xenophobic attacks (Adjai, Lazaridis 242).

The tactics of the Apartheid regime of protecting privileged insiders by spatial planning and regulation prevented the development of high population densities of Africans where resistance could form. In the post-Apartheid era this notion that unregulated human mobility threatens the state, and that the individuals’ geographic or cultural point of origin determine the right to citizenship, remains. Mixing with a foreigner makes you just as big a target.

The Schengen-like formation of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) with possible free movement of people, free trade and a free choice where to live or work causes fear among South Africans, especially after the 1996 amnesty that any of its members that is married to a South African or has lived in South Africa for over 5 years can apply for a permanent residency which caused a huge influx of Zimbabweans soon afterwards.

In 1996 alone, over 100.000 foreign nationals were deported, while in 2008 the number rose to 300.000 per year (Steinberg, *Security* 354). The ANC promised South Africans not only freedom but ‘a better life for all’, with jobs, houses, education. It did not promise an unemployment level of 52% among young adults aged 18 to 28, the majority of whom went on the streets in 2008 and 2015 (Steinberg, *Security* 355-356).

When Thabo Mbeki was increasingly being viewed as an ‘elitist’ leader that chose to give refugees ‘Mbeki papers’ instead of taking care of South Africans, he was replaced by a more populist Jacob Zuma as the leader of the African National Congress and later became President of

the country. Zuma renewed the emphasis on rural development in a manner quite like the Apartheid one used to adopt, when uncontrolled urbanization is seen as a financial, political, and security threat (Landau 7).

In his study of mass public attitudes in South Africa with regard to immigration levels, Steven Gordon from the University of KwaZulu-Natal and a researcher at the South African Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC), wonders if there is a correlation between support for isolationism and anti-immigrant attitudes. Beginning in 1994, South Africa wanted to be a champion of the 'African Renaissance' and set as its goal a political and economic revival of the African continent. However, this has proven to be difficult since a lot of South Africans believe the country would be better off if they did not involve themselves in foreign economic and military affairs.

South Africa's national economy has always massively involved foreign workforce from continental neighbors. While miners, farmers, manufacturers came to South Africa to work, they left a void in their homeland. Because so many unqualified and also qualified workers left, many southern African countries lacked a workforce in several fields causing major developmental barriers their governments have struggled to overcome. After Apartheid came to an end the necessity for migrant workers lessened and, even though their numbers haven't, their flow became less documented and organized.

Gordon describes immigration control in South Africa as defined by a 'control and expulsion mentality' (*Desire for Isolation* 20). Local communities have taken up the role of the police in identifying 'illegals' based solely on the way they look, dress, and speak. The authorities do not feel the need to verify such claims as they have jurisdictions that allow arrest and detainment without concrete proof. During the xenophobic violence only Zulus or Xhosas were safe. Members of smaller ethnic groups or South Africans who looked 'too dark' to not be foreign were also attacked.

The police stop foreigners on the streets and perform a simple test on them. They ask them to pronounce the word elbow in Zulu. It is not the word itself, *indololwane*, which matters, but the way one pronounces it, that determines if they are South African or not (Steinberg, *Security* 354).

With Mozambicans, it is even easier, as they are asked to roll up their sleeves and show their distinct vaccination mark. These performances of the South African police force are met with a disturbingly warm reception among South Africans. When the police round up foreign nationals in front of an audience they are merely managing disappointment and showing power. The connection between the state and its citizens created through such exhibitions is fragile and extremely vulnerable.

Nonetheless, such behavior functions in two ways. On the one hand, foreigners are presented as a job-stealing threat against which the state can intervene as a savior in defending its citizens against them. On the other hand, this danger can never be fully eradicated, and the state can continuously be accused of doing too little. That is, when citizens feel the need to do the state's work. In the xenophobic attacks, citizens told their state that what they are doing is not enough, and took matters into their own hands. They killed foreigners, destroyed their livelihood, made them fear South Africa so they would leave once and for all, and never come back.

In March of 1999, the White Paper on International Migration was adopted shifting from the protectionist view to recognizing potential benefits of migration for South Africa (Adjai, Lazaridis 245). It continued to use the word 'alien' and drew the limit for the number of immigrants South Africa could accept at five million. In 2002, the Immigration Act No. 13 was adopted and finally replaced the word 'alien' with 'foreigner' in describing someone who is not a citizen. It also introduced the Counter Xenophobia Unit and the National Forum Against Racism. The Act of 2002 has been amended in 2011 and 2014, and was made more restrictive and protectionist (Misago, Freemantle and Landau 23).

In 2012, South Africa published the National Development Plan (NDP) in line with the Global Commission on International Migration (GCIM) and Global Forum on Migration and Development (GFMD) (Gordon, *Desire for Isolation* 20). The plan promotes a more positive attitude towards immigration, especially of skilled workers. However, as it does not comply with what the general public feels or wants, therefore the government is not too eager to promote such pro-immigration sentiments.

The homelands or Bantustans were based on the 'Kulturnation' idea that defines nations based on cultural-ethnic identities and are associated with nativist forms of patriotism. After the fall of Apartheid, the new government was keen to emphasize cultural diversity. Mandela wanted the focus to be on things that unite the nation, like in the famous example of South Africa winning the 1995 rugby World Cup, then on the things that separate them. With the presidency of Thabo Mbeki, the Pan-Africanist slogan of the 'African Renaissance' was used for big events like the 2010 Soccer World Cup.

Gordon highlights some other features of South African society in the last few years, like the development of cultural patriotism when the pride in the cultural achievements, practices, and history of the nation, is viewed as superior to others, in this case, other African countries (*Desire for Isolation*, 24). The lack of trust between the country, its institutions, and its citizens has led to a state when the majority feels they will be outvoted by the minority. The current situation can also be seen as the society's response to the rapid political, economic, and social changes the country is experiencing post-1994.

2.3. FOREIGNER, THE MEDIA BLAME YOU

During Apartheid the population experienced a tight media control with a highly protectionist outlook and propaganda campaigns that portrayed the rest of Africa in an exceedingly negative light (Gordon, *Desire for Isolation* 25). This pattern is being repeated nowadays as the media coverage of cross-border migration has often been accused of being anti-immigrant and unanalytical, quoting problematic statistics and assumptions that could be seen as reinforcing the anti-immigrant atmosphere and policymaking. It is also common that the xenophobic behavior is learned as a pattern not from an individuals' experience, but from the everyday environment in the workplace, schools, friends, family, and communication by publishing or broadcast.

Often, when an illegal act is associated with an immigrant it becomes newsworthy, but when the same crime is committed by a South African there is no trace of it in mainstream reporting (Danso, McDonald 127). Also common is sensationalist vocabulary in reporting about millions

invading the land and potentially breaking down the system. The stereotypical and metaphorical language use comparing these new arrivals to natural disasters or military invasions represent them as a major threat. It also emphasizes their exotic character or their cultural backwardness (ter Wal 47). The media can shape an attitude or an opinion, back-up an ideology, and legitimize its actions. The question Danso and McDonald ask in their analysis is whether the media are the creator of attitudes or merely their reflection (130).

Asakitikpi and Gadzikwa closely analyzed the 2015 xenophobic violence against Africans in online media coverage in Zimbabwe and Nigeria. The violent acts were strongly condemned and connoted a strong sense of betrayal by other African nationals (Asakitikpi, Gadzikwa 237). The before mentioned South African Minister of Home Affairs, and Inkatha Freedom Party founder, Buthelezi, is often quoted saying things like "kick aliens out and keep the jobs at home for South Africans" (qtd. in Danso, McDonald 132). Important to acknowledge here is the 'self-reinforcing' mechanism when officials issue "anti-immigrant statements and statistics and the media uncritically reproducing them", especially considering the widespread xenophobic attitudes that could take advantage of such writings and prevent more progressive ideas to enter the public debate (Danso, McDonald 132).

The internal logic of self-reproducing and self-fulfilling functions of media discourses lead to 'panics'. This is done by using local events, protests, speeches, and selectively using the sources defining those situations to portray them in a particularly negative way (ter Wal 36). Once a negative discourse on migrants or ethnic minorities is established it tends to remain prevalent and becomes a fixed 'repertoire' (ter Wal 36).

It is not compensated by positive images. Media professionals continuously include viewpoints of politicians and officials and often issues acquire news value only when political decision-making is involved. However, what is missing is the scrutiny of the statements and language use of the politicians paired with the awareness of the consequences of what merely repeating such statements without critical reflection means for the affected minorities. Instead of reinforcing the prejudices, journalists can explicitly comment upon statements and place them into context by giving voice to actors with a different view (ter Wal 79).

Nevertheless, giving a platform to alternative views in order to 'balance' the score is not enough. Ter Wal suggests a "development of a vocabulary that is more opened to real dialogue and change from all involved parties," requiring "active participation of civil society (and ethnic minorities) in the definition of news and media agenda" (80). There is a difference if we talk 'about' or if we talk 'with' foreigners. Enhancing equal representation, reflecting on minority perspectives, contributing to societal integration and cohesion, informed background reporting, and normalization through participation of minorities in other news genres than those related to problems and negativity, are all things that can create positive results (ter Wal 80-83).

Globalization created a situation when traditional identities are called into question, and individuals might find the option of retreating into the past or isolating themselves more appealing. However, like elsewhere in the world, identity structures in South Africa have many dimensions and change depending on what is happening in society, globally and locally. The general anti-immigrant sentiment cannot be avoided in the media, but as mentioned before, there is a difference between reflecting actual opinion, and being critical towards it if it is wrong. It can be predicted that the role of the media will continue to grow both in South Africa and in the Word in general, especially regarding problems surrounding the topic of migration.

3. FOREIGNER, WHO AM I?[2]

"South Africa belongs to Africa, not us.
I'm not into blacks, you know that, hey?
But at least our blacks are better than those others".

- *Rambo, South African* (in *Skyline* on page 45).

This chapter is about South Africa trying to find its national identity and presents different theories on why xenophobia has developed in South Africa. It continues with an analysis of how literary texts approach the topics of xenophobia, migration and foreigners in South Africa, as well as finding oneself or finding an identity; black identity and white identity. Today's xenophobia in South Africa can mostly be described as 'black xenophobia' meaning it describes 'black against black' violence. But as the subsection on theory explains, it is rooted in the black versus white prejudices.

The predisposition of this thesis is the juxtaposition of two groups. The first one, are South Africans, of any color. The second one, are black African foreigners in South Africa. The purpose of this chapter is to find out who the first group, the South Africans, are, and how within that one group, a smaller group or section has been created; a section that is constituted by black people that are violent, reactionary and act out against foreign black Africans. The chapter closes with an investigation of the 'Rainbow Nation' vision and how (un)graspable it is in today's South Africa.

Chapter four of this thesis will deal with the South African 'other' Africa or the African 'other'. This chapter is interested in 'the self'. Who are South Africans when they are not standing in opposition to anything? It is easy to say 'I am not like that' or 'I am like that' in comparison, but who are South Africans on their own. Such an ideology would seem to confirm the desire South

[2] Parts of this chapter have been previously published in: Zajec, Polona. "Understanding South African Xenophobia Through the Prism of J. M. Coetzee's Summertime 'Scenes from a Provincial Life'". *Acta Neophilologica* Vol.50(1) (Nov 2017): 69-82.

Africa has, to be considered only as a place in Africa, but not of it. South Africans not knowing who they are might be one of the main reasons why these xenophobic attacks are happening.

However, while for the white South Africans the question of identity mainly stays on a theoretical level, for the unemployed black South African who very often has no money, nothing to eat, and nowhere to sleep, the very same question of identity and putting themselves in opposition to foreign black Africans becomes a question of survival, quite literally a question of 'life or death'.

3.1. FOREIGNER, THEORY CAN EXPLAIN

The euphoria following the fall of Apartheid was followed by disillusionment and resulted in discontent and indignation. People are now more aware of what they could have but do not, which is a position in which xenophobia can easily be sparked. The term 'New South Africa' enthusiastically conveys notions of equality, freedom, justice, democracy, progress, improvement, no differences between races, and flag-waving public spirit. Thus, when the state represents undocumented, and also documented, African immigrants as parasites to the system, they are seen as the ones blocking this elated post-1994 national re-building process (Harris 176).

As Apartheid has left deep scars in the minds of South Africans, their dominant groups define national legitimacy by stigmatizing foreigners. Using the strategy of excluding foreigners, they conquer and preserve their political power. While the common enemy 'Apartheid' is defeated, the threat of outsiders has re-emerged. Because the victims of the socio-economic inequality and poverty cannot reach the richest that hold power, they react to the ones closest to them using high unemployment, competition for jobs, for education, even for women, as excuses to justify their attacks. Harris calls this the scapegoating hypothesis of xenophobia (171).

Xenophobia can also be seen as a consequence of seclusion from the international community. One of the main things the Apartheid system wanted to do is isolate, separate, create barriers between people, internally and externally. This backfired in international politics as South Africa involuntarily became slowly isolated from the rest of the world and the country started

receiving less and less foreigners. When the regime came to an end, and the country became particularly compelling to other continental citizens, it frightened South Africans.

Many South African freedom fighters were welcomed in other African states but that fact has been willfully forgotten. It is now replaced by a line of thinking about why would these black newcomers have all the rights when South Africans of color had to fight so long to get them. Consequently, discussing foreigners appears as an enigma, an eerie topic causing schisms and withdrawals.

Farber looks even a bit further back (136). When white people settled in South Africa, they wanted their lifestyle, their homes, their culture to be like the European one. South Africa, the place where this 'new Europe' was to be established was looked down upon. The African whites felt as though they were never seen as equals to the whites back home. This feeling was intensified during the international sanctions towards Apartheid South Africa when the white-dominated West turned its back on the whites in the country. Farber points out that this resulted in a self-absorbed, inward-oriented society, which has in some way also influenced how non-white South Africans see the world and themselves.

The reason for the xenophobic violence in post-Apartheid South Africa can also be found on a very local level from where it is ignited. While it is commonly believed that the violence is carried out by 'faceless' and 'anonymous' actors, the truth is in some ways simpler. Local leaders prefer to put blame on foreigners and manipulate their 'disciples' to act out against them knowing full well that releasing frustration, and 'letting out steam' in such a way is beneficial for them.

In such a way community leaders, local business associations, and ward committees, gain without getting their own hands dirty. The fact that it is very easy to light a fire when the common opinion is already negative against foreigners only helps them. By using a classical Althusserian mass manipulation strategy, the leaders first get the community to trust them and convince them they are working for the good of all. When they get rid of the foreigners for them, the leaders have not only gotten rid of competition, but have also gained power, trust, and money. Understanding the 'rules' of life in townships is thus also key in understanding where roots of these xenophobic attacks are. With high unemployment and low education levels young people are attracted to

community organizations under dubious leadership that offer some payment and social security, especially in their immediate vicinity.

Inequality, fear of the new and unknown, and a search for an identity could all be reasons for current developments. Xenophobia is also a central feature of nationalism (Harris 180). Throughout history, violence and nationalism have always been closely connected as creating a state can most commonly only be achieved by violence. And again, one nation ruling over another, one nation becoming independent, one way of sovereignty determined as better than another; all these ways of imagining peoplehood are achieved by violence.

South Africans may just be adopting the culture of violence they were experiencing during Apartheid. This is a culture in which interactions and relations are resolved in a violent instead of non-violent manner. Violence is something normal, it has always been the way, and it is often seen as the only way to achieve something. However, Julia Kristeva points out that we all have someone who is foreign to us and, thus, enveloped in a never-ending circle of ostracism, a rejected foreigner will reject the next 'foreign' person (Harris 181).

The bio-cultural hypothesis of xenophobia presents the idea that immigrants can be separated from the local population based on the way they look, the way they dress, and based on the language they speak. They represent the noticeable 'otherness' and make for easy targets. The people who have been subjected to such categorization in the past, namely the blacks, are the ones who now project these ideas to others whom they feel are below them.

These differences are sometimes very minor. Since Shangaan, Sesotho, Setswana, isiNdebele and Swazi are spoken in neighboring countries Mozambique, Swaziland, Lesotho, Zimbabwe and Botswana, it makes people from there less recognizable to South Africans, but can at the same time stimulate additional anxiety about an enemy from within (Matsinhe 309).

Black African immigrants to South Africa that do not know any of the official languages in the country are called several different names depending on where they come from. Imitating their native languages, like 'kwerekwere', 'amakwere-kwere', 'Amagrigamba', 'Mabhurandaya', 'Machawa', 'Mabwidi', 'Makarushu', to name just a few, black African foreigners are commonly

referred to with the umbrella term *Makwerekwere*. Interestingly, the most likely to get attacked are not the new arrivals, but those who have been in the country for a while, showing that they have been closely observed and envied by the community.

While differences exist, how differences are categorized depends not on biology but on who holds the power. Such dominant articulations and generalizations show how opinions can be manipulated. Continental Africa north of the country is seen as the place where all the bad things, like wars and poverty, happen. It is a separate space that has nothing to do with South Africa. Yet, because it doesn't have a concrete face or a specific form it cannot be explained and as such causes fear.

The state's and the media's negative attitude towards black foreigners, and the use of the language of 'contamination', convince people that they threaten the nation by bringing diseases, stealing jobs and women, bringing drugs and crime to the land. They set up images of Africans as carriers of disease, especially the HIV/AIDS epidemic, and more recently Ebola. The logic of 'they bring disease and will infect us all' provides yet another excuse on why they should be rejected.

Michael Neocosmos, a Professor at Rhodes University in Grahamstown, Eastern Cape, similarly looks back on Apartheid's anti-rural and pro-urban characteristics. White people were supposed to live in urban areas and black people in rural ones. Neocosmos suggests that in the contemporary South African state such an antithesis between urban and rural has been projected on Africa, meaning that it is presented as the rural underdeveloped one, whilst South Africa is the urban leading-edge one.

Frantz Fanon observed that both the colonizers and the colonized have distorted views of themselves thanks to the colonial past. It seems that South Africans merely adopted the only pattern ever known to them. A pattern, where you can be either the oppressor or the oppressed, and there is no middle way. Reflecting on Fanon, Matsinhe's assessment is that nowadays South African loathing of black Africans shows that South Africans really do fear Africa and Africans. While white tourists are seen as bringers of wealth, black Africans are personae non gratae (Matsinhe 296). A narrative, a pattern seen before.

Matsinhe further speaks of a 'social unconscious' when the colonized fantasize of becoming the colonizer (301). The idea was perpetuated as far as claiming that because of the high level of industrialization, or the highly valued democracy, South Africans are different, even having lighter skin than other Africans, and will be able to solve their own problems not following in the footsteps of doom of other African states. Replaying past experiences, judgement is given based on how you have been judged before. Despite trying to get away from the past, the past actually gets repeated in the present.

However, Fanon already wrote how he is weary of the blackness within himself as that is how he was thought to think. In such a scenario the 'other' is hated not because it is different, but because it is the same. Such thinking can lead to anger and violence, directed either towards oneself or to 'the other'. Freud called this the 'narcissism of difference', when the contempt for 'the other' is within us, especially if 'the other' resembles us.

Despite the new 'born-free' generations the extreme inequality makes the 'Rainbow Nation' a mere imagined community as presented by Benedict Anderson (Lazarus, *Ideology* 620). What holds such a community together is the illusion that horizontal comradeship overrides vertical differences (Hage 203). The legacy of Apartheid, diseases, poverty, the large amount of townships, the increasing rape and crime rates are just a few problems South Africa is facing.

In this light, the idea of South African exceptionalism as the richest, economically and technologically powerful, and most educated state on the continent is surprising. However, drawing on Marx's 'commodity fetishism' asserting that through practical experience inverted experience is born, Hage points out that the collective 'we' can experience what 'I' on itself never could (201).

'I' can be uneducated, poor and weak, but 'we' can still be wise, rich and strong. People always strive to be just as the 'best' people in their group (Hage 201). Nevertheless, this process of selection comes with a negative side effect - repression. While creating a perfect 'racialized community', one must suppress negative, unpleasant, underdeveloped members and focus only on the brilliant ones. Thus, the 'self' and the 'other' become two completely separate entities where the former can only be 'built up' by putting the latter 'down' (Hage 202). Matsinhe explains the

ideology of *Makwerekwere* as externalizing internal oppression seeking "to make visible the invisible object of fear" (310).

3.2. FOREIGNER, THIS IS MY 'FICTION' SELF

South African works of fiction have not shied away from writing about the struggle to find or define national identity. They often write about the growing nativism or indigenousness, in terms of protecting the interests of native-born or established inhabitants against those of immigrants. They also consider that portraying immigrants as being harmful to development, only further fuels associations of Southern Africa with economic and social distress (Gordon, *Desire for Isolation* 31). In an axiom 'eat or be eaten', or as Niq Mhlongo puts it in the title of his novel '*Dog Eat Dog'*, the feeling of not being able to solve the problems of the whole of Africa is predominant.

This subsection will look at the two 'selves' of South Africa. There are obviously more, not just the 'white self' and the 'black self', but for the purposes of understanding current xenophobia these two are the most influential ones. Very often South African history is used as an excuse for the growing xenophobia. However, there are several studies that confirm that anti-immigration politics are on the rise on the whole continent. This has resulted in a return to or at least a bigger emphasis on indigenous customs in opposition to outside influences, giving valuable ammunition to political entrepreneurs.

The history of South African statecraft has produced the conditions for the xenophobic attacks as well as being reshaped by them. Loren Landau, the Director of the African Center for Migration and Society (ACMS) at the University of the Witwatersrand in Johannesburg, speaks of two demons that have been generated in the process of controlling one's political and physical space. The first one is a group of outsiders seen as continuously threatening but indistinguishable from others and impossible to spatially exclude (2). The second demon is a society ready to turn violent so fast.

Rautenbach writes that one of the functions of fiction is that it gives people an alternative to the world they live in. Manipulative language and big metaphors have lost their meaning driving

South African political scene on the edge of the absurd. Author Margie Orford jokes that even if she wanted she couldn't make up the things that are happening right now and that if her novels were to include what was really going on in the country, they would seem far too unrealistic (Rautenbach 154).

Often it feels like works of fiction are only describing things as they are, not really offering any solutions. On the other hand, the power of narrative fiction lies in the thrill of its proximity to reality, in the invitation to be privy to events which would otherwise be forbidden. The ultimate goal, however, is to offer a view and understanding of the world we live in in a way no other filed can.

3.2.1. FOREIGNER, THIS IS MY *WHITE* SELF

The colonial discourse was based on the division of the world in two halves. One was the enlightened, developed, superior white world, and the other was the dark, underdeveloped, primitive part where non-white people would live. The ultimate goal of this second part was to strive to be like the white one. In *Orientalism*, Edward Said names these two halves 'the West' and 'the Orient'. The legitimacy of colonialism was based on the division above. If one half was so superior it would be only natural that the other half should be ruled by it and strive to become more similar to it. Since so much of what is happening today in South Africa is linked to the repressive white rule of the past it is interesting to look at how notions of whiteness and entitlement are being written about.

