DRAFT CASE STUDY:

"The dynamics of social cohesion amidst transnational spaces": Community Conversations To Promote Social Cohesion in Kamaqhekeza, Nkomazi, Mpumalanga
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Introduction:

In line the philosophy of its founder towards encouraging dialogue and building transformative leadership, the Nelson Mandela Foundation, in 2009, launched the Programme to Promote Social Cohesion. Towards the goal of building social cohesion, the NMF progamme initiated a series of community conversations to identify the root causes of tension between locals and migrants in the Tonga area. Dialogue remains a powerful intervention for attaining greater societal capacities towards cooperation and peaceful resolution of conflicts. There is no single way to engage in dialogue and a range of tools available for conducting dialogue depending on the specific context and demands imposed by a situation. The approach taken towards the conversations was based on a methodological framework previously adopted by the UNDP, the Community Capacity Enhancement (CCE) methodology, which aims at creating transformation at the community and institutional level. The CCE methodological framework recognizes the tacit capacity inherent among communities and aims, in light of this understanding, at bringing about transformative change through step cyclical action steps, each utilizing specific tools.

NMF convened three such conversations in the Tonga area, Nkomazi Municipality (Mpumalanga Province) in partnership with civil society organisations working with local communities and migrants in this area. These including faith based organisations, such as Mpumalanga Council of Churches, organisations working with refugees and migrants, such as the Somali Association of South Africa (as well as and members of the interim committee of a new body, the Mpumalanga Council of Refugees, that migrants set up to advocate for their needs), and organisations aimed at improving the conditions of marginalised South Africans, such as Masisukhumeni Womens Crisis Organisation and Leandra Advisory Centre. NMF developed these operational partnerships with the aim of securing support for effective dialogues at local level, where efforts of these organisations were concentrated. The participation of the SACC was strategic given the range of issues that had emerged which called for interventions around values and cultural norms.

Throughout all ages and across socio-cultural boundaries dialogue has served a distinct purpose of bringing people, who seem intractably opposed to change, to view and relate to each other differently. Through this pilot we hoped to understand how we can use this process to encourage the community in Nkomazi to discorver shared values and concerns which may lead to collaborative actions which had previously not occurred. This report attempts provides an overview of the experiences and learning acquired during the implementation of the pilot. The analysis herein is based upon transcripts of many hours from the community conversation, one on one interviews with respondents comprised of migrants and locals and discussions emerging from bilateral meetings with key stakeholders from governmental, political and community structures. The report is broadly divided into five sections - a summary of the context in respect of the site; a section outlining the dialogue process and the manner in which the team facilitators drawn from the operational partners, convened and ran the dialogues; a third section capturing perspectives that emerged during the community conversation; and a final section discussing lessons learnt from both the process and substantive issues emerging out of using community dialogues as an mechanism for addressing concerns the community faced in developing relationships among migrants and locals.

Throughout the report we make extensive use of substantive quotes made by participants during the conversation to elaborate on the matters pertaining to the issues at hand. The report also makes use of the conversations held at other pilot sites, such as in the Leandra and Delmas area, to draw upon contrasts or to reinforce perspectives that emerged during the conversations at Nkomazi. As with projects of a similar nature, the implementation of conversations in Nkomazi faced limitation of its own amongst these being the difficulty of involving all key stakeholders present in the area. For example despite repeated invitations to key local authority and provincial government officials, we felt that government remained underrepresented during the Nkomazi conversation (in contrast to the high participation during the Leandra conversation). Owing to the limited capacity of the team of facilitators (resource constraints), in terms of numbers, it was also not possible to follow through on certain recommendations aimed at various state institutions, community structures and non-profits working in the area. We believe that these limitations are in keeping with the delineated boundaries of a pilot, and the inherent need of aim informing the needs to be taken into account when establishing a full-blown programme.

Context:

The Nkomazi Municipality is 3240.42 km² in extent, which is 4.07% of Mpumalanga Province and forms the eastern section of the Lowveld area of the Mpumalanga, located in a wedge bounded by Mozambique to the east, Swaziland to the south, Kruger National Park to the north, Umjindi Local Municipality to the southwest and Mbombela Local Municipality from the northwest to west. The main urban centres are Louw's Creek; Kaapmuiden; Malelane, Hectorspruit, Marloth Park, Komatipoort, KaMhlushwa, Tonga and **KaMaqhekeza.** In addition, the Nkomazi Local Municipality is made out of several villages that are under the control of traditional Authorities. There are 8 Tribal Authorities and about 43 villages. The Maputo Corridor traverses the area of Nkomazi and has a significant influence on the growth and development of the area. Increasing cross border interaction has helped to build the profile of this otherwise marginalized area. As with other parts of the Mpumalanga lowveld region it's agriculture focuses on citrus, subtropical fruits, vegetables, sugar cane and macadamia nuts, mainly located in the northern section (Onderberg). In contrast the southern section, made up of 98% of Nkomazi's population is underdeveloped.