This entitlement of the white settlers is especially interesting in the case of the so-called 'original Cape Colony'. One of the most famous contemporary South African writers is John Maxwell Coetzee, born in 1940 in Cape Town, South Africa. He has two Bachelor Degrees, one in English and one in Mathematics, and a Master of Arts Degree from the University of Cape Town. He also holds a PhD Degree from the University of Texas at Austin, in the United States. He worked as a Professor of Literature at the University of Cape Town and as an honorary research fellow at the English Department of the University of Adelaide, Australia. He is the first writer to be awarded the Booker Prize twice, and in 2003 he won the Nobel Prize in Literature.

On the level of storytelling Coetzee's *Summertime: Scenes from a Provincial Life* is a fictionalized biography, or at least a draft biography, of the, at the time, presumably dead J. M. Coetzee by a young English biographer. It highlights the years between 1972 and 1977 when Coetzee was in his thirties and has returned to South Africa to take care of his father and establish himself as a writer. The book opens with a series of notes that the biographer, Vincent, has written down for himself. It then continues with a series of five interviews between the biographer and selected people who were important to Coetzee in that time period. Thus, the same period of Coetzee's life is described from different perspectives.

We get the description of 'Coetzee' through the eyes of Maria, a married woman with whom he had an affair; Margot, his cousin; Adriana, a Brazilian woman that he fell in love with but she despised him thinking he is having an affair with her daughter; Martin, whom Coetzee meets at a job interview; and Sophie, his French lover, and colleague from the University of Cape Town. The book closes with a final section of Coetzee's undated written fragments including Coetzee's inner thoughts and feelings.

There is no teleological progression or temporal order in the book. It is even hard to make logical or causal connections between events. Only after finishing the book can the reader retrospectively give the events order and significance to the plot. Instead of a full coherent autobiographical story, we are offered 'spots of time', shifting scenes that move or agitate the mind and feelings. The text features several intertextual references to Coetzee's other works, to classical music and opera singers, historical events or figures, South African locations, and psychological theories.

The character of J.M. Coetzee as described in *Summertime* is written to be disliked, ridiculed even. We as readers do not want to read these facts about such a highly praised Nobel Prize winner, but that is exactly from what the 'real' Coetzee, the author, plays off of: "There was an image of him in the public realm as a cold and supercilious intellectual, an image he did nothing to dispel" (Coetzee 235). Through the use of language Coetzee manages to produce and alter the way readers think about him. There is no way to determine which Coetzee is 'real' or which reading of him is 'correct' as there is no final way to justify a choice.

How we read or understand this text cannot fully be dislocated from what we think we know about the author. Coetzee uses a mask and lets his identity merge with that of fiction, creating himself as a character. But this fictional 'self' is not a hero with whom we sympathize or empathize, but an anti-hero following dubious behavioral and moral codes. Our identification with who the author is, is itself a form of fiction.

Coetzee achieves both a singularity of his work, that no one else could have written it, and a kind of phantom authorship. The author has no identity but only lives on in the strange space of his writing. The text is highly ironic and switches between the two voices or personae of the narrator and the implied author. This haunting singularity and the uncanny force of Coetzee's words bring the reader back to reread the text over and over again.

Summertime is the third book in the series J.M. Coetzee wrote as a sort of tri-part autobiography. The other two are *Boyhood*, describing his childhood in South Africa, and *Youth* referencing his years in London. In these books Coetzee plays with, even mocks all the conventions of an autobiography. He writes in the present tense but in third person referring to his fictional self as 'he'. Many of his biographical facts are distorted or fictionalized. That is why many have called the aforementioned books 'autobiographical fiction' while Coetzee himself calls it 'autrebiography'. Instead of an autobiography or at least autobiographical scenes, as the subtitle suggests, we get fiction. It is precisely this relationship between fiction, the fact that *Summertime* might as well be a novel with a third person narrator, and truth, which should at least, in theory, be a cornerstone of an autobiography, that Coetzee explores.

With a metafictional dimension, Coetzee draws attention to the fact that what we are reading is a story and not 'real' biographical facts making his authorial intention impure and ambiguous. In many ways, *Summertime* is a postmodern autobiography as it splits and disorders the genre. It haunts, fragments, disseminates. It is subversive as it scatters identity, center, and presence. It has no single meaning, no destination, no territory and creates a sort of hyperreal model of an autobiography that is simulated without a true origin. We can go as far as to say that *Summertime* is a pastiche, a blank parody or disavowal of an autobiography, as it follows no model or no form. In the end, nothing seems 'normal' and the genre itself becomes unstable.

With regard to the white South African self, the novel's protagonist, the fictional John Coetzee, "like many whites […] regarded the Cape, the Western Cape and perhaps the Northern Cape along with it, as standing apart from the rest of South Africa. The Cape was a country of its own, with its own geography, its own history, its own languages and culture" (Coetzee 232). In this mythical Cape, other Africans were seen as aliens.

In line with that statement John "had no feeling for black South Africans […] They might be his fellow citizens but they were not his countrymen. History - or fate, which was to him the same thing - might have cast them in the role of inheritors of the land, but at the back of his mind they continued to be *they* as opposed to *us*" (Coetzee 232; emphasis added). The birth of the *they-us* dichotomy now so often used by black South Africans can be traced in the very system they fought so long to overthrow. Past walls, behaviors, and modes of thinking are repeating history by projecting the dichotomy to a different audience.

Coetzee addresses the complex relationship between his own whiteness and ethical position in relation to his representation of an oppressive legacy he is a beneficiary of (Njovane 205). In *Summertime* the quasi-fictional Coetzee feels a certain guilt over the proximity and complicity with his people, the Afrikaners. This recurring motif of belonging in the novel emphasizes the difficulties which arise from him simultaneously belonging and not belonging to the Afrikaner tribe, a stylistic but also ethnic positioning of the character (Njovane 206).

Martin, a white South African who met the fictional John Coetzee in 1972, while they were being interviewed for a job at the University of Cape Town also talks about this legal, but illegitimate presence of whites in South Africa. He feels un-rooted and unsettled by the fact that the grounds on which white South Africans claimed they belonged here because of their birthright, was actually based on colonial conquest. Martin considers his position as a white South African as even slightly comic since his forefathers have tried so hard to make this land on the southernmost tip of the continent livable for them. Now, centuries later, Martin's generation is left with an eerie feeling of not belonging and being intruders in their homeland.

Author Jonny Steinberg alludes to this and confirms the impossibility of being an objective observer, with his constant references to race and class divides between him and his subjects

(Rautenbach 156). The result of Coetzee's and Steinberg's questioning of their own authority, the agonizing over the impossibility of objectivity, creates an aesthetic effect beyond its function as a disclaimer (Rautenbach 156).

Later in the novel, the fictional John reveals to Sophie, his lover and fellow University lecturer, his romanticized version of Africa, something that has for him been lost long ago in Europe, "his philosophy ascribed to Africans the role of guardians of the truer, deeper, more primitive being of human kind […] What his position boiled down to […] was old-fashioned Romantic primitivism. In the context of the 1970s, of the liberation struggle and the apartheid state, it was unhelpful to look at Africans in his way. And anyway, it was a role they were no longer prepared to fulfill" (Coetzee 231).

This long colonial past is closely linked to the idea of South African exceptionalism, where South Africa is presented as a kind of European outpost. Lazarus writes that most white South Africans don't even feel like the country is in Africa at all. 'Unfortunately' situated on the same continent it has, in their opinion, nothing to do with it. The white population in South Africa in the last two centuries has grown mostly because of the assisted emigration from the United Kingdom. It started with creating a tampon zone in the Eastern Cape in the eighteen-twenties and continued with the gold rushes in the following century. After 1948, when the National Party came to power, the British were no longer as welcomed as before. They were partially substituted by white people from Germany or the Netherlands. Nevertheless, the United Kingdom is still the country from where most of the white settlers to South Africa in the twentieth century come from. The end of the old regime in 1994 made the British realize how 'lonely' they are in the country.

In the novel, John touches on this topic when he comments that the National Party felt like everybody in the World was against them and would not shed tears if the whole white population in South Africa would be wiped out by the blacks. Thus, left all alone, John understands why 'his people', felt the need to build walls and protect themselves. Nonetheless, for Coetzee, the National Party never cared or set out to save their 'civilization' as they were secretly collecting their money, buying villas abroad, and had an escape plan ready for the inevitable day of reckoning.

3.2.2. FOREIGNER, THIS IS MY *BLACK* SELF

One of the first novels about life in post-Apartheid South Africa is Phaswane Mpe's *Welcome to Our Hillbrow.* Phaswane Mpe was born in 1970 in the northern city of Polokwane in Tiragalong, South Africa, and moved to Johannesburg at the age of 19 to attend university. He was educated at the University of the Witwatersrand, where he later became a lecturer in African Literature at the School of Literature and Language Studies. He did his Masters in Publishing at Oxford Brookes University in 1998. Mpe died in 2004 at the age of 34.

On the level of storytelling Mpe's *Welcome to Our Hillbrow* is a six-part story that begins with the character called Refentse and his move from Tiragalong to the district of Hillbrow in the heart of Johannesburg. It then focuses on Refentse's relationships with women up to the point when he commits suicide, and then offers his opinions on the happenings on Earth from heaven. The second part focuses on Refilwe, Refentse's former lover or as she is called by him 'Bone of his Heart', as she follows in his footsteps to Johannesburg and then onwards to Oxford only to return to die in Tiragalong.

Mpe uses a series of epiphanies to hold the storytelling off, like for example when Refilwe and the inhabitants of Tiragalong find out that Lerato, Refentse's current lover, is not a daughter of a Nigerian 'Makwerekwere' but a child of one of their own, Piet, which profoundly changes both the story, and Refilwe's character arch.

On the discourse level, the narrative foregrounds a series of events connected in time but includes many flashbacks and streams of consciousness by the narrator. The narrative is fragmented and disseminated as it sometimes feels it has no center or destination creating a hyperreal model of the real Hillbrow, but without origin or reality, in a way creating a map that precedes the territory. The same sequence of events is described from two different perspectives, namely Refentse's and Refilwe's.

The omniscient third-person narrator is at times intrusive as he gives his own opinions on the events unfolding in the story and uses his narrative power to highlight some of the gravest

issues of South African society like violence, xenophobia or the AIDS epidemic. The narrator keeps speaking to his characters in a third person 'outside' manner like: "If you were still alive, Refentse," to then swiftly switching to a telepathic mind-reading narrator (Mpe 1). By the use of this free indirect discourse, Mpe practices impersonation and creates a voice that is at times both the narrator's and the character's.

Mpe's novel begins at the end as it already makes clear that Refentse is dead. But even before that, the epigraph contains two quotes by O.K. Matsepe and W.E.B. du Bois drawing attention to how bestial human behavior can be through the use of language, and how the narrative we are about to read cannot be understood only as pure fiction, thus setting the scene for the whole novel. Indeed, the relationship between fiction and autobiographical truth is not clear and consequently, the line between the author and narrator is blurred.

Phaswane Mpe died very young and his death is still surrounded by a cloud of mystery with whispers that he died of suicide caused by either mental struggles or AIDS. Like his protagonist Refentse, Mpe came from the small village of Tiragalong in Polokwane to Johannesburg to study. Due to the lack of money, he settled in Hillbrow eventually progressing in his career to be able to go and study at Oxford Brookes University just like Refilwe in the novel, and finally returned to teach African Literature and begin a Doctorate at the University of the Witwatersrand until his death, again mirroring Refentse's faith.

There are so many things in the story that resemble Mpe's life that the question of who is the 'I' speaking - the narrator, the character, or the author, is of vital importance since the reader can always feel a concealed, cryptic, haunting, but unspecified presence of the author. With mimetic dissipation when 'life' copies fiction, the reader cannot help but wonder if Mpe created himself as a character or did he give himself a fictional world where his identity merged with that of fiction.

Throughout the story, we feel like the narrator, and through the narrator the author, is saying goodbye. The reader can sense that something bad is happening to him or will happen to him. It is almost as if Mpe knows he will, or at least has a desire to, die, to destruct, return to a state of inanimacy. Because death is still something unknown, unfamiliar, unthinkable or unimaginable,

Mpe tries to break through and explain this unnamable thing that goes beyond language. Mpe undermines the logic of identity with a double paradox, the premise of immortality on the one hand, and a harbinger of death on the other. Finally, the experience of the uncanny in Mpe's text is not only in the text itself, but about how the reader feels whilst reading. It is precisely this haunting singularity, the uncanny force of the literary that keeps bringing the reader back to the novel to rethink and reread.

Despite the novel being set in the wake of the 1994 first democratic Presidential elections after the fall of Apartheid, it becomes a particular site of derangement, mimicry, power and transformation. With *Welcome to Our Hillbrow* Mpe gives us a highly experimental novel. There is a strong metafictional dimension chiefly with the short story Refentse writes about a woman dying from AIDS, which keeps appearing as the novel progresses, especially with Refilwe's self-reflective excerpts. With the numerous intertextual references to either different novels, songs, or films the novel connects with hybridization.

As the narrative slips away the author plays with the hermeneutic suspense of interpretative uncertainty, to make the reader uncertain of how to read the story. This poststructuralist approach brings something to light that can never be hidden again. There can be multiple possible readings of the end, but no reading is certain, no reading position stable, as Mpe plays with the reader's desire to master the text.

Mpe's Hillbrow, a chaotic zone of Johannesburg, is presented as a microcosm for all that is contradictory, alluring and painful about South Africa. Shattered dreams, sexuality, violence, the HIV/AIDS epidemic and growing xenophobia are revealed in the novel as an "always already present yet long-hidden" truth within society (Negash xxiv).

By putting themselves in opposition to other Africans, South Africans position themselves as the center, as an ideal to which Africa should strive. Just like the black South African during Apartheid, now the black African 'other' is presented as primitive, inhuman, barbaric. These dominant articulations of superiority construct realities with material effects. History can be misused in many different ways sometimes playing a very pivotal role in the present and is, if need be, immediately forgotten. When black South Africans were oppressed by the National Party's

regime they sought refuge in other African countries where they knew they would be safe. Now, when the situation has changed, and South Africans could be the ones providing shelter, they simply don't.

Almost everybody in Africa has an opinion about South Africa. Mpe explains the origin of the word *Makwerekwere* coming from copying the sounds 'kwere kwere' African foreigners produce while speaking and is now used in a derogatory way. Tiragalong, the village where Refentse, the novel's protagonist, originally comes from even has its own equivalent for the word *Makwerekwere* referring to anybody who is a non-South African, but is black and from another African country. They call them *Mapolantane*, a coinage from Sepedi, and when children misbehave they are scorned by saying that they should never start acting like *Mapolantane* (Mpe 73).

On the one hand, because so many of the African countries were involved in the struggle against the Apartheid regime, today's reality as its final result is disappointing. On the other hand, South Africans feel that they have been fighting for their rights and freedom for so long, only to see and feel like someone else is reaping its fruits. In *Welcome to Our Hillbrow*, Refentse constantly reminds people around him and himself how during Apartheid many South Africans fled to other African countries into exile where they would be accepted because of the white and black prosecutors back home:

> And of course you could not forget all those black agents of the Apartheid State, playing their various roles with a mastery that confounded the minds of even the State itself. Black police officers accused of political and other dissents. Black police and security forces hitting fellow blacks mercilessly for crimes that were often not committed…*Teaching the kaffir a lesson or two*, as they said (Mpe 18-19).

Refentse's cousin was also a part of the interrogating police force that used torture as a means of accessing the truth. 'Cousin' would always tell Refentse how South Africa is overflowing with *Makwerekwere* pursuing green pastures because Nelson Mandela lets the barbarians come and steal jobs instead of putting up a fenced wall to protect the country. The 'rainbows and renaissances' of the new government sound like nonsense to 'Cousin'.

Like the narrator in Mpe's novel points out, xenophobia is always there; in Hillbrow, in Johannesburg, in South Africa. He echoes the thoughts, doubts, unconscious temptations and fears in the haunting words 'welcome to our Hillbrow'. However, when the Apartheid regime crumbled there was something of a 'dream come true' moment for South Africa and for how the world saw South Africa.

In Mpe's novel, Refilwe, Tiragalong's native, comes to the United Kingdom to study at Oxford University. When she arrives she doesn't have to register with the Oxford police, as many Africans, including South Africans during the Apartheid days, have to. She observes that thanks to Mandela the opinion on South Africans in Britain has shifted. They believed that there was no bloodshed in the crumbling of the Apartheid regime and acknowledge: "Was that not an indication of the civilizing power of old man Mandela? These and other such laudatory noises appeared forgetful of the fact that Mandela was not the only player in this game of politics" (Mpe 100).

In Oxford, Refilwe learns that in the eyes of the English, South Africa is Johannesburg, Cape Town, and Durban where the whites live and the remaining part of the country is where the black people live. She observes their amazement when she explains that it is not so or when she talks about whites who are also drug dealers, liquor sellers, prostitutes, or *Makwerekwere* haters.

Damon Galgut was born in 1963 in Pretoria, South Africa. When he was six years old, Galgut was diagnosed with cancer and spent long stretches of his childhood in hospital, which has profoundly influenced his work. He studied Drama at the University of Cape Town. Galgut has written a number of plays and novels and has taught Drama at the University of Cape Town.

A similar story of South Africa being in a dreamland momentum can be found in Galgut's *The Good Doctor*. The novel follows two doctors, Frank, a seasoned doctor and first-person narrator through whose eyes we get to experience the whole novel, and a young inexperienced doctor Laurence, that comes to the inefficient rural hospital where they both work for a year of community service. The novel is set on the border of South Africa, in a small town that used to be the center of a homeland where nothing ever happens, even though everyone knows about the human trafficking and illegal smuggling happening under their noses.

The arrival of the new doctor, followed by soldiers sent to monitor the border happenings, completely change Frank's bitter and uneventful life. The more Laurence pushes and asks questions, the more resentful Frank becomes knowing something bad is going to happen if Laurence doesn't stop. And it does. In an uncontrollable chain of events, that Frank thinks he has caused, Laurence is kidnapped and murdered.

The novel provides us with a series of logical and causally connected events. We cannot put the book down as it masterfully plays with our interpretative uncertainty of how the story will end. The end is surprising because the reader is not satisfied, but the anti-hero protagonist finally finds peace through the demise and consequent death of the young doctor. The whole novel is haunted by an eerie, disturbing, mysterious atmosphere that builds until the final release of suspense. The familiar suddenly seems strange as it challenges our presumptions and expectations of what is actually 'real' in the story. Something uncanny has been released and can now not be forgotten.

The reader can't help but mimic the irrational fear that grows in Frank. Even though he is set as an unlikable character and does many dubious things, we can sense that he is right about one thing - Laurence should not press on or there will be consequences. Through the use of paralepsis, the narrator tries to warn 'the good doctor', but it is all in vain and Laurence loses his life for his error of judgment in not accepting the unwritten rules that set up the life in the hospital.

The historical account of violence and racism in the place where the novel is set cannot be avoided, like a phantom that cannot be killed. Crime is seen as something normal, particularly in the borderland area. The little town, and especially the hospital, are like a penal colony that follows rules of a system which no longer exists. And yet, everybody abides by its rules. *The Good Doctor* is built around the notion of secrets in terms of what the text sets off both in Frank and in the reader. Undecidability splits and disorders the text.

Alongside Laurence and Frank there is also a Cuban couple, Jorge and Claudia, working at the hospital, that was brought in by the Health Department to help with the staffing crisis. When questioned by Laurence about why they chose to come to South Africa, they say it is because an opportunity had arisen in which they were offered more money and a good house in comparison to

their previous jobs. Jorge continued that they were drawn by the chance to make a difference in the world. He believed this was only the beginning for South Africa, "the old history doesn't count. It's starting now. From the bottom up. So I want to be here. I don't want to be anywhere else in the world, where it doesn't matter if I'm there or not. It matters that I'm here" (Galgut 50).

However, when they first arrive to the country they are stationed in Soweto. The severity of the situation there, the constant extreme violence, the knife-wounds, shotgun blasts, maimings, rapes, gouging with broken bottles proved to be too much for the hospital and for them personally. After six months in Soweto they ask for a transfer and thus end up at the secluded hospital. Claudia tries to repress those memories but when asked about it she simply says it was "like war […] like big war outside all the time" (Galgut 51).

Summertime's John, assesses that "politics […] brought out the worst in people and also brought to the surface the worst types in society" (Coetzee 228). For John, "nothing is worth fighting for because fighting only prolongs the cycle of aggression and retaliation" (Coetzee 230). Despite this, he believes that politics are "a symptom of our fallen state and expresses that fallen state," but will never be discarded as they offer a stage for the elite where barbarian notions get played out without consequences (Coetzee 229).

Zakes Mda, born Zanemvula Kizito Gatyeni Mda, was born in 1984 in Herschel, South Africa. He completed high school in Lesotho, a Bachelor of Fine Arts in Visual Arts and Literature in Zurich, Switzerland, a Master of Fine Arts in Theater, and a Master of Arts in Mass Communication and Media, both at Ohio University, United States. He also holds a PhD gained at the University of Cape Town. In addition to writing novels and plays, he currently teaches at Ohio University in Athens, in the United States of America.

In *Ways of Dying*, Mda touches upon the 'black on black' violence between the Zulu Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) and the ANC supporters in the last days of Apartheid. The white minority National Party (NP) was playing a double game as they were advocating for peace at the negotiating tables but secretly provided support to the Zulu nationalism to show the world that blacks were not ready to rule themselves and that democracy would mean bloodshed and violence (Myambo 103-104).

In the novel, 5-year-old Vutha is necklaced by the fictional 'Young Tigers', an allegory of the Youth League of the ANC because he unintentionally reveals delicate information to the hostel dwellers that represent the Zulu's. With this Mda sheds a light on the fact that in the moment of liberation the ANC is not blameless, that all sides committed atrocities, and that what sets off on the premise of democratic rule can, and inevitably did, end up abusing power and betraying hopes.

Patricia Schonstein, who now writes under the name Patricia Schonstein Pinnock, was born in 1952 and raised in Southern Rhodesia, now Zimbabwe. She holds a Master of Arts Degree in Creative Writing from the University of Cape Town, supervised by J. M. Coetzee, who has endorsed much of her work. Schonstein-Pinnock lives in South Africa where she works as a full-time novelist, poet, author of children's books and curator of anthologies.

Her novel *Skyline* is a coming-of-age story of the unnamed female protagonist growing up in Cape Town, South Africa. 'Skyline' is the name of the building at the end of Long Street in the heart of the city where she lives with her mother and sister Mossie. The building is full of illegal immigrants from all over Africa and beyond, and in linear chronological sequence each chapter describes their stories of how and why they came to the 'Mother City'.

However, each chapter has two parts. The first part is narrated by a first-person narrator who is a girl whose name we never find out. She tells us about all the people who are important in her life, and about her interactions with them. The second part of each chapter is written from a third-person narrator perspective and the reader also never finds out who that is. This second part always summarizes what has been happening in the first part in the form of a painting.

Through ekphrasis, we get a written representation of the visual. So finally, what we as readers get, is a description of a painting that occasionally refers to a more famous painting like for example Giotto's *Madonna and Child*, Auguste Renoir's *The Luncheon of the Boating Party*, Eduard Manet's *The Bar at the Folies-Bergères*, or Gustav Klimt's *The Kiss* to name just a few. The paintings at the end of each of the chapters give these canonical paintings of Western Art an 'African' twist and feature the people who were described in that particular chapter. Only at the end of the novel, we find out that all the paintings belong to the 'Bernard Sebastião Collection'

referring to Bernard from Mozambique, whose friendship and death profoundly influences the protagonist's life.

At the beginning of the text, Schonstein Pinnock dedicates the book to the children forced to take part in Mozambique's sixteen-year civil war (1976-1992) and to all child victims of war. From beginning to end, the narrative power is used to give a voice to mostly African people fleeing war and oppression, who live on the edge of South African society, but also features a kind of anti-narrative through their opponents like Rambo, a white South African who believes Mandela's government committed a historical mistake by letting all these 'blacks' into the country as they are all thieves and murderers, and must be returned to their home countries immediately. Such a discourse metafictionally reflects on the shifting senses of time and place.

The female narrator is very enigmatic, passive, irrational, non-practical, and occasionally overly emotional. The nature of her personal identity is at times provocatively articulated. She does not have the narrative power of foresight so she finds out about events as they unfold just as the reader does. We get to know her inner thoughts not only about all the African immigrants but also about her 'madwoman in the attic' type mother who is depressed and an alcoholic, her problematic sister who has an unidentified development issue, and her blossoming romance with Raphael. She as the narrator decides to preserve some of the secrets of the text leaving some gaps to be filled by the reader. Thus, some secrets can be in front of our eyes in the text and yet remain hidden.

The story is digressed by flashbacks when the secondary characters tell the female protagonist their life stories, like Bernard telling her how he worked as a house-boy in a villa of a rich landowner in Mozambique, or Liberty reminiscing about the Chimurenga war in Rhodesia, now Zimbabwe, or how Mrs. Rowinsky fled the Nazi-occupied Berlin because she was Jewish. There are several intertextual references to various fields and topics, from the aforementioned world-famous paintings to kwaito music and the Spice Girls, poems in Portuguese, or historical figures like Ian Smith and Magnus Malan. As the story progresses the reader needs to put all these pieces together to create the full mosaic and truly grasp the width of the story.

Skyline features a gripping narrative, appealing language, and powerful, at times even poetic, language. It ends with Bernard being murdered by an Italian immigrant Giovanni who

believes the Mozambican is having an affair with his wife Morgana. But there is no big revelation, in the end, the story just stops. In a sense of perverted epistemophilia, the story is about the story itself, not about the end as goal or purpose. When we as readers finish the book we desire solutions or a pearl of wisdom bestowed upon us, but just as desire is incompatible with satisfaction, we must come to our own conclusions, and we are left with a sense of intrigue, mystery, secrecy, and the beauty of the language.

The teenage girl in *Skyline* still has no prejudices against foreigners. But, at one point in the novel when she is walking in the city center she is warned by Rambo, a white South African working at 7Eleven, that he has seen her hanging out with all these different immigrants and warns her they only bring crime with them: “Blacks are all the same. They’re all thieves. Sleep with dogs, you get fleas” (Schonstein Pinnock 45). The night before he told her that there was a murder and robbery on the same street believed to be done by Congolese immigrants. They supposedly took the man’s money and then killed him, not even running away after, but simply walking out as if nothing had happened and no one dared to touch them out of fear.

Rambo claims that Mandela’s justice is gone if these immigrants can first destroy their own countries and then South Africa as well. Rambo sounds almost nostalgic when he reflects: “Those Apartheid days, you can give them back to me anytime. At least in those days, there was electric fences around the border and if illegals came over they fried on the wires. These guys couldn’t just stroll across like now. Know what I mean? And also, with Apartheid, you kill someone and you swing. Now nobody swings” (Schonstein Pinnock 45).

He ends his rant by saying the country belongs to illegals now as they bought it under the counter and bribed their way in: “South Africa belongs to Africa, not us. I’m not into blacks, you know that, hey? But at least our blacks are better than those others. They’re just dangerous, man” (Schonstein Pinnock 45). Rambo’s statement triggers questions if it could be said that white South Africans such as himself fuel black-on-black violence. After the September 2019 attacks on African-born foreigners in Johannesburg, Julius Malema, the leader of the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF), blamed the white minority, that owns the majority of capital, for the xenophobic attacks since according to him they are the ones that ‘prefer’ to employ foreigners rather than black

South Africans (Friedman ch.1). Malema also suggested that the attacks should be targeting the whites instead of the black African foreigners (Friedman ch.1).

Such thinking goes hand-in-hand with real life experiences. A group of anthropologists describes how they did research in Mafikeng district in the Apartheid era when it was a part of a homeland. While Mafikeng was a white settlement there were many migrants and different languages spoken in the surrounding area. When the anthropologists returned after the fall of Apartheid, and suggested to the South African Tswana speaking friend they had previously worked with to go for a coffee in town now that there is no color bar anymore, he didn't want to go saying that there are only *Makwerekwere's* there now: "I don't want to go down town; it's full of black people […] They don't belong here; I don't feel at home anymore." (Bangstad et al 125).

This man who has been fighting for social equality all his life now sees a new enemy. The industry has either gone elsewhere or now employs the *Makwerekwere* on more flexible and low-paid terms. Bangstad compares this to a post-proletarian society. What unified these workers was the notion that they were captured within a racially divided manufacturing. Nowadays South African economy is far less tangible and trans-local with bosses living halfway across the world, and forces shaping attachment like race, class or civil-struggle are no longer prominent, which makes the men almost wistful for the Apartheid days.

In Coetzee's *Summertime: 'Scenes from a Provincial Life'* John's French lover Sophie notes how South Africans are isolated from the outside world and not really interested in the rest of the continent. What is north of their land can stay unplumbed and unknown. Coetzee's fictional father shares the notion when he describes them as illiterate 'clowns' and sums up 'Africa' as: "a place of starving masses with homicidal buffoons lording it over them" (4).

The image he paints is very common in South African adverts, posters or television commercials with a stereotypical African leader character being invoked as a figure of parody in the lines of Uganda's dictator responsible for thousands of deaths, Idi Amin (Gqola 222). Such a character 'type' represents a stereotype from old colonialist imagery presenting African elite as brutal buffoons (Gqola 222).

In *Welcome to Our Hillbrow* Cousin's words resemble the thoughts of many South Africans when he says "people should remain in their own countries and try to sort out the problems of these respective countries, rather than fleeing them; South Africa had too many problems of their own. Surely we cannot be expected to solve all the problems of Africa?" (Mpe 20). However, Refentse, the novel's protagonist, believes that there is no excuse for ostracizing those who carry no blame.

Returning to the previously analyzed passage from Mpe's novel, Refilwe notices how she is treated differently from Nigerians or Algerians at Heathrow Airport. She is reminded of Alan Hill's book *In Pursuit of Publishing* where he describes coming to Jan Smuts Airport in Johannesburg during the height of Apartheid and is treated badly solely because he is English. But now, in this civilized world, in Heathrow airport in the new millennium she witnesses the same maltreatment of Africans because all of them were "criminals masquerading as students, or professionals coming into our England to negotiate reputable business deals" (Mpe 101). Their luggage was opened and analyzed and when nothing suspicious was found no apology was offered.

When observing how their passports were checked and re-checked at Heathrow, Refilwe realizes that despite being thousands of kilometers from South Africa and its xenophobia, in England they also had their own *Makwerekwere* or *Mapolantane* they just named them differently: *Africans*.

3.3. FOREIGNER, AM I CHASING A RAINBOW?

"This country is a rainbow country! This country is Technicolor. You can come and see the new South Africa!" (qtd. Myambo 93). When Desmond Tutu exclaimed these words in 1989 the Apartheid regime was already crumbling and Nelson Mandela was quick to find great potential in this revolutionary speech by adopting the idea of the multi-colorful metaphor. And yet, it might have always been too ambitious as just like in the saying 'chasing a rainbow', one can never truly catch it.

With the technicolor procedure former black and white movies were colored. With it, the initial configuration has not changed at all, but what we as viewers saw, was completely different.

Applying the rainbowism to a very divided and wounded nation aimed to do exactly the same. Change the way society views itself without addressing its core issues. Myambo asks if perhaps Archbishop Desmond Tutu's words were ever even meant as anything more than an ultimate abstraction. Because most of the lands in South Africa historically belonged to the whites, the black majority living in tin can townships is not satisfied with metaphorical ownership but demand change.

South Africa has been extremely slow in land redistribution, yet extremely adept at managing the ideology of Rainbow Nationism (Myambo 96). Zakes Mda's *Ways of Dying* follows Toloki, the novel's protagonist, and his life between townships and squatter camps. The camps appeared illegally next to Apartheid-planned townships in the early nineties. Toloki is an explorer of the changing urban space, testing the limits of the Rainbow Nation by approaching it from the margins. He claims he is a professional mourner. He wants to buy a velvet cape to go and mourn but doesn't have the money to buy it, so every day he sits in front of the shop until the restaurant owners around the shop start complaining about him being there as his appearance disturbs their customers. On a premise that he never returns they buy him the cape.

Toloki develops a relationship with Noria who comes from the same village as he does. The first time Toloki goes to visit Noria in the squatter camp where she lives, he doesn't know exactly where among the shacks of cardboard, plastic, pieces of canvas and corrugated iron she lives, but reminds himself that since squatter people are a close-knit community he will just ask. But he does remember that he must not call them squatter people since they get offended and point out: "How can we be squatters on our own land, in our own country […] Squatters are those who came from across the seas and stole our land" (Mda 48).

With an introspective turn to specific South African subcultures a dangerous separatism threatening nationhood emerges. Works like *Ways of Dying* bring to light the old Apartheid 'us' versus 'them' division. The goal of it was to spatially, racially, mentally, and sexually separate people. This was very present in the case of the city of Johannesburg, an amalgam mixture of everything the system was afraid of.

From its inception in the 1880's, Johannesburg, 'the city of gold', was a mixture of people of different races living together in one space. With the introduction of Apartheid in 1948 the population was labelled, controlled and rearranged according to an elaborate system of racial classification that defined where one belonged (Myambo 99). Neighborhoods like Sophiatown, "a cosmopolitan black urban area were eradicated and its inhabitants moved to Soweto or elsewhere, to prove the symbolic eradication of blackness from the white city" (Myambo 100). The cities belonged to the whites and blacks were pushed on the outskirts needing pass books to leave their homelands. Only male contract workers could go to work in the city during the day, while the women and children would always remain in the homelands (Myambo 99).

As Richard Ballard from Johannesburg's University of Witwatersrand points out that even if we try to mold ourselves to fit somewhere, where we come from defines us (Myambo 100). Under Apartheid, transgressing the borders of the city, unless for work, was an offense punishable by law. The response to anything was to simply remove it out of sight. If people are starving, or begging or squatting, let them do that out of sight. Doing all these things is, in a way, something new to South Africa and exploring spaces where such things are done, as Toloki does in *Ways of Dying*, is a sign of liberation and change.

In the novel, Noria forgives Danisa for striking that fatal match that kills her 5-year old son Vutha, but still, post-tragedy remains committed to the cause of freedom. So should a nation that wishes to remain united, despite ethnic differences, speak about truth publicly. For the 'New South Africa' to function democratically or multiculturally the ideological marshlands of division must be drawn together with ethnic differences, class hierarchies, and suppressions of truth left behind. In the era of the Rainbow Nation, poverty is often something abstract, but Noria, just like many others like her, cannot withdraw into fantasy because her reality is far from it. Just as the nation carving its path of democracy is ambivalent, so is the ending of Mda's novel, when New Year's Eve is celebrated. The narrator observes how the moonlight shacks glow in the night while tires are burning all around. He comments how the smell of tires fills the air, but what a relief it is that this time it is not accompanied by the scent of burning human flesh. Luckily, this time it is only rubber.

In the introduction to their book *Go Home or Die Here: Violence, Xenophobia and the Reinvention of Difference in South Africa*, released in the wake of the 2008 xenophobic violence, authors Eric Worby, Shireen Hassim, and Tawana Kupe, see the multicolored metaphor as "shallow and incomplete, at worst even hollow and insincere. The fantasy of an inclusive 'rainbow' nation whose citizens regard difference not merely with tolerance, but with respect, is flawed because South Africans do not feel included in the rainbow" (7).

For the authors, the xenophobic violence shows that the transition is not yet completed and still has a long way to go. The equilibrium has yet to be achieved especially because today the reality of the poorest black South Africans is "to live in a shack, without any prospect or regular employment, to be destined to die a slow and undignified death from AIDS or tuberculosis […] to live in condition of abjection – to be consigned to bare life beyond the limits of the political community. In the new South Africa as in the old, killing and being killed are normalized because people are always dying anyway" (Hassim, Kupe, Worby 7).

Until the multicultural rainbow metaphor more concretely addresses social injustices, the class and racial eruptions of violence will continue, and the country will persist in chasing the rainbow instead of creating it. Nevertheless, it should not be forgotten that the people of South Africa *did* defeat the Apartheid regime, and created spirited principal leaders such as Nelson Mandela.

Writer Phaswane Mpe encourages debate on problems that could harm the country if left unexplored. Speaking about the commonly shared responsibility of South Africans he envisions his homeland as a strong, diverse nation capable of metamorphosis when need be, that strives when all hope seems lost. And he is not alone.

4. FOREIGNER, WHO ARE YOU?

"I know, but this IS *Africa, and not long ago*
you were fighting a war like my country is doing now.
My problems ARE *your problems".*

- *Aher, South Sudanese* (in *The Lost Boy* on page 147).

This chapter is designed in order to understand who 'the foreigner' is to South Africans. It starts with a theoretical overview seeking an answer to the question who actually is 'the other' looking at theories and works of Homi Bhabha, Edward Said, Michel Foucault, Sigmund Freud, Jacques Lacan, Luis Althusser and Slavoj Žižek. It continues with an overview of the history of racism looking at meanings behind terms such as 'blackness' and 'negrophobia', questioning the humanity of such notions, and looking for paths towards a 'raceless' future.

The subchapters '4.2. Foreigner, Is It Because of *Your* Skin Color?' and '4.3. Foreigner, Is It Because of My Skin Color?' take a closer look at how works of fiction approach the 'skin issue' of both, white, but mainly, black South Africans, and black Africans. Writer Véronique Tadjo draws parallels with what is currently happening in South Africa to what has been happening in her homeland Côte d'Ivoire and describes the concept of *Ivorité*, suggesting South Africans should avoid such sentiments due to the consequences they bring. Another section of this chapter explains why people choose South Africa as their final destination and shares their stories whether they are fugitives fleeing war, or simply come to the country to better their economic status. In conclusion, closer attention is given to the South African border and illegal crossings of it.

4.1. FOREIGNER, WHO IS MY 'OTHER' (AFRICA)?

In *Orientalism*, Said points out that colonial narratives tell us much more about the colonizer than about the colonized. Instead of telling us about the places and people colonized, we find out more about the fears and wishes of colonials. In the same lines, the hatred towards African foreigners tells us more about South Africans than the actual 'other' they are so eager to crucify. The focus of the colonial narrative was to feed people the stories they know they want to hear. However, perhaps the correct question is not how the narrative is told but why is it told. And it is not about who the story talks about, but about who tells and who consumes the narrative. The xenophobia storyline tells us something about Africans, but actually tells us much more about South Africans and their search for a national identity.

Bhabha offers an ambivalent 'otherness' that we at once desire and despise. In South Africa it can be perceived as anxious and assertive, demanding an extension of critical and political objectives. Just as in a classical colonial discourse in South Africa today we have on the one side, intentional nationalist representations of otherness by discourses of origin, unity, or purity, in opposition to foreignness, mixedness, and impurity.

Said speaks of a phenomenon when we see things for the first time but we intentionally perceive them as something we already know. We do so in order for this new information not to scare us, but so we can compartmentalize it as something we can control. In order to mute the threat of something new the mind then only differentiates between two states, the original and the repetition of the original (Said 72).

Bhabha links these thoughts of Said to Freudian fetishism and Foucault's poststructuralist concept of the dispositive or apparatus. The latter is a strategic response to a specific, urgent event that makes events unfold in a desired direction. The apparatus is always a part of a power play and strategies of relations of forces (Foucault 126). Bhabha brings forward an argument that is based on Freud seeing the colonial discourse as a search for a pure origin, "a desire for an originality threatened by differences of race, color and culture" (75).

According to Jacques Lacan's 'Imaginary' register of human reality, the formative mirror phase, when the subject's identity is first established by its reflection, is also the moment when loss of fullness happens. The self 'eye' locates itself in the visual world through a process of sameness, equivalences, and identities of the surrounding world. At the same time alienation and potential confrontations give birth to narcissism and agressivity: "The image of self is then multiple and contradictory as it gives knowledge of difference while simultaneously disavowing or masking it" (Bhabha 77). The 'other' needs to be constantly retold, repeated, continued, each time at once gratifying and terrifying.

Beliefs can be split between a forward-thinking liberal one promoting multiculturalism, and a conservative reactionary one with no understanding of difference. However, the danger of the returned look, a mirror that returns the image of the other to the subject, sparks feelings of something misplaced or lost. The main fear is that something so different could have easily been constructed as the same, the 'other' transforming in the 'self'. Therefore, Andile Mngxitama's statement sums this up in a haunting statement on why the poor black Africans are so hated in South Africa: "We hate them because they remind us so powerfully where we could end up and where we come from" (204).

In this sense the desire to find a pure origin is a mere fantasy that in return makes South Africans turn to the most primitive defensive reactions, either turning on oneself, or, more common, on the opposite, 'the projection'. 'The other' becomes at once a substitute and a shadow, a desire "for an unbroken and undifferentiated line of vision and origin" (Bhabha 82). Attention is therefore put on the differences between before and after, between or within races, cultures, and histories.

The above-mentioned ambivalence is what colonial discourse was built on. On the one hand, recognizing the native 'other' as progressively reformable, but on the other hand at the same time focusing on the separation. By taking away the capacity of self-government or independence, control and surveillance are justified because the colonized population is seen as unfit to rule themselves. The 'White Man's Burden', when coexistence was made possible by a systematic surveillance system and strategies of hierarchization and marginalization, is the excuse used to rule.

This pattern is adopted by South Africa and found in Frantz Fanon's explanation of the behavior of the colonizer to control, to monitor, and to be in charge. 'They' are controlled because 'they' do not have a structure, they only have curiosities, characteristics, but cannot be trusted to govern themselves. Consuming colonial patterns and Apartheid's social scripts has constructed who a South African is today.

Louis Althusser's theory on ideology explains the way we live our relationships at the level of representations (Storey 71). According to him, by acts of 'hailing' or 'interpellation', subjects behave as thought through certain patterns. Slavoj Žižek points out that the moment you recognize or identify with an ideology, you are subjected and become an addressee of that ideology (Storey 79). Ideology produces social scripts and these scripts then speak to an individual. The violent social scripts in South Africa against black Africans today are a result of history, politics, common practices, and the media, that have interpellated the South African individual and made him take action against 'the other'.

Similarly, discourses function in a certain hierarchy and within them, we occupy pre-described positions. Each society accepts a certain discourse, a 'regime of truth' to live by. The 'truth', as proven by the South African case, does not necessary have to be the *actual* truth. As long as it is believed, established, and legitimated as the truth, society can act as if it is true. The fact that 'the foreigner' is perceived as 'the enemy' is accepted as a truth, no matter if that is the *actual* truth.

However, where there is power there is resistance. This will be more closely analyzed in chapter six 'Foreigner, Where Will You/We Go From Here?'. At this point, only a concluding remark is left, that each established discourse is a starting point of an opposing strategy. Discourses transmit, produce, and reinforce power, but also undermine it. The process of establishing one discourse as the dominant one always also exposes its weaknesses and fragility, thus making it possible to thwart the same power that helped to establish the discourse in the first place.

4.2. FOREIGNER, IS IT BECAUSE OF *YOUR* SKIN COLOR?

Skin was/is seen as a key signifier, and the most visible fetish. Skin is a part of the human body just as eyes or hair which also come in different colors. 'Race' exists only because it is still given significance. A quick glance at the history of racism shows that the same language is being used in South Africa now as in colonial times. During the colonization period and the Apartheid regime, the whites were made to be seen as the dominant and most advanced skin color group.

The famous anti-Apartheid activist Steve Biko prophetically wrote in the late sixties and early seventies of the twentieth century about how the damaging of the black mind has been thorough as he has lost his manhood and is reduced to an obliging shell simply accepting certain things whilst bottling anger and then projecting it to his innocent comrades instead on the ones that actually created the conditions (Mngxitama 200). Bhabha goes a step further in saying that whiteness is the 'color zero'. The inferiority complex of black men can thus be seen as an outcome of a double layered process, on the economic and psychological level.

As South Africa cannot be the best in the world it can, however, according to themselves, be the best in Africa and that can only be achieved if they economically and psychologically damage and repress the unwanted, ugly, inferior, less-worthy, 'throw away' ones. The fact that so many South Africans get killed in these xenophobic attacks is also an important point. It proves South Africans are not really sure who this phantom 'other' is.

A South African coming from Limpopo, or only Tsonga or Venda speaking, might be deported to Mozambique if he comes to Johannesburg to find a job, just because he resembles them and is not understood in the city. Many South African citizens also do not have birth certificates, especially if they live far away from Home Affairs Offices (Coplan 126). During the 2008 attacks *The Daily Sun*, one of the biggest daily tabloids published a stark warning in bold type to its readers saying: "Be very careful, don't look or act like a foreigner" (Harber 162).

It seems that past wrongs are recalled, imagined, and reconfigured to tell a story that has relevance in the present (Gqola 210). The inter-black racism against the 'throw-away' people is

possible because their bodies are marked as such, "they can be identified because they are rendered visible - their difference is marked on their bodies, through phenotype. It is in this reading of identity as clearly embodied, through pigmentation, that allows for the categorization of who can be 'in' and who 'out'. This bodily badge, codified as 'very darkness', the 'excess' of melanin, hankers after the language of race science, Apartheid and white supremacy" (Gqola 211).

No one in South Africa is attacking wealthy Germans, British or French foreigners whose whiteness makes them valuable whilst foreigners from the African continent are black and thus disposable. Such racialization makes it safe for South Africans to victimize the black Africans in everyday exchanges, in legal proceedings, through violent Home Affairs practices, and is coded in how violence against foreign nationals is spoken about (Gqola 211).

Through South African eyes white foreigners are perceived more as minds than bodies and are as such assumed as useful since they are: "Investors, tourists and the representatives of countries we need to impress with our status as 'world class' or 'emerging nation' – in other words, not like the other developing countries" (Gqola 221). In opposition, there is an anxiety about surplus black masculine and feminine bodies that cannot immediately be put to profitable use (Gqola 219).

Eric Worby, the director of the Humanities Graduate Centre and Professor of Anthropology at the University of the Witwatersrand in Johannesburg, suggests that South Africans see belonging through what he calls the 'onion' model. The core of the onion is represented by the 'proper' South Africans, the more outer layers are the Shangaan or Pedi or Tsonga speaking people with a questionable claim to citizenship, and the thin outside layers are the foreign Africans, easy to peel and not missed if thrown away (Hassim, Kupe, Worby 16).

Displaced anger, historical amnesia, and black self-loathing have given birth to current negrophobia. South Africans now even believe that their black skin is lighter than black skin of other Africans. Such an agonizing misrecognition of the 'true' enemy expressed either "in terms of race (through the old Apartheid idiom 'black on black violence') or in terms of class (what some have sardonically referred to as 'shack on shack violence') – suggests a failure of radical as well as liberal politics in the post-apartheid era" (Hassim, Kupe, Worby 16).

The phenomenon of migration is a global issue as more and more people flee, explore, or seek different opportunities, and the global community is going to have to respond appropriately to this issue. Methodist minister and Bishop in Johannesburg Paul Verryn, who has provided shelter to the refugees and migrants in his church, points out that "as a human race we are going to have to reassess our fundamental value system," due to the lack of compassion for foreigners or for the poor (viii).

Paul Gilroy sees a path towards a 'raceless' future, when race is nothing but a word cleaned of its historical disuse, by helping people from various backgrounds deal with difference, and focusing on alikeness instead of disparity. In the book *Color Conscious: The Political Morality of Race,* in his chapter on misunderstood connections between race, culture, and identity, Kwame Anthony Appiah differentiates between an ideational and a referential view on race (33). While the first one focuses on what people think about race, the second one explains what the word can actually be applied to (Appiah 33). The path forward Appiah envisions is a combination of recognizing how difference is a fundamental feature of human identity, and highlighting the moral unity of the human race, asking citizens of any color to contribute to the ongoing discussion about race (105).

In his essay *We Are Not All Like That: Race, Class and Nation After Apartheid* Andile Mngxitama quotes that negrophobia and "the fear and dislike of blacks is a great disease. It has killed more blacks in the last five hundred years than all other diseases combined: more than malaria, more than epidemics and plagues of all sorts. In the coming years, it could kill far more than AIDS. It is a psychological disease, disease of the mind, which harvests dead black bodies every day" (198).

4.3. FOREIGNER, IS IT BECAUSE OF *MY* SKIN COLOR?

Works of fiction touch upon the 'skin issue' both from the outside, meaning from other African countries' perspectives, and from the inside, from South Africa. This chapter is written from the South African point of view since they often seem to forget that they are black too.

Writer Kabelo 'Sello' Duiker was born in 1974, and raised in Orlando West, Soweto, South Africa. He first went to La Salle College and then to Redhill School. Duiker attended both Rhodes University and the University of Cape Town where he studied journalism. He died in 2005 at the age of 31. In his novel *Thirteen Cents* the protagonist Azure, a black thirteen-year-old boy living on the streets, has blue eyes and therefore he never quite fits in and is constantly haunted by the leader of the neighborhood, Gerald. His friend Vincent suggest to him to dress more like the *Makwerekwere* just to fit in better (Duiker 36).

Azure observes that white people "point at things like they fear nothing. Look at this, look at that, I hear them say. Let's go here, let's go there. And they walk like they own the road. They don't look at the ground. They only look ahead of them. That's why animals are always running away from them when they try and see them up close. White people don't know fear and animals know that" (Duiker 124-125). He even spares a compassionate thought about Allen, a gang leader who looks white but when observed closely is more coloured than white, and contributes his problematic nature to his skin color: "I mean, imagine being nearly white but not quite?" (Duiker 36).

Writer Kgebetli Moele was born in 1978 in Polokwane, Limpopo Province, South Africa. He has been writing since he started high school. He studied at University of South Africa in Pretoria. Moele began his career writing radio dramas and has worked as a theatre producer and creative writing teacher. His *Room 207* describes the life of six boys trying to make it in Johannesburg, the 'city of dreams'. They all live in one room, room number 207, shear their beds, share their lives, share their dreams, united by poverty. They have no privacy and no personal space. The book is divided into seven parts and is told from an unnamed first-person narrator perspective. This person lives with and interacts with the other tenants. Each chapter has several

subchapters, named after the person whom the narrator speaks to; S'busiso, Molamo, D'nice, Modishi, and Matome.

The novel is like a snapshot of the life in the city, everything is in there; friendship, unemployment, no money, forgetting to pay the rent, politics, cursing, hunger, alcohol, drugs, blackness, xenophobia, music, girls, plenty of them, pregnancies, diseases, death. The narrator vividly expresses it: "[…] walk carefully and think fast; this is Johannesburg, you are either fast or dead" (Moele 69). The novel can even be seen as a love letter to the city, with all its great and terrible features. It is also a story about the possibilities of pleasure and how fast one can go from extreme pleasure to moments of loss, dissolution, a collapse of 'self'.

The story breaks when the first of the boys moves out. Matome, in a way, breaks the fellowship deciding it is time to leave Hillbrow and room 207. The other boys feel betrayed, shocked but also jealous. They feel like their rhythm is broken, and one by one they move out. Matome is the one that makes it away. He buys a house, gets married and has children. One of the lucky ones. D'nice follows, moves out. Then it is Modishi's turn. S'busiso dies of AIDS. Molamo leaves as well. Thirteen years after he had moved in, twelve lockouts, and more than twenty-five shutdowns, the narrator is the last one to leave 207. He rents a room on his own for a year, but he feels his love story with the city is ending, the love is fading. The last year that he spends on his own is like a long farewell. Alone, broken, and feeling like a failure he leaves the city behind and at thirty-two goes back home. The end is opened to the future.

In the end, there is no big discovery, the story just naturally disseminates. We get to know the story through the narrator and even though he is not omniscient, know his inner thoughts and feelings. His is the only perspective we get. The novel tells the 'history of the now', but what Moele is showing us through his characters' arches is that these circumstances of now are not stable and can be rewritten and transformed.

There is a lot of homosocial desire in the text. This desire is fundamental to the male-dominated space the novel builds. Special importance is placed on the relationship between the men in 207 since even though all of them are competing for women, money, and success, the focus is on the 'bromance', them as rivals but ultimately also as friends. The inhabitants of room 207 are

mutually dependent on each other, and as long as they have each other to lean on, the equilibrium of depthlessness in the colony of immature boys can be sustained. Yet, when the first one leaves, their community disintegrates like a house of cards.

The text has a dedication to Moele's friend who died losing his mind and his dreams. This is followed by a quotation by T.E. Lawrence from *Seven Pillars of Wisdom* about two types of men. The ones who dream at night, and the ones who dream during the day. There are several intertextual references to artists, books, songs, places, mixing high and low art, but most of all to slang and colloquialisms in many different languages, so much so, that the ending of the book features a glossary and idioms to understand them. Moele also uses forms of intercrossing, chiasmus, repetition, and reversal. The language used is blunt; it sometimes fades out, falls off.

The novel at times seems quite phallocentric, full of male power, authority and their right to possession. However, *Room 207* provides a space in which the seriousness of claims is ironized, satirized, parodied, or otherwise put into question. It features a lot of jokes that are sexist, 'dirty', violent, racist, but transgress social taboos and momentarily lift repression. By using them, Moele unsettles assumptions about what is serious and what is not.

S'busiso, commonly known as 'Zulu-boy', is one of the six tenants of room 207 in Hillbrow. To him Zulus are 'the supreme race' and everybody else is subhuman or 'lamaPedi' as he called it (65). Another tenant, Matome, states "I love myself and I am proud of myself, proud of my blackness". But a third tenant, Molamo, refutes that it is a hateful love, "a blind self-pride and artificial black proudness" (Moele 89). He takes up the example of Hillbrow and how beautiful and clean it was before the black people moved in and made it the rotting place it is today. When Matome objects that this has more to do with the economics of living than black pride or black love, Molamo's words are backed by Zulu-boy who points out that black people are not happy people because they hate their own blackness and have no self-respect as people or as a nation.

In his book *A Man of Good Hope* author Jonny Steinberg, a professor of African Studies at the University of Oxford, describes the life story of Mogadishu born Asad Abdullahi who comes to South Africa, after years of struggling in other African countries, to make his fortune. It would be diminishing to describe *A Man of Good Hope* simply as a biography. It is a multi-layered story

told by a singular, unique, and exemplary real-life character. As it offers a chronological biographical description of the life of Asad Abdullahi written down in a series of interviews by the author, Jonny Steinberg, this teleological progression of the narrative is occasionally interrupted by Steinberg's own comments and opinions.

In the first half of the story which follows Asad as a war fugitive from his homeland Somalia to South Africa, Steinberg adds to the story only when he thinks additional information is needed for the story to be understood by the reader. However, in the second part of his journey when Asad arrives to and starts having issues in South Africa, Steinberg's home country, the author includes more and more of his own opinions. Thus, when the same events were lived by both Asad and Steinberg, the ladder exercises his narrative power by moving backward in time and give his own perspective.

There is an interplay between a first person narrator; Steinberg providing his own opinions, and a third person narrator; Steinberg simply rewriting what Asad tells him without additional comments of his own. However, readers are left wondering if we are really getting the story of Asad's life, or are we only getting a version of the life of Asad as told by Jonny Steinberg as he has all the power of what to highlight and what to hide in the story. Especially in the chapters describing the xenophobic attacks in Cape Town in 2008, Steinberg proves to be quite an unreliable and at times even intrusive narrator providing an anti-narrative to the one Asad is telling him. This is furthered by the uncanny relationship between Asad and Steinberg, as even though Steinberg is perceived as an omniscient narrator, he can describe his main character's outside appearance and inner thoughts and feelings only to the point that Asad lets him. Everything else are Steinberg's assumptions and personal conclusions occasionally even describing Asad as an anti-hero.

Steinberg offers explanations of how the story is structured and told through the deployment of peritexts, like the preface at the beginning, and the section called 'Further Reading' at the end, but also with how he structures parts of the book to resemble Asad's journey from Somalia to South Africa and onwards. He further relies on the emphatic effects of intertextuality by including official maps, his own drawings, by using historical and UNHCR's statistical facts, or by strategically placing quotations and references.

Furthermore, Steinberg, as the narrator, uses a number of anachronisms like flashbacks, prolepses, or Asad's dream sequences, to slow down and dive into specifics or to speed up the storytelling process when he thinks events can be skipped. Steinberg also uses a series of digressions, mostly by providing his own point of view, but also in order to create suspense in storytelling. He balances digression with progression playing with the reader's enjoyment involved with delaying a denouement.

The narrative ends in a sort of aporia, an impassable moment or hermeneutic abyss, both because the biographical text stops at a specific moment in time which is not the present, but also because the reader is left with a sense that Asad being in Texas is not where he fully wants to end up or even where he will finally end up in his life. Steinberg leaves the final decision on which account is right to the reader, challenges the reader to be just, and purposefully mirroring his own and Asad's thought processes. The end of the text is equivocal, future-oriented as well as liminal and uncertain presenting a threshold which we as readers can never go beyond despite knowing that Asad's story, hopefully, continues.

Asad's story is the story of many migrants and their story of fighting crime, xenophobia, of fighting to stay alive. He comes to South Africa because he believes it is the best place in Africa, but after spending some time in the country all he wants to do is leave. When he first arrives to South Africa Asad believes the streets of Johannesburg are paved with gold, but after his uncle, in his own shop, and his friend, in a rural shop they opened together with Asad, are shot dead, he ends up in Blikkiesdorp otherwise known as Tin Can Town, a TRA – 'temporary relocation area' built prior to the 2010 World Cup in football on the outskirts of Cape Town. It is in Tin Can Town that Asad tells his story to Steinberg in weekly sessions.

Asad experienced the May 2008 xenophobic attacks firsthand in the township of Khayelitsha, home to about a million people twenty-five kilometers outside of Cape Town when he lost all he had and another of his friends - along with many others - was killed. He admits that prior to coming to South Africa he had never heard of Somalis being killed in townships, only of the money they made down south. He also reveals that he only heard stories of Apartheid and how whites did not like blacks.

When he finally arrived in the country he saw that the whites were educated and had power so he was keen on making white friends, he just did not know where to meet them. He meets an old Xhosa man who shows him where the whites live, and after Asad tells him he wants to go and live there "the old man laughed at Asad's foolishness. 'Black people cannot live there', he replied. 'You cannot be a part of what is there'" (Steinberg 191). Asad was mostly astonished by the fact that he was just called black, "I am not black […] I have my own culture", to which the old man laughingly replied "when you are in South Africa […] you are black" (Steinberg 191).

Asad was beaten and nearly killed several times in South Africa and after seeing all the violence, Somalis and other Africans being robbed, tortured, and killed, had to endure, he simply hates all black South Africans. Admitting that he does not know what exactly has been going on in South Africa the last few centuries, he sees that someone has turned South Africans into "submissive, treacherous slave-beings, beings without self-worth, without honor" (Steinberg 252).

In *Room 207,* Molamo echoes this notion when he declares "I was born black. There is no punishment more painful than being born black […] We have been, as black people, suffering for as long as there has been history. Everything bad happens to black people and even if I was a billionaire, living the life of a king, with slaves and servants, there would always be something which would remind me that I'm black and I don't belong" (Moele 143-144). He even accuses his friends of becoming white and points a finger towards Nelson Mandela. For him Mandela was caught in a web of lies and imposed pride, "made by some international chequebook politicians in the name of democracy, which was just a good way to keep the masses forever suffering […] He was the first president, and he led this nation into a world of lies" (Moele 144).

For Molamo, Mandela betrayed the black people, betrayed the whole nation for money and for all the honors he received from white institutions across the globe: "There's no way that you can sit at a table and smile, laugh and eat with the people that didn't see you as human a moment ago, and oppressed you, and then, seeing their back teeth, think that they suddenly see you as human" (Moele 145).

When the tenants of room 207 didn't pay the rent, the 'slaves' of the landlords always reminded them of it. These 'slaves' were all black foreigners. However, the lack of mutual black

respect between Africans is evident. A member of the 207 clan, D'nice, points a finger at the AIDS epidemic and all the other troubles the continent endures: "Africa is first on the list of the infected, first on the list of famine, first with mass murders and crime […] We have come to expect it, come to accept it" (Moele 94-95). He concludes: "You can't blame it on politics, Apartheid or economics. It is the people themselves, they don't have self-love, self-respect, and that turns into anger and hate" (Moele 95).

4.4. FOREIGNER, THIS HAS HAPPENED BEFORE

South Africa's case is not the first of its kind in Africa. Highlighting one of them, Cote d'Ivoirean poet, writer, professor and Head of French and Francophone Studies Department at the University of the Witwatersrand, Véronique Tadjo, offers South Africa council based on the experience of her homeland Côte d'Ivoire (Ivory Coast). South Africa is twice as big as this former French colony that has around 24 million inhabitants. At one time the world's largest producer of cocoa the country was the richest in the West Africa region and thus attracted millions of migrants from neighboring countries like Mali, Ghana, Guinea, and Burkina Faso to work on the cocoa and coffee plantations.

By the 1990's the economic growth stopped and in 1993 Felix Houphouët-Boigny, who was in power for over thirty years, died. This resulted in a "huge public debt, unemployment, poverty, widening inequalities between social classes and land scarcity, coupled with financial scandals […] social unrest and a mounting resentment against 'foreigners'. It was then that Henri Konan Bédié, Houphouët's successor as president, introduced the concept of *Ivorité*, or Ivorianness" (Tadjo 226). In a wish to strengthen the Baoule ethnic identity the ones who were considered non-native were disenfranchised.

The word *Ivorité* originally signified a common cultural identity of all those living in Côte d'Ivoire including foreigners, that constitute almost a third of the country. However, for the purposes of politics the meaning of the word changed to include only the population from the south and east, and exclude the predominantly Muslim north of the country, as well as poor immigrant workers from Mali and Burkina Faso. In order to disqualify northern presidential candidate

Alassane Ouattara for the 1995 and the 2000 elections, a law was drafted requiring both parents of a presidential candidate to be born within Côte d'Ivoire.

The concept of *Ivorité:* "Implicitly asks the question: who is Ivorian and who is not? In other words, who are the true Ivorians? This provided a way of defining and securing one's national legitimacy through the stigmatization of 'foreigners'. It became the basis for affirming the right of the self to belong to the nation while alienating and excluding others" (Tadjo 227). This concept influenced political and cultural practices that led to a civil war in 2002 between the southern and the more Muslim northern regions of Côte d'Ivoire causing a divide that has not been healed to this day.

Ivorité has undermined national unity, cost hundreds of lives, displaced thousands of people, excluded foreigners from entering politics, caused confusion regarding residence permits and further weakened the economy of the country (Tadjo 231). Tadjo explains that for Côte d'Ivoire excluding foreigners was a way of preserving political power for a selected few, but has significantly slowed down the national reunification process. Véronique Tadjo does not shy away from saying that Africans themselves are largely to be blamed for the situation they are in. Despite living side by side they are divided by borders, currencies, Anglophone/Francophone/Lusophone language groups, making themselves feel like they are living surrounded by strangers.

4.5. FOREIGNER, WHY ARE YOU HERE?

This subchapter tries to illuminate a few of the life-stories that bring Africans from all over the continent to the land on its most southern part. Writer Zukiswa Wanner was born in 1976 in Lusaka, Zambia. Her father comes from South Africa and her mother from Zimbabwe. She studied journalism at the Hawaii Pacific University in Honolulu. She now lives in Kenya where she set up her own publishing company and is a prolific journalist, essayist, and author of both fiction and non-fiction books.

In 2008, while she was at the Franschhoek Literary Festival in the Western Cape she first heard about the negrophobic attacks starting in Johannesburg and later spread to many of South

Africa's cities and towns, leaving many dead, displaced or insecure. It is there "that the character of Tinaye Musonza was conceived" and later became the central character of her novel *Men of the South* (Wanner 219). Wanner thinks of this book as a love story to Johannesburg and to its people "both microcosm's of what is right and wrong with our world" (219).

Men of the South follows the story of three men and one woman living in contemporary Johannesburg. The novel is divided into three parts and each of them is narrated by one of the men. In a way, each part of the book can function as a story on its own. In the first part, the narrator is Mfundo. He describes his childhood, his unsuccessful career as a musician, and his relationship with Slindile. The second part is told from the perspective of a Zulu man Mzilikazi who is best friends with Mfundo and is coming to terms with his homosexuality. The last part is narrated by Tinaye from Zimbabwe. He meets Mzilikazi at work and later falls in love and begins a relationship with Sli. The reader thus gets three different perspectives about Sli and how the stories of these three men intertwine.

Even though there are some anachronisms in the shape of flashbacks to childhood the story is told chronologically. Sometimes when a very important event occurs we get the same story told from different perspectives and see how different characters understand the events and also react to them differently. All three narrators are subjective and include only their point of view. However, on the discourse level, the narrative power is used to tackle some of the graves issues of South African society like xenophobia, homophobia, domestic violence, and unemployment.

The text takes on the responsibility to expose, question, and transform. The narrative also focuses on personal relationships and the nuances that can break them forever. The novel opens with a quotation from Don Matera about being unloved among one's own in one's own land which is retyped as an opener of this thesis as well. The quote is repeated inside the novel again at quite a pivotal epiphany moment; the only moment in the novel when the three men meet. Throughout the text, there are a lot of quotations and references to other cultural works as well as to political personalities and situations across Africa counting on the emphatic effects of intertextuality. Even though the distinction between narrator and author is very clear, Wanner's Pan-Africanist ideas are a very prominent feature of the novel.

The characters are meant to be 'lifelike' mimicking all the complexities, tensions, and contradictions that come within one person. Wanner builds a fine and intricate web of characters also in terms of the social, political, moral, and religious opinions. The novel is an open text where suspense is never closed off. It is light-toned and uses laughter to both liberate and mystify.

Tinaye is a Zimbabwean who comes from a well standing family in Harare where he was sent to the best private schools and later even went to Oxford to study on a scholarship. However, with the change of the system in his homeland he now needs to seek employment in economically more stable South Africa to help support his family back home. He works at a non-governmental organization, but his boss, a former member of the Special Branch, always reminds him of his Zimbabwean roots: "The way I hear it, half of your country, qualified or not, is in this country because your damned leaders thought they could run the country without white capital. A banana republic is what your country and most of your African countries have become, and the monkeys that are your politicians have been siphoning off money into offshore accounts for years" (Wanner 165).

Tinaye observes how his boss sometimes oversteps the boundaries of what is politically correct since he often seems to forget that South Africa *is* an African country as well. Similarly, in the same novel, while watching the news about same-sex marriages being permitted in South Africa, Mzi, who is a 'closeted' gay Zulu man, hears his father complain that the country is being polluted by Eurocentric ideas and that his human rights are being infringed by such un-African ideas even though Mzi knows how his father looks down upon other Africans.

Njabulo Simakahle Ndebele was born in 1984 in Johannesburg, South Africa. He was awarded a BA and MA in English Literature from Cambridge University, and a PhD in Creative Writing by the University of Denver. He is an academic and writer of fiction, and has previously worked at the University of Cape Town, at the University of the Witwatersrand, as Head of the English Department at the National University of Lesotho, and as the Chancellor of the University of Johannesburg.

In Ndebele's novel *The Cry of Winnie Mandela*, Lejone Mofolo from Lesotho, waits for her husband to return from working in the mines of Gauteng but he never returns. Her children

have gone to South Africa as well. She admits that South Africa has swallowed them up as it swallowed their father. They will not return, nor will the children of other mothers who now do not go to the Rainbow Nation in search of greener pastures as miners, "but as bankers, civil servants, chief executive officers, lawyers, doctors, and professors" (83).

Patricia Schonstein Pinnock's *Skyline* describes how most of the people living in the Cape Town residence named Skyline are illegal immigrants and refugees from the rest of Africa. She describes how the building is overcrowded and everyone sleeps where they can. From people with chopped-off hands from Sierra Leone to Princess who came from Rwanda: "All come here looking for a new life. *This is Mr. Mandela's country*, they say, *so everything must be good*" (Schonstein Pinnock 8). Princess came after her family and all her children were killed and now rents sleeping places to newly arrived refugees who have no money, no other place to stay, sometimes even no words to describe the horrors they have seen.

Schonstein Pinnock writes: "There is dust in these people: red dust and brown dust and dust from shriveled riverbeds. They carry dust from the scorched fields of war. Some are powdered with coal dust and asbestos dust or dust from the old copper mines. There are those covered with the ponderings of bones left to the wind after mass killings. Others are dulled by the dusts of the Slim people who have wasted away" (8). Coming to a new country, one is still always a fugitive. A fugitive from war is a broken person, arriving with nothing except for what he wears and what he can carry. He or she also carry what is on the inside, all the horrors experienced and seen. 'Liberty' came after the second Chimurenga War between African nationalist guerrillas and the government in Rhodesia, and writes poetry about her mother shielding her baby brother while they were both being burned alive and does memory-of-war dances in order to cope.

The protagonist describes a meeting between Liberty and a saxophone player who had never heard Liberty's poems "but he played the same way her poem cried out its tale and I could tell he had also fought the war in Zimbabwe. I could tell he had been in the mountains and fired across the valleys. And that he had carried dead comrades across the river and buried them under the moonlight. All this I knew just from his saxophone and the way it wove around Liberty's voice" (Schonstein Pinnock 112).

Bernard comes to Cape Town from Mozambique where he used to work at a villa for Portuguese masters carrying water from the reservoir, helping the cook and the houseboy. After the war started the body of his master was mutilated, hacked to pieces and thrown to his own dogs, while after being raped several times the body of his 'Senhora' was nailed to the door of a shed and shot through and through so all that was left from her was muck. Bernard's wife and children also fled and he never saw them again. So he went on to find a better life for himself.

He walked through Kruger Park, through the fence. Fleeing war, hungry, with swollen, cracked, and bleeding feet, he could not find employment in South Africa until he finally came to Cape Town: "He is here illegally […] he bought a passport from someone who works at Home Affairs and one of the Nigerians on the top floor sold him an ID. Both have legitimate numbers and Bernard's photos. The passport says he was born in Cofimvaba, though he was really born near Villa de Manica in Mozambique and his name was once Bernardino" (Schonstein Pinnock). Even though the war is over, he will never return to Mozambique since he has no home to go back to and has no idea if any member of his family still lives or not.

People all over Africa came to South Africa because back home "there is only sand for us there. We are leaving now; we are going to Nelson Mandela's country far away to the south, even farther than our home which is the most southern place we know" (Schonstein Pinnock 14). For these people Nelson Mandela is an almighty new 'King of Africa' as "he will call the rebels to return your father. They will free him laughing and radiant, not blinded and stumbling. They will free him with his teeth still in his mouth and his limbs strong. He will not return broken, oh no […] this is what the King Mandela will do for us" (Schonstein Pinnock 14).

Aher Arop Bol was born in 1983 in a Dinka village in the Bahr el Ghazal region of the Sudan. At the age of four, the Sudanese civil war separated him from his parents and he grew up in different African countries staying in refugee camps. Now he lives in Pretoria and runs a spaza shop which enables him to pay his fees for attending the University of South Africa where he is studying Law and maintains his two brothers at a boarding school in Uganda.

The Lost Boy is an autobiography set in the early nineteen-nineties of the previous century and follows Aher's journey as an unaccompanied minor through Ethiopia, Kenya, Tanzania,

Malawi, Mozambique, and Zimbabwe to South Africa, and then back again to Sudan. As an omniscient first-person narrator, Bol tells his life story in temporal and causal order. He presents his childhood as a time period of equilibrium that was cut short by the civil war in Sudan. The reader routes for Aher to make his way down the continent to South Africa safely. The hermeneutic discovery at the end, when he returns to southern Sudan and finds his family alive and well, finally offers the satisfaction of epistemophilia. Bol's autobiographical narration coherently and chronologically builds until the end of the story where all is resolved and the state of is equilibrium restored.

Bol tells the story as it happened in two parts. The first part describes his journey towards South Africa with each chapter highlighting a section of his path. The second part highlights his homecoming as he is reunited with his family once again focusing on the aestheticism, beauty, and power of that moment of unity. The narrative power he has, is used as a strategy of giving his underage self, fragile and powerless, an authority to tell his version of events both critically and self-reflectively. Bol uses a prologue to set the scene for his autobiography, explaining why and for whom he is writing down his story. He also provides the reader with an epilogue that completes and adds to the story about what he is doing now after he has found his home again, and what he has planned for the future. In the end, all the readers' desires come; we get a resolution, explanations, resolved suspense, and the triumph of good.

There is a strong feeling of identification between the reader and character, or in this case, between the reader and the author, which shows Bol's ability to connect with other minds. We identify, sympathize, and empathize with little Aher as we imaginatively inhabit his position. As Bol plays with the responses of reading his autobiography, the reader is drawn into his world re-living the dangerous situations with him, experiencing fear, complexity, tensions, and contradictions, the losing of oneself, losing a sense of who we are, reducing us to nothing while pretension of mastering or superiority is collapsing and dissolving around us.

We also experience his joy with an intricate interplay of the inner and outer. He makes us question our own humanity knowing that all this really happened to a four-year-old boy. Within the story, there are buried narratives of victimization, sacrifice, and atonement. It may appear that Aher's story is singular and unique, but throughout the story, Bol approaches the reader with a

reminder, that his experience is not singular, that there are many children who have endured the same atrocities, and keeps referencing the ones he met, connected with, or lost along the way.

The author constructs himself as a character and the historical context is an integral part of the text as the 'I' or 'me' in the story is always subjected to forces and effects both outside himself and within himself. Nonetheless, Bol never passes the personal 'point of view' and never engages critically in the political or cultural sense. However, he does include some intertextual references, especially in the end when he includes a Sudanese tale of four animals – a lion, a hyena, a snake, and a cheetah, and how their decision to introduce rules and laws to their community disrupts their peaceful harmony and makes it impossible for them to ever live in peace together again alluding to the never-ending conflict in Sudan. His writing functions more as a letter addressed privately to each of us as a little narrative within the grand turbulence the African continent is facing.

Aher makes South Africa his desired final destination because he knows he can only prosper if he gets the proper education and South Africa is "where the good schools are" (Bol 81). However, when he arrives and is rendered as unwanted by the South Africans he meets because he is from a 'God forsaken country', Aher speaks back to them saying: "I know, but this *is* Africa, and not long ago you were fighting a war like my country is doing now […] My problems *are* your problems" (Bol 147; emphasis added).

4.6. FOREIGNER, YOU HAVE CROSSED THE (BORDER)LINE

Many South Africans feel that the 'foreigner' problem starts at the border. There is a general opinion that the land borders are too porous, not properly policed, controlled and monitored, and that border posts are managed by corrupt officials letting everybody in for a proper price (Coplan 119). Indeed, David Coplan goes as far as saying that "South African identity is for sale. There is no document, no permit, no identity, no official status that one cannot obtain for the right amount of money" (120).

The borders are run almost as a business, where one can negotiate entry no matter what one's situation is. Many immigration officials are poorly educated; some even cannot read. For the

officials and the police patrolling the borderlines who get paid very little, the money they receive as bribe to let people into the country, is a welcomed addition to their salary. Therefore, they see no reason for things to change soon.

For effective control of corruption and reduction of smuggling, the border infrastructure needs upgrading; technology, record keeping and data management updating, and education and training for staff needs to be provided. All of this would cost millions of Rands which South Africa does not have (Coplan 129). Even if entry is refused to some 'illegal aliens', they will return as they and their families back home need to find a livelihood, and South Africa still provides their best chance.

Looking elsewhere, in the United States of America, governments have continuously tried to tighten the immigration regime and have introduced more severe border controls. However, according to Clarence Tam, of the Department of Epidemiology and Population Health at the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine, this has not helped in lowering the numbers as fear of being separated from family members that are already in the United States has made seasonal immigrants decide to stay for a longer period.

What the border between South Africa and the rest of Africa, the border between the US and Mexico, and the large-scale European Union (EU) border have in common, is waiting for the arrival of the feared and sometimes imagined illegal immigrant. This illegal immigrant "is constructed through a complex and highly politicized evaluating of human motility understood as threatening potential mobility" (Høyer Leivestad 145).

Damon Galgut's *The Good Doctor*, introduced in section 3.2.2., is set in a small hospital on the South African border. There they get many cases of young men in their twenties who come in the country illegally, have walked great distances without money or food, and are admitted to the hospital because they are badly sunburned and dehydrated with raw feet. After these men are treated, they mysteriously disappear in the night in fear of being sent back to where they came from. The little town's apparent equilibrium comes to an end when soldiers arrive "to plug up this stretch of the border, which was notoriously porous. Not just people, but all kinds of other illegal

and dangerous goods were going back and forth: arms and ammunition, drugs, poached ivory" (Galgut 83).

Two novels describe the border crossing at Beitbridge over the Limpopo River between Zimbabwe and South Africa. It is the busiest border post in the Southern Africa region. In *The Lost Boy,* Aher has no official documents but only the Sudan People's Liberation Army SPLA card, so he decides to cross the border illegally in the night. As Aher is a minor, and prior to becoming a refugee had never left his homeland, he only discovers that he needs a passport to travel on the border between Tanzania and Malawi. There he realizes that he is not free to move. Rather, that his movements are controlled by various actors, states in particular, and that this control culminates in the passport and visa system (Korpela 120). He realizes that "this system is an institutional infrastructure that every transnationally mobile person must deal with, in one way or another, either conforming to the rules and obtaining the necessary documents or finding ways to bypass the system altogether" (Korpela 120).

When he arrives to Beitbridge town on the Zimbabwean side of the border, he finds many 'escorts' who promise to take him to South Africa if he pays them. They do warn him that it is very risky, but at this point Aher is not afraid of death anymore: "I had seen too many dead bodies; dying, to me, was just something people did" (Bol 84). He pays seven thousand Zimbabwean dollars to cross the border. In the night a group of them, guided by the smugglers, sets out to walk by the river until they find a spot where they can cross it with ease.

After walking for another hour, they reach the fence around South Africa's northernmost town, Musina. They are almost caught by a police patrol, but when the danger passes they start digging a tunnel under the fence with their bare hands. After making it through the first fence they have to crawl through another set of wires to get to the main road. There they are attacked by gang members, who accuse them of being illegals, and only let them go after they pay them a bribe. In the end, Aher is caught by the police, but after explaining that he is from South Sudan and showing them his SPLA card, they mark him as an asylum seeker and let him go. Years later, after he has established himself, it gives Aher great pleasure to cross the border with official documents.

In *A Man of Good Hope,* as described in section 4.3., Asad gives his own story of how he made it across the border. For sixty American dollars, he is driven from Harare to Beitbridge town with six other Somalis in a truck where there is barely room for three. Steinberg writes of Beitbridge: "Tens upon tens of thousands of people cross there each year. The border economy has shaped itself around these transients. Almost everyone there who is not an undocumented traveler earns a living by servicing the needs, both real and fictitious, of people on the move" (164).

Asad and his companions cross the bridge and take a taxi to a nomadic village in the middle of the bush. There they are tricked and are taken back to the river by another taxi, driven by a sixteen-year old boy, whom they have to pay another twenty-five dollars. The boy takes them to the fence, with signs on it that it is electrified. Even though there is a hole in the fence and many footprints around it, their young guide lifts the fence and makes them crawl under it.

They are instructed: "Don't sneeze. Don't cough. Don't blink!" (Steinberg 166). After crawling under the fence they hear two cars approaching, a police car and an immigration police car, so they lie low and try to follow the silent instructions. They are lucky, as the cars pass by, and they are able to get to their pickup point to catch a ride to Musina. Afterwards, they pay two men to take them to Johannesburg.

Such stories show that South Africa seemingly has neither the will or the resources to put an end to undocumented immigration or put 'border entrepreneurs' out of a job. Nevertheless, Coplan believes South Africans need to "open our doors - in a properly documented but responsible fashion - to those immigrants that we have every reason and responsibility to welcome" (131).

In Zukiswa Wanner's *Men of the South,* Slindile, Tinaye's South African girlfriend, complains about the country's immigration system and wonders why in South Africa so many schools and hospitals are in need of teachers and nurses, when so many qualified people coming from neighboring countries could fill the shortages. She wonders why European engineer consultants are called in, at taxpayers' expense and for ridiculously high rates, every time a machine breaks down, but qualified engineers from Cameroon run internet cafés. Slindile suggests the problem starts, and should start being resolved, at the border, as she would "ensure that at point of entrance, all Africans highlight their skills and qualifications, and then we place that information

in a national database, and then if they go to Home Affairs to seek asylum or whatever, we find a way of utilizing them" (Wanner 193).

Returning to the previously mentioned Ivorian example, Véronique Tadjo highlights how the defenders of the *Ivorité* concept fought against accusations that it was xenophobic claiming it is merely a "system whose very coherence requires a closing up […] the closure and control of our borders: to be vigilant about the integrity of one's territory is not xenophobia" (234). In Côte d'Ivoire reviving old colonial classifications and dichotomies in order to mobilize a specific section of society was encouraged as "identifying oneself naturally presupposes the differentiation of the 'other' […] this demarcation implies, whether you like it or not, discrimination. You can't be at the same time yourself and the 'other'" (Tadjo 234). However, it should not remain unnoticed that political leaders exclude foreigners and poor citizens alike if it goes to their electoral or economical advantage. As Tadjo points out: "The probability of xenophobia taking on other modes of expression at a time of tense political competition should not be underestimated" (237).

Nowadays political identity comes with borders. The idea of the nation-state as a well-defined entity demands the protection of its borders. Thus, the perceived threat of invasion by foreigners leads to "the use of repression both within the boundaries of the national community and against those identified as outsiders. At the grass-roots level, xenophobia can be fueled by opportunism and the desire to get quick material gains from driving away foreigners" (Tadjo 237).

The sense of nationality has, ironically, been accreted around territorial boundaries drawn by colonialists (Glaser 58). Daryl Glaser, an Associate Professor of Politics at the University of the Witwatersrand, speaks of South African duties of justice in terms of not harming others, both, in an African context, as gratitude for help during the anti-Apartheid struggle or contributions to, for example, the mining industry; and in a humanitarian context, to make a life of a fellow human being better not worse (62).

The border between the EU and Africa, Between the USA and Mexico, Israel and Palestine, and now between South Africa and the rest of Africa; these are the 'big' borders of our time. This chapter has talked about the many manifestations of the border and/or its crossing. The border all black Africans coming into South Africa have to cross can be topographical, epistemological,

symbolic, temporal, or all of them. According to Johan Schimanski, even after the border is crossed the notion of 'taking the border with you', inside your head, remains. Every border crossing is a 'mini' narrative, a 'micro-border', engraved in the grand narrative. Borders and borderscapes are figurations of folding and overlapping, zones of splitting, disorientation, ambiguity, liminality, a place of code-switching, heteroglossia, polyphony, fragmentation.

No duties terminate at the border, or at the border of a citizens' body, since "the best argument against xenophobia is not the precarious one that 'foreigners' benefit our society, but the cosmopolitan one that they are human beings too" (Glaser 63). Glaser also critically adds that since a policy of completely open borders is unlikely, some degree of coercive border regulation is unavoidable, "but whatever needs to be done to balance our universal duties of justice and humanity with our special obligations to compatriots (including poor compatriots), there can be no place in the correct formula – and there must be zero tolerance – for the kind of violence that has recently bloodied our streets and settlements" (Glaser 63).

5. FOREIGNER, GO HOME OR DIE HERE

"To the white South Africans who sat on the board of AfriAID,
I was probably filling the quota of the black head-count.
To black South Africans I was one of the "kwerekweres",
because I allegedly took the job of one of their brothers.
I would think, without saying it loud:
Am I not a brother too?".

- *Tinaye, Zimbabwean* (in *Men of the South* on pages 167-168).

This chapter lets the novels do the talking. It tackles the four main reproaches black African foreigners are faced with in South Africa about bringing violence and diseases to the country as well as stealing their jobs and women. There are obviously more, but the selected four are the ones that can be heard most across the land and were the ones people were pointing out during the 2008, 2015, 2019, as well as during many other, xenophobic attacks.

The novels sometimes do not take sides. Sometimes they just present the problem and leave it to the reader to decide what is wrong or right. Some authors chose a different path, like Phaswane Mpe, whose technique has been described as 'healing with words'. What is important is the conversation, the exchange of opinions, exchange of knowledge, exchange of experiences, opinions, solutions put down on paper and suggestions for a different, better future. The 'literature with a purpose' to clash, transform, and change opinions.

5.1. FOREIGNER, YOU BRING VIOLENCE

In previous chapters a lot of theories tried to explain why South African society is so inclined to use violence as a means of resolving life issues. This subchapter looks at violence through selected works of fiction in three ways. The first one is through the 2008 xenophobic attacks against black African foreigners and through the eyes of Asad Abdullahi, a Somalian who experienced the attacks firsthand and talks about them to Jonny Steinberg in *A Man of Good Hope*. The second way of understanding the violence is looking back at the events before and immediately after the 1994 'liberation' from the Apartheid regime as told in Zakes Mda's *Ways of Dying*. The final explanation offered is through the works of Phaswane Mpe, Niq Mhlongo and Kgebetli Moele who in the light of the post-1994 rebuilding process highlight that violence always was and probably will be a part of black (South)Africans' life no matter which country they were born in.

South African statistics on crime are not good. The latest data available by the South African Police Force Services measured in a period of one year from 2018 until 2019 show that in that year alone there were over 21.000 murders (reported, the actual number might be considerably higher), which amounts to 58 murders every single day of the year (Factsheet: South Africa's crime statistics ch.1). The murder rate has increased for thirty-five percent. There were also over 52.000 sexual offences reported (Factsheet: South Africa's crime statistics ch.1). Every single day there were over 460 assaults, around 380 robberies, and over 60 houses and 40 cars were hijacked (Factsheet: South Africa's crime statistics ch.1).

João Silva, one of the legendary 'Bang Bang Club' photographers who documented the townships in the 1990's in the fight against Apartheid said that seeing the 2008 xenophobic attacks erupt in the townships is like a déjà vu (Eliseev 33). He described bodies lying on the roads, with swollen skin broken from beatings, dragged out of the hostels, and dumped like bags of trash (Eliseev 36). How South African men in their seventies were attacked and some even murdered, how neighbors attacked other neighbors, proving no one knows who is a friend or foe anymore.

In *A Man of Good Hope*, Asad tells Steinberg that he sees South Africans as waiting for somebody to save them. In the new democracy they have voted for they now just sit and wait

because somebody must come and help them. He admits that Somalis look down on them, because they have had a hard life but nobody helped them: "Either we fought or we died" (Steinberg 220). That is why Somalis think of black South Africans as teenagers sitting helplessly in their poverty or like children crawling on the floor, not knowing what to do with their new democracy and when things don't go their way they become aggressive.

When Asad first arrives to South Africa he searches for any family connections he has in the country and is welcomed by his uncle Abdicuur in Port Elizabeth. However, only a few months into his stay there, uncle Abdicuur is killed in his own shop. Five men walk into his store and demand money. When Abdicuur refuses they open fire and Abdicuur is shot nine times. Abdicuur's organs are taken from his body to be used in the hospital. That causes an uproar in his family since this is against Islam to do this to a body and nobody has asked for permission to do so.

Asad feels that because they are Somalis and defenseless in this country, nobody bothered to ask them but probably only thought: "These people do not have anybody to stand up for them. They do not know their rights" (Steinberg 198). He writes to newspapers and radio stations to talk about the terrors inflicted upon Somalis in South Africa, and the surgical work performed on the corpse of his uncle without permission, but no one seems interested in what he has to say (Steinberg 197). Thus the Somalis decide to move away. Asad's uncle was killed in April 2004 and by July of that year no AliYusuf, the Somalian family Asad belongs to, was left in the Port Elizabeth area.

Asad decides to move with his pregnant wife Foosiya to Sterkstroom, a settlement in the Eastern Cape where he opens a shop with his Somali friend Kaafi. However, Kaafi faces the same fate as Abdicuur as he is stabbed several times in the shop by a few of the regular customers and dies. After that, Foosiya gives birth to their son Khalid but she refuses to stay in South Africa saying to Asad: "If we stay, they will kill you" (Steinberg 230). Asad pleads with her saying that not all South Africa is unsafe and that there are parts of it that are safe and lucrative. But Foosiya refuses to run for safety from one dangerous place to another: "The people do not want us here, Asad. One day, the country will decide that it has had enough of us. And then there will be no safe place. Wherever we go, the people will want to kill us" (Steinberg 231). She leaves the country with their son and goes back to Somalia. Asad never sees her again.

Left alone, Asad moves yet again, this time to Cape Town because he hears it is run by white people. Therefore, he thinks that it is safe. But when the city rejects him, he ends up in the township of Khayelitsha where he opens another shop. Here he realizes that Foosiya was right about black South Africans: "If one is your friend, they are all your friend. If one is your enemy, they are all your enemy" (Steinberg 253).

One day, when he is unloading new stock from a truck, two young black men stop next to him and offer to help in turn for payment. When he refuses, one of the two pulls out a gun from his waistband and shoots in the direction of Asad two times but misses him. After hearing the gunshot, a nearby taxi driver yells at the group wondering why are they shooting in a public road, and the two young guys just walk away as if nothing special has occurred.

That night, Asad lies in his bed and thinks about how he could have been killed if one of the bullets would reach the intended target. And he knows by now that the boys would still just walk away. Maybe they would have been arrested, but as he knew that no witness would come forward they would not have been in jail for long and the case would die: "So you lie in bed and you think: This is crazy; I can't live like this. But the next morning you open your shop and everything is normal and the money is coming in. You forget" (Steinberg 259).

It is in the township of Khayelitsha that Asad experiences the xenophobic attacks of May 2008. First there were only rumors of the violence in Alexandra. Asad hears of them from a drunk man buying a cigarette in his shop telling him: "They are slaughtering them, Somali. There is *makwerekwere* blood flowing on the streets" (Steinberg 260). Asad watches the news that night and sees how several thousand people start chasing foreigners from their homes, how shacks are looted and burned to the ground. Something Asad was pushing away ever since his uncle Abdicuur was murdered awakes and a deep fear invades his dreams.

The whole Somali community watches the news in awe and fear as the violence spreads. They observe as a Mozambican man burns alive as the xenophobia rages on from Alexandra to Johannesburg, then to Durban, then to somewhere in Mpumalanga no one has even heard of before. They take out their maps of South Africa and draw X's on places the violence has already reached. They watch as the Premier of the Western Cape promises on television this will never happen here.

However, the very next day the police come to Asad's shop asking him to close it for his own safety. By the end of that day, the attacks start in Khayelitsha.

On the 23rd of May 2008 by eight o'clock in the evening a mob gathers in front of Asad's shop yelling: "*Makwere*, you are leaving" (Steinberg 262). They start throwing stones towards the shop and Asad calls the police that can only tell them that they are busy saving another Somali as this is happening everywhere. Asad calls his landlord and then the community representative, with whom he pleads for telling the mob to spare his life, but things are developing too fast.

The mob breaks down the door and Asad sees there are not only male grown-ups, but also female, and everyone from teenagers to toddlers, watching and participating in the 'show'. They start hitting him with their hands and sticks. One man comes with an iron pole and tries to hit Asad, but he manages to run away, despite stones being thrown at him while he is running. He finds a police car and they take him to Mitchells Plain police station and after to Mitchells Plain Town Centre were thousands of Somalis are staying.

When the attacks began and the victims took refuge at police stations, the police were caught in a dilemma as they were now ordered to protect the very same foreigners that they usually arrest: "Would their defense and protection of migrants be construed as a betrayal of the authentic community?" (Hassim, Kupe, Worby 22). The same happens to the African foreigners, that all of a sudden become refugees running for their lives and in need of protection seek it at the former 'enemy', the police. In the times of extreme crisis, they become unlikely allies.

In their report on the civil society's response to the May 2008 xenophobic violence in the Cape Town area, Jara K. Mazibuko and Sally Peberdy also take a look at how the Treatment Action Campaign (TAC), primarily a South African HIV/AIDS activist organization, responded to the xenophobia in the township of Khayelitsha. With 13 branches in the area, the Khayelitsha TAC is the biggest in the country. They normally distribute anti-xenophobia pamphlets, organize marches, and even have a radio show that includes both HIV/AIDS education and anti-xenophobia messages (Mazibuko, Peberdy 65).

During the attacks, several TAC members were assigned to every one of the seven temporary refuge halls, over 2000 people staying in each. In their main office in Khayelitsha, they would gather goods received from all over the country, like food, medicine or clothes and then coordinate their distribution between all the camps. As they always have a lot of medical staff on standby, those people offered to provide help in halls and worked non-stop in shifts. They started a cooperation with the taxi industry to drive around and patrol the halls "with loud speakers blaring the message that xenophobia would not be tolerated" (Mazibuko, Peberdy 65).

After arriving to Mitchells Plain area, safe for the Somalis, the Congolese, and the Ethiopians, as the only South Africans living there were Coloureds and the ones attacking African foreigners in Khayelitsha were the Xhosas, Asad finally feels safe. However, with safety comes anger, and some Somalis start shouting and yelling about retaliation, while others are calming them down. The next day they are taken to a safe place at a military base in Ottery called Youngsfield, but as it is raining the whole place is flooded and there are not enough tents.

The following day Asad is transferred to a refugee camp Soetwater near Kommetjie by the sea far away from any township. A week after the attacks Asad finally manages to return to Khayelitsha to see if anything is left of his shop, but only the cement floor remained, a burned-out nothingness: "He gasps when he takes it in. Around him is evidence of a will to obliterate him, to scorch and burn him until he no longer has a presence on this earth" (Steinberg 284).

With nothing left to go back to in Khayelitsha, Asad moves to another temporary refugee camp called Blue Waters, and then he is forcedly moved again to Blikkiesdorp, a settlement that has electricity, water, and sanitation, where he gets an 18-square-metre wooden and metal structure with a roof and windows (Steinberg 292). But even in that settlement, Asad is attacked, robbed, held at gunpoint, and even arrested by the police. He is again reminded of his wife Foosiya's words that there is no safe place for a Somali in South Africa and pleads with the UNHCR staff for a resettlement in the United States which he eventually gets and leaves South Africa for Texas for good.

In *Ways of Dying* Zakes Mda talks about the previously mentioned pre-1994 violence photographer João Silva alludes to. He writes about a massacre in the informal settlement Noria

lives in, which was carried out by some of the tribal chief's followers, the hostel migrants, and assisted by Battalion 77 of the armed forces of the government (168). In a single attack shacks are burned, women are raped, and as many as fifty-two people die, including children. Toloki is present at a community meeting after this bloody attack, where some of the leaders of the political movement discuss the problem of security. From time to time, the settlement has always been attacked by the hostel migrants, as well as by the soldiers from Battalion 77, who are especially recruited and trained in dirty tricks. This battalion is particularly vicious, and slaughters mercilessly because it is composed of foreign mercenaries (Mda 171).

In the novel, the white government is accused of killing its people while simultaneously negotiating with the black leaders to save their rule. 'The Young Tigers', the youth wing of the political movement similar to the ANC, hear about a rally to support the followers of the tribal chief at the big central stadium, and see this as the perfect opportunity to get vengeance for the massacre. They create a plan to ambush one of the buses headed to the stadium and kill all the passengers.

However, Vutha, Noria's 5-year-old son, is one day playing outside when he is approached by the migrants that give the hungry little boy food and sweets. In the process Vutha unknowingly gives out the information about the planned bus attack. When 'The Young Tigers' find out what happened they call the boy a sell-out and put a tyre filled with petrol around his neck. In line with the notion that 'violence gives birth to violence', a five-year-old boy is necklaced as a traitor. The point Mda is trying to make above all is that South Africa is a nation of internecine violence. It can be between the whites and the blacks, ethic-based between the Zulus and the Xhosas, or between the black underclass and the black bourgeoisie, to name just a few (Myambo 104). In *Welcome to Our Hillbrow*, the protagonist Refentse, a South African, is attacked several times. Once in Hyde Park, generally considered as a safe and serene area, where he luckily escapes a flying knife, and once in Parktown Village when a student car is hijacked.

Niq Mhlongo, born 1973, was raised in Soweto but went to school in the Limpopo Province. He has a degree in African Literature and Political Studies from the University of the Witwatersrand. He is also enrolled to study Law at the University of Cape Town. In his novel *Dog Eat Dog*, the protagonist Dingz is headed home to Orlando West from Chiawelo in Soweto in a

minibus-taxi, a ride that usually costs 1.5 Rand. Because Dingz does not have change he pays with a 20 Rand note, but gets no change back. When he confronts the driver about it, the driver gets really angry and orders all the other commuters out of the vehicle. Dingz is left alone with his capturer, but when the minibus stops for a minute he opens the doors, jumps out and runs for his life, eventually managing to escape. However, author Phaswane Mpe doesn't forget to tell the stories from other parts of Johannesburg. Stories about white people getting killed just because of the color of their skin. Their men get hanged and their women raped no matter what their current stance on politics or racial segregation is.

It is also important to point out that the violence against whites, or against white nationals from Europe and North America is seen differently. They are allowed to have names, personalities, differentiated characteristics, quirks, genders, histories and families, while the black attackers or the attacked remain faceless and nameless, their only marker being the color of their skin (Gqola).

After Refentse commits suicide in *Welcome to Our Hillbrow* and his funeral is being held, his mother trips and falls into his grave by accident. The villagers of Tiragalong take it as a sign that she is a witch and in order to protect the village necklace her and burn her hut. As can be seen in examples, burning people alive with tyres covered in petrol around their necks is a popular procedure, nowadays especially for use on *Makwerekwere* or at least for scaring and warning *Makwerekwere* what will happen to them or their shacks if they do not leave.

While it seems so easy for South Africans to point a finger towards a foreigner, Mpe points a finger back at his fellow citizens admitting that many people get killed in Hillbrow because of arguments and home disputes between black South Africans. Mpe uses all these examples to point out that *Makwerekwere* are not the only ones to blame for violence and that they are just as fragile and in need of sanctuary as anybody. He describes how they have no recourse to legal defense, how they can be detained and deported without trial, and how they can find no compassion with legal authorities despite knowing this is constitutionally wrong.

In *Room 207*, Kgebetli Moele describes that the black people now rule in Johannesburg and in South Africa and will hopefully continue to do so for a very long time taking the place the British and the Afrikaners held before them. Moele points out that in this city, in his land, violence and

power are mutually important. As long as a poor black South African will be able to threaten or even take a black African foreigner's life without any severe consequences, violence will persist.

5.2. FOREIGNER, YOU STEAL MY JOB

According to Statistics South Africa the unemployment rate in the country at the end of 2019 was almost 30% (29.1%) (Unemployment ch.1). The statistics are especially striking among young adults between the ages of 15 and 24 with a 55% unemployment (Youth graduate unemployment ch.1). No matter the race there are still more unemployed women than men. All these facts prompt statements like this one: "Do they think they can just come here from where they come from all over Africa and take the people's jobs? What is going on with the government to let them in, hey?" (Schonstein Pinnock 9). This paragraph, taken from Patricia Schonstein Pinnock's *Skyline,* very well sums up the essence of this subchapter and, more generally, the sentiments of South Africans towards the black African foreigners 'stealing' jobs that should 'rightfully' belong to South Africans. To better understand why South Africans hold such sentiments, a closer look at the history of the struggle to find good employment in the country is needed.

Writer Siphiwo Mahala, from Grahamstown in the Eastern Cape, has a BA and MA degree in African Literature and currently works at the South African Department of Arts and Culture. He is a novelist, short story writer, and has also published articles in national newspapers and magazines. Themba, the protagonist of Mahala's *When a Man Cries,* describes why his parents moved to the outskirts of Grahamstown: "They were part of a massive movement of rural dwellers who went to the cities hoping to get better employment after our county was released from the bondage of Apartheid" (10). However, this massive influx of people was problematic as there was no space for them in the formal townships. In the end, his family has to settle in an informal settlement, an extension of the formal Sekunjalo Township, and still their search for employment was not as easy as they thought.

Similarly, Niq Mhlongo's protagonist Dingamanzi 'Dingz' in *Dog Eat Dog*, describes his life in Soweto township in Johannesburg, where he feels he is not only unemployed but also

unemployable (9). He cleans people's gardens for some pocket money and looks for funerals to attend so he can receive a free lunch at the reception.

After the fall of Apartheid, the South African government started with initiatives such as 'Affirmative Action' (AA), also referred to as employment equality, named after the Employment Equity Act passed in 1998. Companies have to fill a prescribed quota with people of color, women, as well as people with disabilities in order for everyone to have equal opportunities to get employed. The public sector has been quicker and more successful in applying the action than the private one.

Similarly, the 'Black Economic Empowerment' (BEE) is a program instituted by the African National Congress-led Government after Apartheid in an attempt to address the socioeconomic inequalities of the past seeking to provide economic opportunities, including skills development, preferential procurement, and employment equity to previously disadvantaged groups (Johnson, Jacobs 36). In 1994, the overwhelming majority of businesses were owned by whites who, at the time, made up only 10 percent of the country's population.

The idea behind BEE is that South Africa can only prosper economically when wealth is shared more evenly, when the productive capacities of all South Africans are utilized, and when the needs of all South Africans are met (Johnson, Jacobs 36). In 2003, the Black Economic Empowerment Act was accepted and quotas for black employment have been instituted for medium-sized and large businesses, as well as quotas for black ownership in key economic sectors.

Critics of AA and BEE argue that they have benefitted only a few selected and well-connected blacks at the expense of the rest, especially Coloureds and Indians. The fact that levels of inequality between the rich and the poor have not changed since the democratic transition suggests that the focus should perhaps be on targeting secondary and tertiary education, providing the foundation for blacks to compete equally with their white counterparts in the workforce (Johnson, Jacobs 36).

In their book *Migration, space and transnational identities: The British in South Africa* Daniel Conway and Pauline Leonard research why relatively empowered white people decided to migrate from South Africa after the fall of Apartheid and how these migrants now relate to South

Africa. Some of them now form attachments only to specific locations, namely the 'Mother City' Cape Town. Nevertheless, they do feel discriminated against by employment equity and Black Economic Empowerment, and are fearful of crime in the post-Apartheid period (Ballard 2428).

Such white critics claim these initiatives amount to 'reverse racism', while the proponents of AA and BEE, in turn, claim that this is only to balance out the sins of the past. In *Dog Eat Dog*, Dingz jokes that everything is 'affirmative' nowadays: "Slums or squatter camps have become 'affirmative settlements'. Shoplifting is called 'affirmative transaction'. Carjackers make 'affirmative repossessions'. Even going out with a white person is an 'affirmative romance'" (Mhlongo 92).

Zukiswa Wanner's *Men of the South* follows Tinaye, a Zimbabwean living in Johannesburg who falls in love with a South African woman named Slindile. He is educated in Europe but is continuously referred to as a foreigner on South African soil. Tinaye works for a South African NGO called AfriAID but is not happy with what he gets paid so he asks his boss for a raise. The request is not received well as his boss asks him: "Are you aware, young man, just how many young people in this very country are looking for jobs? Do you have any idea how many of your fellow Zimbabweans with degrees are sleeping at the Central Methodist Church because they have no work permits?" (Wanner 164-165).

Tinaye wonders why South Africans always do this when someone complains of unfair labor conditions in their country. He thinks to himself: "I really could not give a hoot at that moment how many of my fellow Zimbabweans were sleeping at the Methodist Church or wherever. After all, this was a meeting about *my* salary raise. I would have told him this, too, but I could not afford to be disrespectful when I was the one who wanted a favour from him" (Wanner 165; emphasis added).

He leaves the interaction wishing he was financially so well cushioned that he could simply leave the job, but as he is sending money back home to support his family there, he cannot. Especially, since his contract is for four years, just a year less than it would have taken him to seek residency. From the way his boss looked at him after he'd asked for the raise, he feels it is highly unlikely that he is going to get the contract renewed after it runs out. Despite feeling hateful towards

his job, his workplace and his boss, Tinaye knows he cannot quit since, if he does, he will lose his work permit and with that the chance to live in South Africa.

In Bol's *The Lost Boy*, Aher is also facing permit issues. But as he is a refugee of war, and at the time of arrival, an unaccompanied minor, he is assisted by Lawyers for Human Rights who help him in dealing with the Home Affairs documents, and by the Jesuit Refugee Service who provide him a small monthly financial assistance.

Another man facing permit issues is Asad in *A Man of Good Hope*. While waiting in front of the Home Affairs building in Port Elizabeth he thinks about South Africa, its highways and rich suburbs, and then looks at the whole of Africa waiting in line in front of the building just like him. He thinks of how powerful South Africa is as: "Without expending any effort, it could gather people from every country on the continent outside one building and force them to wait all day" (Steinberg 185). After waiting and waiting to get papers, in the end Asad bribes a smuggler, paying him 1000 Rand, and gets his refugee papers the same day acknowledging that "Home Affairs worked very well if you greased the right palms" (Steinberg 214).

While Asad works in his uncle's shop he notices that most of their customers are black South Africans that are on welfare or are unemployed, whom he deems 'the laughing stock of South Africa'. They come in the shop with two Rand and first demand a cigarette for that money, then change their mind and want a chewing gum or switch again and say "no, *kwrekwere*, I want sweets" (Steinberg 189). Asad is aware that a South African shopkeeper would not tolerate this and would tell the customer to leave, but a Somali one cannot afford this.

He admits to himself that 'the laughing stock of South Africa' come to the Somali shop because it is the only place in their own country where they can say: "'I want this!' And someone will respond" (Steinberg 189). Later, when Asad is living in the township Khayelitsha outside of Cape Town, where his new shop is making good money, his customers also tell him every day: "You are Somali, you don't belong. You are *makwerekwere*. You are making money in our country. We will kill you" (Steinberg 258).

In *Men of the South*, while meeting with a group of Slindile's friends, the conversation turns to xenophobia and all of a sudden Tinaye feels outnumbered among all the South Africans, especially because one of them, Buhle, is very opinionated on the matter: "I think it's wrong, of course, but you have to see where our people are coming from […] You have all these Zimbabweans who are teachers and nurses working as domestics or cleaners because they earn higher with that than at their real job in their own country, and they are always acting superior and reminding everyone how they have A levels, how they had a British education" (Wanner 192). Tinaye and others feel like she is getting a bit too personal with the Zimbabwean bit, but Buhle replies that is so "because everything in life is personal […] the immigrant problem is as personal as hell in South Africa" (Wanner 193).

However, Bhule's brother Mfundo comes to Tinaye's defense reminding his sister of a family friend who can't stand to be examined by a Ugandan doctor because: "He is taking South Africans' jobs. And him supposedly an Africanist" (Wanner 195). Mfundo points out that: "All those fools who complain that someone is taking their jobs, are like your brother, dropouts, or if they have metric, maybe, they have no higher qualification. So tell me […] what job is a doctor taking from your dropout of a brother?" (Wanner 195).

Buhle, voicing many in South Africa, responds that these foreigners come in the country and agree to be paid less than the locals, "meaning that our people have to either be willing to work for just as much less and live below the breadline, or, if they choose not to work for less, be unemployed" (Wanner 195).

Tinaye has to agree with her here since he knows his boss keeps him employed because he couldn't convince a South African with Tinaye's qualifications to work for the amount he is working for. But Mfundo refutes by providing an example of how he asked an unemployed 21-year old South African to cut grass in his mother's garden for 200 Rand a week, but the youngster refused saying that is a job for the *Makwerekwere*. Thus, Mfundo concludes the debate claiming: "We could just say some of our people are stuck in a comfort zone, waiting for the government or someone else to do something for them" (Wanner 195).

The heavy reliance on temporary foreign labor is not singular to South Africa, it is something many countries are facing, like the United States of America. Building, food production, and the service industry in the US are chronically dependent on immigrant workers, many of them unauthorized. They are mostly from Mexico and work in jobs that require physical strength. Also there, the claim they are taking jobs from Americans is not true, because an American would never work for such low pay. A Mexican however, still earns 15 times more with the lowest paid job in the States that he would in his homeland.

Nevertheless, sometimes the African foreigners manage to earn a lot of money which causes jealousy amongst South Africans. When addressed as an 'African brother from another mother' by a Nigerian street seller the nameless narrator in *Room 207* shrugs the friendly naming by saying: "I am not your brother" (Moele 162).

The boys of room 207 describe their fellow 'African brothers' by saying that "they understand the law and its loopholes - they know what they want, they know how to get it and get around obstacles. If you are not careful they will manipulate you and leave you with a real mess to sort out" (Moele 103). The boys have even renamed The Sands Hotel in the heart of Johannesburg to 'Hotel Lagos'. There you can get anything you want as long as you pay for it. For them this is proof that all of Nigeria is corrupt as: "Every time you come here, they are bound to ask you only one question: 'Any business, any business?' They don't even greet you, these black brothers […] These Nigerian brothers are only here to further corrupt the Rainbow Nation" (Moele 161-162).

One night when they go out dancing to a night club they spot a group of boys they know from Botswana: "They're here in the city chasing a dream but, now, they're here to harm time and boredom. They are fortunate to have their national budget backing them up and they can keep buying and buying till they need to be driven home" (Moele 178). They buy the South African group of boys drinks because they know that "you don't have money, let us buy you beer, you South Africans don't have money" (Moele 179).

In the same lines the 207 tenants describe Joseph from the Democratic Republic of the Congo whom they use as an example why all African economies crumble. Joseph has a villa in Bryanston, changes cars every day, always has money to spend but interestingly never works.

Molamo insists that: "It is not true that he ran away from hunger and civil war […] the money people like Joseph are using to support their glamour is stolen from their governments. If you were to search into his past, you'd find out that he is a cousin of Mobutu Sese Seko or an in-law of General Sani Abacha, here in Johannesburg spending half of the national budget" (Moele 103).

Phaswane Mpe goes for a more humanitarian approach by saying that many of the *Makwerekwere* accused of stealing jobs are no different from South Africans, that they are merely sojourners here in search of green pastures. He repeats notions voiced by Wanner's characters that many foreign black Africans work side by side with South Africans from fruit sellers to highly qualified positions: "But when the locals are prepared to lap at them like starved dogs, what do you expect the struggling immigrants to do?" (Mpe 18).

Whether the black African foreigners are richer or poorer than South Africans, it is never right. Tinaye of Wanner's *Men of the South*, declares he never asked to be born Zimbabwean and confesses that he loves the country on the southernmost part of the African continent, but at the same time, deep down he knows they will never accept him as an equal:

> I started thinking again of this country that I loved but did not want to love me back. I remember how excited I had been when I left Oxford. How I nurtured a dream of coming back to the continent and joining hands with other like-minded Africans to save the continent from the plague of poverty. But ever since I arrived, I realized something. In South Africa, an African country, I was just what I had been in England. An immigrant. To the white South Africans who sat on the board of AfriAID, I was probably filling the quota of the black head-count. To black South Africans I was one of the 'kwerekweres', because I allegedly took the job of one of their brothers. I would think, without saying it loud: *Am I not a brother too*? (Wanner 167-168; emphasis added).

5.3. FOREIGNER, YOU BRING DISEASE

There are many diseases that foreigners could potentially bring to South Africa. Most recently there was a big scare surrounding the outbreak of Ebola on the continent. However, there is one disease that has not originated in South Africa, but is now the biggest threat to its people. It came to the country with migrants, and South Africa is now the country with the highest number of infected people with this disease in the world; the HIV/AIDS epidemic.

While the HIV/AIDS epidemic might be seen as a thing of the past in the Western world, in Africa it is far from over. Whilst, historically, the French-influenced Central and Eastern African countries are considered as the origin of the epidemic, it is the developed south of the continent that is the most affected area today. The massive migration flows inside the continent often result in migrants being seen as carriers of disease and give a premise for othering and a toxic culture of blame. In the end, the approaching of a disease or the approaching of a migrant, are not so different. They create the most important weapon of all – fear; fear of change, fear of 'contamination', and ultimately, fear of dying.

The acronym AIDS stands for Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome. AIDS may be defined as a group of diseases resulting from damage to the body's immune system due to an attack on the system by the Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV). HIV attacks and destroys the lymphocytes circulating in the blood system. Those which are most susceptible to destruction by the virus are the T-lymphocytes, also known as T-helper cells or more commonly 'blood cells'. A depletion of these blood cells leads to diminution of immune responses resulting in the inability of the body to protect itself against invasion by micro-organisms.

When the virus attacks its victim, it damages the body's defense systems (the antibody-producing cells), thus allowing opportunistic microorganisms to enter the body and cause various disease conditions. A group of these diseases together manifested by their various signs and symptoms are collectively called a syndrome. The period between when the virus first enters the body, and the first appearance of specific antibodies produced against this virus, is called the latency period. The victim at this point does not show any signs of ill-health.

The second phenomenon is referred to as the incubation period. This period is the interval between the entry of the virus into the host and the appearance of the first signs of the disease or symptoms of both. During this period, the 'victim' is usually considered as a patient. AIDS is generally a sexually-transmitted disease but can also be spread by asexual means through blood transfusion, infection of blood products, use of contaminated syringes and needles, through breastfeeding and through the placenta to the fetus. It cannot be transmitted through tears and saliva.

HIV transmission can be prevented by the use of a male or female condom. If HIV is contracted the patient can take a 'cocktail' of drugs known as antiretroviral treatment (ART) which strengthens the immune system. Vertical or mother-to-child transmission from an HIV-positive mother to her child during pregnancy can be avoided if mothers receive ART during pregnancy and breast-feeding periods. For HIV positive women it is best if they receive antiretrovirals throughout all their productive years.

According to the Joint United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS), in 2018, there were 37.9 million people globally living with HIV. Out of that, more than 19 million live in East and Southern Africa. In 2018, 1.7 million people became newly infected with HIV, and 23.3 million people were accessing antiretroviral therapy. UNAIDS additionally provides information that: "Since the start of the epidemic 74.9 million people have become infected with HIV. Young women aged between 15 -24 years are twice as likely to be living with HIV than men. 59% of new infections among young people occur among this group" (Global HIV & AIDS Statistics ch.1).

Despite its reputed success story South Africa is a country where 7.700.000 people live with HIV, the biggest number in the world. Among adults aged 15 to 49 the HIV prevalence rate is 20.4%. More than 60 % of the infected are female (South Africa ch.1). More women than men are on ART's, and almost 90% of HIV-positive pregnant women in South Africa are on prevention-of-mother-to-child-transmission (PMTCT) medication preventing almost 60.000 babies being born with HIV (South Africa ch.1).

Nevertheless, according to UNAIDS: "South Africa has the largest HIV epidemic in the world, with 19% of the global number of people living with HIV, 15% of new infections and 11%

of AIDS related deaths" (South Africa ch.1). In addition, UNAIDS claims that women who have experienced violence are also more likely to get infected with HIV (Global HIV & AIDS Statistics ch.1). Based and the research done by Boesten and Poku "men who perpetrate violence against their partners are less likely to use condoms" (12). Gender equality cannot be achieved only by empowering women but also by involving both women and men in social changes regarding gender and sexual inequality.

While South Africa famously reinvented itself as the 'Rainbow Nation' after the fall of the Apartheid system in 1994 under the leadership of Nelson Mandela succeeded by Thabo Mbeki, Jacob Zuma, and now Cyril Ramaphosa, a large part of the current HIV crisis situation can be attributed to South African politicians and their stance on HIV/AIDS. Nelson Mandela admitted that he was unable to stop the spread of the epidemic in his country. Thabo Mbeki caused a lot of controversy when he stated that HIV does not cause AIDS, when he questioned ART's, and when he supported a Kenyan cure for AIDS that turned out to be inefficient. During his rape trial, Jacob Zuma incorrectly claimed that showering after sexual intercourse prevents HIV transmission and is a good substitution for those men who do not wish to wear a condom.

Several theses or hypotheses have been proposed about the origin of AIDS but none is well substantiated. The belief that the disease originated from Africa has been the paramount issue since the first cases were reported in 1981 disturbing especially because of the racial undertone it carries. Because all of the uncertainty about where the origin of the epidemic is, it is not uncommon that superstition surrounds it. All of these can be found in *Welcome to Our Hillbrow* where the African Potato is presented as a cure for HIV, and also the reason why HIV/AIDS is present in South Africa: "Mysterious diseases, in Tiragalong's view, could only result from a mysterious cause: witchcraft" (Mpe 45).

In Mpe's *Welcome to Our Hillbrow* the origin of AIDS is Hillbrow. The logic in Mpe's novel is that the route of AIDS to South Africa is through migrants and as the *Makwerekwere* migrants come to Johannesburg and Hillbrow, this is where both AIDS and the *Makwerekwere* now are. In Tiragalong both, Johannesburg and *Makwerekwere*, were equally bad and marked by immorality, drugs, murders, sexual looseness and money grabbing. In Mhlongo's *Dog Eat Dog* the

beginning of AIDS is explained through the legend of 'Vera the Ghost' when a girl that was gang-raped in Soweto now seduces men and spreads the disease among them as revenge.

Scientists working on the so-called 'African theory' of the origin of AIDS, first pointed out the frequency of occurrence of Kaposi's Sarcoma among East and Central Africans but failed to find direct linkage. A much more prominent theory is the one about the long-tailed African green monkey being the carrier of the virus. This conclusion was made possible because this monkey has been known to carry viruses which transmit other diseases.

In the region of central Congo, also sometimes called the 'African AIDS Inferno', consuming raw or improperly-cooked monkey meat is common and may have caused the virus to be passed on from monkey to man. Today, the Democratic Republic of the Congo is among the poorest countries, not only in Africa, but in the world. Thus, it should not come as a surprise then that this is where the epidemic started since according to popular belief in the West, an underdeveloped poor country is where the diseases are and where the sick people are. However, in the case of the HIV/AIDS epidemic this is no longer the case.

In the second chapter, South Africa was introduced as an 'African Star' referencing how developed and rich the country is compared to other countries on the continent. However, developed 'star' countries are supposed to be rich, have a good health system, and they are certainly not places where people massively get infected and die from 'poor people' diseases. And yet, South Africa is the country with the most HIV/AIDS infected people in the world whilst the Democratic Republic of the Congo with the population of almost 79 million 'only' has approximately 400.000 HIV infected people and a prevalence rate of 0.7% (Democratic Republic of the Congo ch.1).

Some scientists propose Haiti as a probable source from which AIDS spread to the United States of America and from there to the entire world. In the 1960's around 15.000 Haitians visited the country at the time known as Zaire to help with the development programmes. More recently, there is increasing suspicion that the AIDS virus may have been manufactured by American scientists through genetic engineering for use in biological warfare. The Americans have done similar things in Vietnam and Cuba. This theory can be found in Mhlongo's book *Dog Eat Dog*

where AIDS is nicknamed as ‘American Invention for Discouraging Sex’, ‘Academic Imaginary Death Sentence’, and the ‘discriminatory disease of the poor’ (Mhlongo 142-145).

AIDS has acquired many sarcastic names. The 'jet age disease' referring to infected people who frequently travel by air across continents and infect others. It is also referred as the first class 'jumbo disease' referencing the rich American homosexuals that travel in jumbo jets in first class to holiday resorts in Haiti and other Caribbean islands where they come in contract with the disease.

Both, *Dog Eat Dog* and *Welcome to Our Hillbrow,* can be described under the umbrella term ‘literature with a purpose’ drawing attention to the HIV problematic and writing against certain prejudices surrounding the disease. Based on case studies from fictional characters, their problems, fears, and doubts, they conduct an ideological analysis raising compassion, exploring anger against institutions, against inactive politicians, and also a rhetorical analysis, looking at how can the authors get their point through in order to change their reader’s minds. However, in the end, both, the health of the host population and the migrant population, are equally important. Because when a certain disease or a broader epidemic comes, it doesn’t ask questions who is who, who is South African and who is a foreigner. All get to the same result; infection.

5.4. FOREIGNER, YOU STEAL MY WOMEN

A good starting point to this subchapter is a quote from Patricia Schonstein Pinnock’s *Skyline* that sums up how many black South African men feel regarding African foreigners stealing ‘their’ women: “Now they selling passports and they buying your wives. Yes! They buy your wives, because they got a lot of money. So they buy your wife all the nice things. So your wife, she can’t stay with you when you only got these small wages […] you see they no good for us, these peoples. They must go back to their own country. They must go back to Congo or whatever” (9).

Too often in South Africa men believe that they have the right to possess both women and jobs as if they are just things to be owned. When they lose their income their masculinity suffers because in their minds they are so intertwined. In such terms a woman’s availability is for sale and

if a foreign black African has more money, then the South African men feel like they cannot compete.

Interestingly, the figure of 'a waiting woman' is common in South African novels, especially since in the past, South African men often went to work in the mines or needed to go into hiding abroad. In fact, Njabulo S. Ndebele's novel *The Cry of Winnie Mandela* is entirely about women who wait for their husbands to return to them either from travels, work, or like the eponymous heroine Winnie, from prison. This also implies patriarchal notions that the women must and of course will wait, as if they are some passive possession that if had once, will always long and wait for a man.

Pumla Dineo Gqola, a Professor of African Literature at the University of Witwatersrand in Johannesburg, goes as far as seeing the negrophobic xenophobia as a battle between African and South African men. However, she does not forget to add, that the overlooked fact is that a South African man is *always* also an African man. This narrative of threat and competition shows that, if women and jobs are a resource and also an entitlement for heterosexual South African men, then the obstacles can be eliminated and indeed must be: "This is a bizarre inversion. But then again, inversions always accompany violent epistemic projects" (Gqola 219).

Such a competition costs Bernard from Mozambique his life in *Skyline*. He likes to go and shop in the Italian store on Long Street in Cape Town where he gets to know Giovanni and his wife Morgana who work in the shop. In the process of getting to know them he finds out that Giovanni is insanely jealous and hits his wife if he thinks she is looking at someone else. Therefore, Morgana is always sad and never leaves the shop. One day she is serving Bernard and he says something that makes her laugh. Giovanni is immediately comes to them and screams at Bernard: "Whata you want, you black bastardo? Whata you want with my wife? […] You looka my wife I killa you! You black stronzo!" (Schonstein Pinnock 139).

That night Giovanni forces himself on Morgana and then beats her until she is almost unconscious. Weeks later Bernard goes for a performance in a nearby café and Giovanni is there as well. After Bernard drinks a few beers he decides to confront Giovanni. As he is much bigger than the Italian man, Bernard pushes him against the wall and tells him a few things that stay only

between the two men, but later tells the others that he simply told the Italian not to beat Morgana anymore.

And then, one night when Bernard is walking alone down Long Street, he hears footsteps behind him and knows, that the death he escaped from in the war in Mozambique, has found him at last acknowledging that: "War will seek you out; war will wear any garment to come find you if you flee from its killing fields" (Schonstein Pinnock 165). Bernard is killed by a knife with Giovanni's words in his ears: "Black bastardo, you want looka my wife again? I showa you my wife, you black merda!" (Schonstein Pinnock 166). He dies all alone in the street while he hears the shouts and sees the boots of the faceless soldiers, he smells the acrid smell of killers, feels the silver texture of guns and pangas against his flesh, and despite living in peace for the last few years of his life he dies facing war.

Even in the novels, women are often seen only as a means of achieving a certain goal. In *Men of the South*, Tinaye wants to marry Slindile, or any South African woman, so he can stay in the country (Wanner 199). In *Welcome to Our Hillbrow* women are sometimes portrayed as witches, since every time a South African man gets involved with a *Makwerekwere* woman he dies, either from AIDS or from madness, believing they have bewitched him until he commits suicide, like Refentse did because he got involved with Lerato. When it turns out Lerato is actually South African, Refilwe who made up the *Makwerekwere* lie, dies of AIDS as a punishment for her lie. More than a half of the African foreigners that come to South Africa are male. Mpe writes about the few women that come to South Africa but cannot find work so they become prostitutes. They do not like their job he writes, but at least they can send some money back home.

The obvious objectification of women in South Africa came as a shock to Asad, a devoted Muslim, in *The Man of Good Hope*. He thought they were all too promiscuous. The cheating, the overtly sexual behavior, the body touching out in the public. He claimed that he needed a lot of time to adjust and get used to it, but that he has never accepted it as the right thing. The 'authentic' male citizens in South Africa feel entitled to 'their' women. Because they are economically excluded and live on the social margins, mastering a gun empowers their maleness, and makes possessing a female body again plausible.

In many ways, this subchapter is linked to the previous chapter 5.3. on HIV/AIDS as gender is still a defining factor in decision-making processes from governmental to intimate relations levels. Hassim, Kupe and Worby write of the paradox that: "At precisely the moment in which women are claiming rights and asserting their collective presence as political and moral agents, they are being beaten back by the blatant assertion of male power" (11). The equality narrative is far from finished in South Africa since: "In a kind of perverse inversion of women's struggle to make gender identity a legitimate component in the repertoire of the political action, it was masculinity that was performed in the attacks on foreigners" (Hassim, Kupe, Worby 11).

6. FOREIGNER, WHERE WILL YOU/WE GO FROM HERE?

"To be able to wake up in the morning
one must know that one-day life can be different.
To stay in South Africa is to keep that possibility
of something different alive".

- *Asad, Somalian* (in *A Man of Good Hope on page* 231).

A refugee, a migrant, an immigrant - a foreigner in South Africa. In the end, these names are just labels for somebody that great historical or personal forces have upended until it seems like they no longer have a place of their own. Such a person becomes an in-between sort of being, suspended between a past belonging somewhere and a future belonging somewhere once more. But for now they are in abeyance, swept this way and that, like flotsam in a tide.

This chapter asks two questions; where will the 'unwanted' foreigners go and where will South Africa as a country go. To answer them, the concept of *motility* as the 'capacity of a person to be mobile' is brought forward. Etymologically, the noun 'motility' coming from Latin motus/motile, is defined as capacity of movement or being capable of movement (Høyer Leivestad 133). Even though it is primarily used in social sciences, as a concept, motility, is able to identify the incompleteness of mobility and pins down of one of mobility's central elements: potential.

Kaufmann highlights that while motility is defined on an individual level, it is not formed individually but is a highly social concept: "Motility is at the service of people's aspirations, their projects and their lifestyles, and constitutes a 'mobilisable' capital for their realization and their combination" (Høyer Leivestad 140). Hege Høyer Leivestad from the Department of Social Anthropology at Stockholm University in Sweden, suggests that aspirations, referring to strong desires and hopes or ambitions to achieve something, should be key factors in understanding and framing motility (140).

Aspirations can provide a link between the intimate hopes, plans, and desires of an individual in relation to mobility, political, religious, and economic practices, processes, and transformations in broader society, as only when knitted together they can result in the 'good life' (Høyer Leivestad 141). To understand 'the good life,' one needs to look not just at the material things in life, but understand people's ambitions, passions, goals (Høyer Leivestad 141). What keeps people going is what triggers imagination of the possibilities located elsewhere. Meshed with notions of forward-looking and aspects of hope, aspirations hold a potentiality of their own. A potential of setting something into motion that may be the route to some kind of social change (Høyer Leivestad 141).

6.1. FOREIGNER, WHERE WILL *YOU* GO?

In her novel *Skyline* Patricia Schonstein Pinnock writes about the question of returning and asks how do the displaced persons return home. She notes how war is all about murder and forgetting since afterwards: "No one remembers committing any atrocity, no one remembers stealing, no one remembers genocides or ethnicities. Isn't that extraordinary?" (Schonstein Pinnock 93-94).

In this quest to find out where an in-between person can return to Schonstein Pinnock first describes a woman now working as a waitress in Cape Town but is originally from Freetown in Sierra Leone where her hand was chopped off by rebels and thrown in the bushes. The woman wishes to one day go back and look for those boy-soldiers to ask them why they did this terrible thing. However, she knows that there she will find many other bones of hands and arms and feet and legs piled up in the hot sun.

Schonstein Pinnock writes that the boy soldiers, now grown men, will tell this woman how the rebels stole them from their mothers, drugged and beat them in order to force them to do these things. She will see that their eyes are not the eyes of wise men, but the eyes of children trapped in killing fields: "The eyes of children forced to war. And she will be unable to be angry with them. She will understand these boys who have grown to be men in such a swift and terrible way. So she

will just gather up the bleached-white bones of her fingers, though they have no use, and leave these boy-men drinking in the bars where she found them" (Schonstein Pinnock 96).

Schonstein Pinnock also introduces Kwaku who is from 'somewhere in Africa'. He comes to Cape Town, when Mandela becomes president and opens the 'New South Africa', with just a small rucksack because he has nothing else. He wants to make money so he can send it back to his mother who runs a bar on the edge of the jungle. But this country on the southern tip of the continent has defeated him and he is dying. All he now longs for is the sound of his mother's voice, the sound of jungle birds, and wishes he could bring back home all the things he knows his mother needs; a cooking pot, a teapot, six mugs, and two blankets. But he is one of those who never return home and he loses the battle of life in South Africa.

Similarly, in *The Lost Boy*, Aher always knows that he wants to go back to South Sudan and find his family. Years after, he returns to his homeland and finds them, but his father tells him: "There is no peace in this country, my son, and no safe place for you […] the war, which once robbed us of you, our son, may now destroy you. Please return to the place where you preserved yourself for us. Live your life in peace, further your studies and prepare yourself to bring us a bright future once peace has come to this land" (Bol 185).

Nevertheless, Aher now knows that he has younger brothers and that they also need education. Because they do not have the necessary documents to go to South Africa, the three brothers travel to Kenya and later to Uganda so that the youngest two can get an education. After getting their primary school certificates they are able to go to South Africa with official documents and Aher enrolls for a degree in Law at the University of South Africa.

However, it saddens Aher to see the conditions the people of Sudan endure and the wars, poverty and diseases they are subject to, conditions caused by envy, religious bigotry, racism, and cultural ignorance (Bol 186). Bol observes how people seem unable to make peace among themselves because: "There are always people who see themselves as superior to others […] whether they are richer, of a worthier skin color, culture or religious persuasion. Human beings with less power, they arrogantly believe, are not really important" (Bol 186).

It is this rejection of 'others' that Bol sees as the root cause that has for many centuries caused wars in Sudan. Bol envisions the final victory in the Sudanese struggle, as well as in South Africa and many other African countries, in the liberation of the minds of the people: "This liberation would be led by men and women who would have to make a conscious effort to heal and release broken minds and restore the spirit of the country," but even Bol is doubtful asking "is this ever going to happen? Will the bright future my parents long for ever arrive? Will we, the people of the south, ever resolve our own bloody tribal rivalries and stop the rampant corruption that plagues our society?" (187).

In *Go Home or Die Here: Violence, Xenophobia and the Reinvention of Difference in South Africa* a Mozambican boy who has never been in Mozambique because he was born in South Africa to Mozambican parents says: "I don't know anything about home" (Maruping 51). His parents have died and he needs to take care of all his brothers and sisters, he is the one to make sure they go to school even though he himself had to drop out and work in order to provide for them. Yet, in a country where he was born, he is not welcomed and has small children shouting at him, *Vimba iShangane*, 'catch the Shangaan' (Maruping 51).

After the first major attacks in 2008 the question what to do with the displaced foreigners arose and the representatives of South Africa's Department of Home Affairs and the United Nations High Commission for Refugees met. They could not classify them as refugees so they classified them as 'internally displaced persons' giving them three options: repartition to their country of origin, reintegration to the communities that have thrown them out with some monetary assistance from UNHCR and the South African Government, or relocation to another part of South Africa that remained peaceful during the attacks.

Kwame Anthony Appiah's work *Cosmopolitan Patriots,* points out that the existence of 'normative' cosmopolitans adds to existing debates on citizenship, cultural rights, equal dignity, and the rule of law in postcolonial states. Echoing Nussbaum's notion of cosmopolitan patriotism, Appiah proposes that the cosmopolitan patriot lives in a world where everyone is a "rooted cosmopolitan that feels a connection to his or her 'home' or 'place of origin' without abandoning moral and emotional attachments to communities, families, diasporas, and ethnic groups, while enjoying others through an openness to the world" (Acharya 39-40).

The normative ethical aspects of rootedness in cosmopolitan mobility can be extended to postcolonial nations and across diasporas in discussions about citizenship, belonging, multiple homelands, identity, hybridity, and actorness of the mobile cosmopolitan subjects themselves. In this way, cosmopolitanism offers new forms of belonging and opens forms of attachment for rights claims beyond the nation-state that actively manage multiple local contexts as they negotiate their home spaces. A sense of homeland and belonging is specific to these rooted migration experiences (Acharya 40-41).

Concepts of hybridity, belonging, and the search for multiple homelands are all tangible cosmopolitan moments made for and by the formation of becoming cosmopolitan. Cosmopolitanism's unique contribution to mobility studies rests in emphasizing cosmopolitans as social actors: "Actorness serves as a catalyst for developing cosmopolitanism as a worldly ideal and an identity-in-development within the lives of the movers […] in other words, the agency of people on the move contributes to defining and regulating their connection between cosmopolitanism and mobility" (Acharya 41). Cosmopolitan modifiers, known also as marginal cosmopolitanisms or discrepant cosmopolitanisms, respond to the inadequacies of a borderless cosmopolitan community of the world by considering the millions of refugees and irregular migrants fleeing violence and poverty and being denied entry or existence as citizens of any particular nation (Acharya 44).

In *A Man of Good Hope* Asad says Somalia is not his home anymore: "I cannot even go to Somalia. How can you call a place you cannot go to 'home'? Home, is where the social security is" (Steinberg 318). Taking migrant homebuilding as a point of departure, Hage defines 'home' not only as a physical building but also as a feeling of 'being at home'. He considers 'home' to be constructed of affective building blocks that provide four key feelings: "Security, familiarity, community, and a sense of possibility" (Høyer Leivestad 142). Stressing the importance of the aspirational in relation to human mobility Hage shows how this notion of possibility is crucial in understanding feelings of home, because home building is after all about future possibilities, of more security and familiarity (Høyer Leivestad 142).

The reasons for staying put or for moving physically are closely attached to aspirations of social mobility, or, put differently, how we imagine our future to be. These not-yet opportunities

of life are linked to temporality since the potential mobility is not a realized form and the course or the outcome of it are still unknown. Such potential mobilities thus do not constitute separate entities, "rather they are a preparatory step towards practiced mobility and specific movements" (Høyer Leivestad 143).

In *Men of the South,* Zimbabwean Tinaye is weighing his future options if he is banned out of South Africa. He cannot go back to the United Kingdom where he was educated since there are so many people working in the development sector already and he will not get a job. The only other place he can think of going is Zimbabwe. Yet, he refuses to go back. He loves Johannesburg and wants to stay, but at the same time wants a job befitting his education (Wanner 168).

In stark opposition, Asad in *A Man of Good Hope*, admits that he never intended to stay in South Africa for long: "I didn't have an exact plan. I was always on the lookout for peace. Not necessarily Europe or America. I wanted to travel, I just wasn't sure where to" (Steinberg 215). Asad cannot go back to Somalia, as he is Ogadeni. In the final years of Siad Barre's regime in the 1980's terrible things were done to the Isaaq people in the north. And he is also Daarod and thus associated with the old regime.

He knows there is no place for him in Somalia, he would basically be on foreign turf. But it is more than that. For him returning to the Horn of Africa would signal a defeat of the deepest kind: "I knew life there […] I knew that if I went back there life would be the same, the same, the same, until I die. To be able to wake up in the morning one must know that one-day life can be different. To stay in South Africa is to keep that possibility of something different alive" (Steinberg 231).

Migration is connected to the feeling of being stuck and the need of humans to feel 'we are going somewhere'. (Hage 2005). Hage argues that in the case of migrants, they prefer to be 'going places' by staying in familiar environments. Only when this environment causes one to be 'going nowhere' or 'going too slowly' does the need for physical mobility crop up. By introducing the term 'existential mobility' Hage aims to show how "we move physically so we can feel we are existentially on the move again or at least moving better" (Høyer Leivestad 142).

Asad thinks about applying again for a refugee card or trying to get a visa for Europe to go and never come back. As he cannot be sent back to Somalia he pleads with UNHCR to leave South Africa and finally gets classified as vulnerable and is resettled to Kansas City, Missouri in the United States of America. Capturing the thoughts of many refugees, immigrants, and emigrants, and many people in general, Asad concludes: "You are only on this earth a few years […] How long? Sixty years? Maybe eighty years? For many of those years you are a child. For many of those years you are an old person. The years in between: it is a small time, really; it goes fast. If you do not make something then, you have lost your opportunity. You die without having lived" (Steinberg 231-232).

6.2. FOREIGNER, WILL I BE A STAR AGAIN?

The xenophobic attacks on foreigners mark a turning point in South Africa's self-representation as a political community giving new meanings to notions of race, nation, class and citizenship. According to Hassim, Kupe and Worby: "The vacuum in the political imagination and practice of the government is rapidly being filled by new visions of society - some darkly bidding for an even more narrow and exclusionary nationalism, others beckoning towards a more equitable, inclusive and cosmopolitan political order" (23).

Dodson and Oelofse observe that in South Africa: "Immigration and migration are portrayed as problems and threats to be resisted rather than opportunities to be managed" (126). A big problem is also that these individuals are not classified in groups, like for example, as those who have the right to be in the country and those who don't. They are considered as one, and attacked as one. Thus, Dodson and Oelofse suggest an establishment of a national framework managing immigration and its impact. Such a framework would comprise of legislation, bureaucracy and administration, public education, and the development of research capacity based on sound data rather than inaccurate perceptions.

Removing inconsistencies and ambiguities from the legislation on immigration, labor, and housing, would clarify who does and who does not have the right to live and work in South Africa, thus providing some foreigners at least with a greater sense of security and belonging. Greater

clarification and formalization of the immigration process could also help foster more positive attitudes towards immigration on the part of the wider South African public.

Much can be done to educate the public about the realities of international migration and to facilitate positive contact between South African citizens and foreign migrants, thus dispelling some of the negative stereotypes that perpetuate xenophobic behavior. While this would have to involve a national, Government sponsored campaign, its success would depend on local initiatives and civil society (Dodson, Oelofse 146).

What the government is trying to currently achieve is an emphasis on the developmental potential of immigration. At the beginning of 2018, there was a political shake-up in the country when Jacob Zuma resigned as President and was proceeded by Cyril Ramaphosa. Fighting xenophobia has gotten a breath of fresh air through nation-wide campaigns and civil society engagement. The biggest problems they are facing is the lack of available funds. The renewed xenophobic attacks in 2019 can be seen as a setback, but not a white flag.

South Africa needs to decide what is the role the country wants to play on a global stage. Does it want to be the leading example of the African continent or perhaps even in the global South? In order to achieve the 'African Star' status again they need to start with themselves. Foreigners, especially from other African countries need to feel safe and respected in South Africa again. Returning to the global *Ubuntu* diplomacy brand can help in this regard. Educating their own citizens on migration and launching awareness campaigns are a good starting point. Only when the host community will also have social and economic benefits of other Africans in the country will they truly accept them. Joint development of both communities should then be the goal.

Perhaps the concept of *African Renaissance* originally attributed to Senegal-born Cheikh Anta Diop, but championed in a contemporary African context by Thabo Mbeki, could be useful again, especially in promoting African unity. Instead of constant competition between African nations about who is more developed or advanced, an awareness of equality, humanity, and solidarity between African countries is the path forward.

Nevertheless, such interventions are limited by the constraints of the socio-economic context in which they operate. As long as South African urban in-migrants and foreign African immigrants remain similarly socially and economically marginalized, competing for limited opportunities in an environment of disadvantage and poverty, the potential for conflicts will remain.

Jonny Steinberg talks about returning from New York to South Africa in 2008 during the attacks and feeling like he had gone back in time. Burning people, tyres and buildings were things he had seen in the 1980's, with crowds singing freedom songs against Apartheid only that this time they were singing about foreigners stealing their jobs, houses and women. He writes how South Africa's middle class, and especially the white minority, watched with unease as "the image of an anarchic black crowd, unhinged and bent on destruction, is among the very oldest in white South African consciousness. When democracy came, and Nelson Mandela opened his arms and forgave, the worst white fear was that the moment of vengeance had merely been postponed" (Steinberg 269).

While these black crowds were clearly unhappy with the democracy they so longed for, the violence and anger was not aimed at the whites or the government they voted into power. Black Africans were targeted. White middle-class volunteers thus hurried to help the foreigners staying in police stations and churches, because they understood their situation all too well seeing the victims as proxies of themselves.

In *Skyline*, the unnamed female protagonist and her love interest Raphael go for a swim in the night and when they kiss she thinks how lucky they are that "here we do not know of those who toss and cry out in the night as flames enter their dreams and the sounds of gunfire pepper their sleeping" (Schonstein Pinnock 161). She thinks of how lucky they are being white and being safe in Cape Town knowing "nothing of the clashes between rebels and government forces, of torched food stores, of landmines which wait in fields for unshod feet. We know not of the endless flowings of refugees who walk from one war to the next, from one country to the next, endlessly and through all time" (Schonstein Pinnock 161).

Hundreds and thousands of Mozambicans, Zimbabweans, Malawians or Zambians had worked in the gold mines of South Africa throughout the twentieth century. They worked at many other places, mostly without documents. Steinberg highlights how many of them learned Zulu or Pedi, married local women and had children with them. In the townships where the violence started, like Alexandra or Soweto, there are many South African born and bred children with Malawian or Zambian surnames, "testimony to a time when nationality counted for less" (Steinberg 270). What mattered was that they were black and thus in the same boat as black South Africans.

Consequently, Steinberg sees xenophobia as a product of citizenship: "The claiming of a new birthright. Finally, we belong here, and that means that you don't" (270). It seems like a re-enactment of the old Apartheid state as "Apartheid, after all, was an endless system of measuring and categorizing. All human beings had to be sorted into those who belonged in South Africa's cities and who did not" (Steinberg 270). There was always fear present, that the cities were too full, too dangerous, someone was always in them that did not belong.

Like in a panoptic machine everybody has to be "measured and counted and put in his allotted place, for if all were to merge into an indistinguishable mass there would be no control" (Steinberg 270). In 2008 and in 2015, that is what the mobs were doing, sorting, categorizing, differentiating and expelling, an Apartheid thinking reaching its nadir fourteen years after its demise, "for now it was in the souls of black folk, and they were executing its logic with fervor" (Steinberg 271).

With all the changes South Africa has gone through in the last 20 years, local scholarly debates have been full of discussions around interchange, mixing, inter/ transculturation, and hybridity. This mirrors the worldwide trend of creating heterogeneous instead of homogeneous societies. Drawing from Néstor García Canclini and Leora Farber, trying on new identities can be compared to trying out new clothes. Sometimes they fit, other times they don't. If you like them, you buy them, and if after a while they don't fit anymore or are not in fashion they are tossed away.

In such terms, identity and the 'self' are always performed and are no longer something pre-determined but are instead constantly changing depending on circumstances. Identity is no

longer something a person is attached to because everything is fluid and there are no more fixed points. This is a path South Africans might be willing to take as it clears them of all that is past.

Right-wing politics are on the rise in Europe, in the US, and many other places across the globe. These political groups claim that the West must secure its borders in order to maintain cultural purity of Europe, the US, and so forth. In the clamor and rhetoric of right-wing populist identitarianism the historically positive nature of migration is not found. Borders can be seen as lines and markers between spaces and the geopolitical representations of our world. They are also lines separating the protected citizen and transient migrant. Metaphorically, such lines are "more easily crossed by the 'sympathetic' refugee than by the 'calculating' migrant" (Crawford 14). Migrants do not deserve compassion reserved for refugees, and are represented as threats and thieves.

But Steinberg does notice something different in migrants. His Asad from *A Man of Good Hope*, like many others, did not come to South Africa to make it his home, he came to make money. These newcomers work all the time, they defecate and restock, they observe and learn what are the most wanted things and never run out of them. And they always make it cheaper than it would be at their South African rivals. If one of them is killed, that does not make them go away. Steinberg writes that: "The wife of the murdered one will simply sell to another. And if he is killed, his widow will sell to another yet. They are ineradicable. When one of them dies, they come from miles for the funeral, hundreds of them. They are grief-stricken. They are crying. They bury the dead one, and they cry some more. And then they come back" (272).

Crush, Chikanda and Skinner's *Mean Streets: Migration, Xenophobia and Informality in South Africa* addresses the social and political climate surrounding economic opportunities and challenges facing migrant entrepreneurs in the informal economy. The authors point out that one of the most significant challenges initially faced by migrant entrepreneurs is "the lack of access to financial resources, including start-up and ongoing credit" (Anderson C. 1344).

As a result, many migrant entrepreneurs must employ strategies to minimize their costs "like sharing business locations, buying supplies on consignment, and delaying payments to suppliers. They may also have small-markups and work longer hours to increase earnings. All the

while, these migrant entrepreneurs face hostility and violence, and as a result, work and live in constant fear" (Anderson C. 1344). The hostility is derived from misdirected economic frustration, which includes beliefs that the migrants are stealing jobs, when in fact, "migrant-owned businesses create jobs for South Africans through direct hire" (Anderson C. 1344).

Overall, the South African Government, at local and national level, has praised the informal sector while actively withdrawing support for it. More specifically, policies have been created to discourage cross-border traders and migrant entrepreneurs, and negative opinions expressed by politicians and officials encourage the violence to persist. As a result, migrant entrepreneurs operate in a constant state of fear and insecurity as there is little recourse to ensure their rights. The nation's dependence on the informal economy requires policy-makers and citizens alike to reconsider their positions on migrant entrepreneurship and the xenophobia it enables (Anderson C. 1345).

As Steinberg points out, these foreigners seem made to be hurt and drawing their blood becomes a fashion: "It starts because it is possible, and it keeps happening because nobody stops it" (272). In 2008 and 2015, when thousands had to abandon their homes, the fashion became a carnival, "when the last one had left, the crowds went home. And then they started coming back, first the bravest, then the more cautious. They began selling again. People shook their hands and said sorry. And the game resumed" (Steinberg 272).

In *Summertime: 'Scenes from a Provincial Life'* John Coetzee dreams of a 'raceless' future discussed in chapter 4.2. At the end of *Welcome to Our Hillbrow*, Refilwe finds a renewed appreciation for Refentse's short story about *Makwerekweres* and life in Hillbrow, Tiragalong, and in South Africa in general. She realizes that despite Hillbrow's bad reputation, it is no different than any other part of Johannesburg, of South Africa, or even of the world. There are some problems that are greater. Violence, stabbings, shootings, rapes; they happen everywhere and cannot be presented as only a Hillbrow problem. Refilwe is not the same person anymore. She no longer blames *Makwerekweres* for the troubles in her life, as she once did. She has come to understand she is now a conglomerate of all the places she has lived.

In 2008, artist Mimmo Paladino unveiled his memorial on the island of Lampedusa in Italy. The five-meter-high and three-meter-wide monument of black refractory clay is named 'The Door of Lampedusa, the Door of Europe'. The memorial stands in remembrance of the thousands of refugees, migrants or immigrants that tried to reach the shores of Italy but lost their lives in the Mediterranean Sea. It also stands as a warning and a wake-up call to Europeans not to turn a blind eye on this issue anymore.

The problem is far from resolved and while the politicians debate what should be done people are drowning. The people on these boats are on them because they search for a better life. Before started their journey, they believed that Europe is a paradise where all their problems will be solved. They do not know that if they make it to the shore of Lampedusa a whole new set of problems will be unraveled.

Doesn't this narrative sound familiar? There are no statues dedicated to the people that were burned alive in the townships during the xenophobic attacks. There might be no memorial at Beitbridge border crossing where in their separate stories both Aher and Asad dug under the fence to be smuggled into South Africa; but the symbolism of lost dreams and, in the worst case scenario, lives, is the same. Whether they are north or southbound, Africans are not welcomed and currently for them the doors for a brighter future are shut.

7. POINTS OF RETURN

"Euphemism. Xenophobia. Prejudice. AIDS…
To have these answers was
to know the secrets of life itself".

-Phaswane, South African (in *Welcome to Our Hillbrow* on pages 60-61).

In 'Little Gidding' T.S. Eliot notes that "to make an end is to make a beginning […] The end is where we start from" (qtd. in Bennett, Royle 311). This thesis has addressed what drives voluntary and involuntary migration and suggest a solution in a more legal avenue of migration. It also wishes to highlight the historically positive nature of migration, and to dispel some of the negative stereotypes circulating in South African society (Swing ch.1).

In a search for a new unified identity the 'Rainbow Nation' is divided. The united South Africa is united only when facing foreigners and the 'us' versus 'them' rhetoric is omnipresent. What is happening in South Africa is not a singular occurrence. It is simultaneously happening in Europe, in America, in Asia. Across Africa, there is a need to not only stop but to break the wheel of bad political leadership. The rise of right wing political movements, local armed conflicts, natural disasters and diseases are changing populations and regular migration patterns. The world is moving differently than it used to and many are not happy with that. What is clear is that "South Africa cannot be an island of prosperity in a sea of poverty" (Mabera 37). This thesis has brought attention to one of the most severe unresolved issues South Africa and the world has to solve, but has not. Yet.

The simple fact is, that no one knows how to solve the migration/xenophobia problem in South Africa, or more broadly, and books mirror this notion. From the outset one of the main hypothesis of my thesis was that even though xenophobia against black African foreigners is so prominent in everyday life in South Africa, and can be seen as one of the biggest issues the country is facing, not a lot of attention is paid to it. When it is singled out, both in real-life and in fiction writing, it is for the negative aspects not the positive. Although xenophobia is always there, even

the books that directly set out to deal with xenophobia like *Men of the South*, fail to draw any conclusions. Such an avoidance of xenophobia as a central topic, in the end *does* reflect 'real life' or the state of the problematic in South African society.

Through my thesis several reasons why novels do not put xenophobia at its centre are revealed. For South Africans, shame, the painful feeling caused by wrong, dishonorable, or improper behavior, is definitely one of them. They used to be the 'star' of Africa, but now they do not want to take responsibility for something that so dishonors their name in the world. The trends of the globalized world do not approve of xenophobia. Writers use strategies of avoidance in order to repress what cannot be sublimed. Robert Cluley of the University of Nottingham highlights that repression happens when we are put in a situation where we have to admit our flaws. However, that is not a good solution as "the material we repress returns" (377).

Based on reliable observation, but one of the few Freud's theories not based on experimental verification, "the concept of repression indicates the driving away of a disturbing thought or desire from conscious awareness" (Billig 320). Despite being established more than half a century ago, Sigmund Freud's theory on repression is still a concept accepted by most psychanalysts of different orientations since, as James Conant puts it, "a theory is only overthrown by a better theory, never merely by contradictory facts", and a commonly agreed better theory has not been presented yet (Billig 398).

Repression can be seen as 'willed forgetting', "motivated by the impulse not to experience unpleasure and must be continuously reproduced" (Billig 320). Freud also indicates that something that is "within an articulate discourse deemed as unacceptable is suppressed. Such a suppression is revealed by blanks or alterations" (Billig 324). By using models of replacement, attention can be redirected from the unpleasant to something else as "continual distraction permits forgetting and limits remembering" (Billig 376).

Freud argues that repression constantly needs to be pressured from the outside. It can come out either in an extremely violent manner or dissolve into nothingness if the outside force is no longer present. We can easily observe repression in others, but have difficulties diagnosing it for

ourselves. We can only repress until it is compatible with our beliefs and morals. When that line is crossed repression becomes painful.

Jacques Derrida makes a point in saying that: “The future can only be anticipated in the form of an absolute danger” (5). Such apocalyptic desires of a world coming to an end, or of a future when it is radically different, can be crucial in understanding analyzed literature. The fiction writing on South African xenophobia offers at once an exciting and agitating experience.

7.1. POINTS OF NO RETURN

The conclusion of this thesis is called “Points of No Return” not because there is no return and history should be forgotten. It is called that as a call for action, a turning point, not to return to or to repeat the mistakes of the past, but to learn from them, learn from the mistakes Europe or the United States of America and many other countries around the globe might be making right now. There is so much good and so much potential in South Africa. It is time for its ‘star’ to shine again and once more become an example of good instead of the bad.

When a chapter is closed in life, when an experiment is finished, a critical analysis concluded, we are always asked and expected to produce results. The same goes for a thesis. When it is done, everybody asks you what have you proven with it or what is the academic value of what you have written.

All these questions assume “that the end or ending is indeed final, conclusive, closed” (Bennett, Royle 311). What if a text has an open ending, is haunting, ambiguous, suspenseful, equivocal, undecidable? Bennett and Royle answer that: “Every text is opened to a rereading, and the way in which its ending is appreciated or understood will vary with time, from one reader to another, from one reading to another” (317). Derrida emphasizes that humans cannot do “without the notion of end as goal or purpose,” nor without the idea of a fulfilment, while “Poststructuralists put the very idea of the end into question, not only the sense of conclusion but also the sense of a goal or purpose of a text” (Bennett, Royle 317). In a way, intertextuality and rereadability mean that there can be no end to any text.

On the one hand, literature or fiction writing need time to respond. Just like in the case of writing about the HIV/AIDS epidemic. Writing about AIDS is easier now when it is not a life sentence anymore and infected people can live a full life with ART's. Fiction with xenophobia as a central theme will appear after a while, after solutions will be offered or made possible. However, xenophobia is still a too sensitive topic right now in the world collectively. On the other hand, the growth of informal ways of communicating about xenophobia must also be considered. Less formal ways of communicating opinions like on social media are on the rise.

A book needs a long time to get written and be published. Social media responds to news faster, almost immediate. Facebook groups, Twitter rants, WhatsApp group messages, slam poetry, street poetry, graffiti, strips; they all responded to xenophobia in South Africa. On the wings of Trevor Noah's success, stand-up comedians look at the funny side of things and use humor as a coping mechanism. This is a pattern shown all over the globe as informal communicating channels are becoming the most popular mediums of transferring opinions. Essentially they are easier; they require a lower level of literacy and are a much faster way to reach masses. I have briefly discussed the more formal mediums like TV, radio, and newspapers in my thesis, and agreed that while their role is very important they should be less sensationalistic.

I have not discussed them, or the social media phenomenon, more in-depth in order not to divert from my topic. But the inevitable truth is that all of these respond(ed) sooner than researchers or fiction writers. Their role is invaluably important as they pave the way for generally 'more serious' books. They show a path works of fiction can follow. There is a path for future research at a grander scale when there will be more works published with xenophobia as a central theme.

Then again, do works of fiction actually mirror real life in South Africa? The truth of the matter is that most days' life goes on normally in the country. People go to school, to work, watch TV, go to bars, theaters. They live an everyday normal life. And yes, in it, soft xenophobia is present in the small things, in short comments, certain looks, behavioral choices. That is, unfortunately, the everyday normal. And that is what the books describe. They hint at xenophobia, but not in such an explosive way, because it is simply not so explosive every day. The xenophobic attacks of 2008 and 2015 were exceptions. Cruel, horrible exceptions, but still exceptions. However, the worrying fact is these exceptions and becoming more and more frequent.

What is important is the conversation, the exchange of opinions, the exchange of knowledge. The world as a collective needs to find solutions to the migration issue, to the xenophobia issue. Problem-solving is like playing a chess game in which much skill is required. Let my PhD research be the 'literature with a purpose', a stepping stone for further research, for future solutions. Bennett and Royle point out that the meaning(s) of texts are not always obvious or final but can be polyphonic or changed in rereading (312).

Phaswane Mpe, like his character Refentse, sheds a light on the complex yet never quite final power of writing fiction. In his novel he wonders if topics like xenophobia, prejudices or AIDS can ever be resolved: "For to have these answers was to know the secrets of life itself" (Mpe 60-61). According to Mpe, writing stories about such issues clearly cannot resolve them in full. There would always be another new story, describing a new more current event; there will always be new knowledge that can be re-applied to what we already know. What writing can do, is help dealing with these all-encompassing issues.

When Albert Camus won the Nobel Prize in 1957 he noted that each generation feels called upon to reform the world adding that he knows his will not. But he saw its task in preventing the world from destroying itself as even greater. Despite inheriting wars, dictatorships, ideological missuses, high tech overawe, education and intelligence devaluing, and a world where the ones who hold power are the ones with money; the generation Camus hopes will come, will have to re-establish a little of that which constitutes the dignity of life and death (Tadjo 239).

The recently passed anti-Apartheid activist and politician Winnie Madikizela Mandela's words about South Africa echo Camus that in a country that has pre-1994 seen so much hatred, segregation, and violence, the solution was found through peace. A new world was being built on that foundation, a 'New South Africa'. But what many have forgotten is that in this rebuilding process many hidden secrets are/will be unearthed; heroes of the past will turn out to have faults, and enemies from the past will now offer a helping hand. In light of the xenophobic events taking place in South Africa, she encouraged a creation of new political contexts and ethics, as only in such a way a better future can be created (Ndebele 71).

Both Winnie and Nelson Mandela wanted their homeland to be a country known not only as a direction, but also a destination. The first time South Africans became the generation of Camus's vision was when they defeated Apartheid. The second chance is right now.

8. INDEX

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APPENDIX

A. ABSTRACT

B. ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

C. ACADEMIC CURRICULUM VITAE

A. ABSTRACT

As the most developed country on the continent, South Africa is often referred to as the ‘star’ of Africa in terms of being the desired final destination of thousands of people. However, the 'African Star' is declining because of the continuous killings, rapes, or destruction of immigrant-owned property culminating in the 2008 and 2015 riots. The research is meant as a conversation between a personified South Africa and its ‘other’ – the black African foreigner. It tries to cover all the questions and insults a foreigner would be confronted with in South Africa while also including what a South African would feel about/ask a foreigner, and see how thirteen selected works of fiction, written by African writers from South Africa as well as from other countries on the continent, deal with these topics. It inspects the complaints about foreigners bringing violence and diseases in the country, about stealing South African jobs and their women. This xenophobia, sometimes called ‘negrophobia’ or ‘afrophobia’ now seems to make racism a general human phenomenon and no longer one of skin color. This research aims to map the dynamics and test scenarios of the relationship between South Africa’s self-image and the image of the African ‘other’. It also gives a humanizing perspective and serves as a human rights narrative overreaching a simple hatred of foreigners. On the one hand, understanding how the country got here, but on the other hand, asking where will the ‘Rainbow Nation’ go from here, looking forward, using the mistakes of the past as learning steps for the future so that one day the country can be a ‘star’ again.

B. ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Als das am weitesten entwickelte Land auf dem Kontinent wird Südafrika oftmals als der „Stern“ Afrikas bezeichnet, vor allem im Hinblick als das begehrte Zielland tausender Menschen. Allerdings ist der „Afrikanische Stern“ aufgrund andauernder Tötungen, Vergewaltigungen, Zerstörung von Einwanderereigentum und schlussendlich den Aufständen 2008 und 2015 am Untergehen. Diese fremdenfeindliche Gewalt und Diskriminierung, die afrikanische/n Migranten/innen in Südafrika entgegenschlägt, streicht die soziale und politische Problematik hervor, welche das Ideal bzw. die Idee einer offenen panafrikanischen Gesellschaft gefährdet. Die Arbeit stellt sich als eine Konversation zwischen einem personifizierten Südafrika und dem „Anderen“ – dem schwarzen afrikanischen Fremden – dar. Darin inkludiert sind alle Fragen und Beschimpfungen, mit denen der Fremde in Südafrika konfrontiert werden würde, ebenso alles was ein/e Südafrikaner/in im Hinblick auf das Fremde fühlt bzw. fragen würde und die Auseinandersetzung damit in dreizehn ausgewählten Romanen, welche von Autoren und Autorinnen aus Südafrika als auch aus anderen Ländern des Kontinents geschrieben wurden. Sie untersucht die Beschwerden über die Fremden, die Gewalt und Krankheiten in das Land bringen, sowie südafrikanische Arbeitsplätze und Frauen wegnehmen. Diese Fremdenfeindlichkeit, manchmal als „Negrophobie“ oder „Afrophobie“ bezeichnet, scheint Rassismus zu einem generellen menschlichen Phänomen zu machen, anstatt es ausschließlich an der Hautfarbe festzumachen. Die vorliegende Arbeit zielt darauf ab, die Dynamiken aufzuzeigen und Szenarios auszutesten, die in der Beziehung zwischen dem Selbstbild Südafrikas und der Vorstellung des afrikanischen „Anderen“ zum Tragen kommen. Ferner zeigt sie eine vermenschlichende Perspektive auf und dient als ein Menschenrechtsnarrativ, welches einfachen Fremdenhass übertrifft. Auf der einen Seite gilt es zu verstehen, wie das Land an den jetzigen Punkt kam, aber auf der einen Seite muss gefragt werden, wohin sich die Regenbogennation entwickelt, auf die Zukunft gerichtet macht man sich die Fehler der Vergangenheit als Lernschritte für die Zukunft zunutze, sodass das Land eines Tages wieder ein „Stern“ sein kann.

C. ACADEMIC CURRICULUM VITAE

Dr. Phil. (Doctor of Philosophy) in English and American Studies

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During my Doctorate I was a guest researcher at:

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During my Masters I was a guest student at:

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