Nkomazi's population is estimated at 495 000 with over 50% half of people younger than 20 years. The young age structure has serious implications in terms of the pressure exerted on resources and services, particularly given that the current unemployment among the economically active populations is 50% and the dependency ratio is estimated to be as high as 6.8 persons dependent. In addition over 59% of the labour force has little or no education and the majority of the households (88%) earn less than R1000.00 per month, mainly from grants and self-employment. This is a reflection of high poverty, which might have negative impacts on the municipal revenue base, as these households cannot afford to meet the municipality's costs recovery of rendering municipal services. In Nkomazi municipality the most impoverished part of the old homeland KaNgwane, is close to the Mozambican and Swazi borders, and just south of the Kruger National Park. The backlog in the provision of electricity to households (household connections) is still huge and increasing at an alarming rate due to the uncontrolled expansion of the rural villages. In the 2001 Census the Nkomazi Municipality emerged as the second municipality with the highest backlog for housing. According to the provincial survey conducted in January to July 2006 the backlog on housing stands at 95,000 houses at district level and majority of people in the rural areas live in traditional form or informal types of houses, while he shortage in urban areas has led to mushrooming of informal settlement also contributes to the rise of housing shortage.

QUOTATION: The issue at the bottom of this is really poverty. Obviously if you have a family and you don't have food on the table, it is difficult. Even if someone can say "come to my place just to do my garden I will give you two hundred a month, you are bound to accept that because you don't have any thing. With regard to the fruits, obviously as the root cause, the end result will be crime, xenophobia and all these things. I don't know if there's a solution or what, but…prostitution, I think everyone knows what is prostitution…is increasing, human trafficking, unwanted pregnancies, and increasing rate of offense, HIV/AIDS…children who are born with HIV. I think all because of poverty.

Nkomazi incarnates what happened to the former homelands after the break-down of apartheid. As the political economy has reconfigured, some groups have secured better opportunities as state employees and emergent black commercial farmers. At the same time, unemployment runs high with jobs being shed in farming, in mining and in manufacture – which some critics have blamed upon the liberalization of these sectors. Although state resources have been made available in considerable amounts, the service levels are low and the area continues to buckle under a high prevalence of Aids and other poverty-related diseases. The Khameqeza area is reflective of the cumulative challenges facing the district in these respects and is fraught with the combined range of socio-economic problems – unemployment, lack of sufficient housing, massive pressure on land, limited economic opportunities, limited economic success amongst those active in business, intense business competition in a limited market, and crime. In terms of education, schools in this location as in other rural areas, face challenges like overcrowding; lack of class rooms, toilets and running water; and a shortage of qualified teachers in mathematics, Many children find it difficult to access schooling due to barriers associated with school fees or access to fee exemptions; transport or uniform costs; or domestic circumstances such as the need to look after siblings or parents in the case of families affected by HIV/AIDS.

The migrant population
Regional migration in this area has extended as far north as Malawi has been a feature of migration into South Africa rural and urban areas since the late 1800s, with Africans living as contract, seasonal, hidden migrants and unrecognized asylum seekers contributing to the building of the South African economy into one of the strongest in the region. During this time, the state sanctioned black African temporary migration to the mines and commercial farms of South Africa, exercising control through coercive mechanisms that forced Africans

into mines and fields, creating a system of migrant labour that underpinned apartheid. Migrants from Swaziland and Mozambique made up over half of the labour force of the gold mining industry and Swaziland citizens could move freely into South Africa until 1963, subject to apartheid's segregation policies. In the early to mid-1900s significant numbers of Malawian nationals were also employed on the mines alongside some Batswana and Zimbabweans. Many Mozambicans resident who remain in Nkomazi are former refugees who fled the civil war in the 1980s and today, are permanently settled and integrated in local communities, speaking the local languages fluently (SiSwati and IsiNdebele). Some have accessed South African identity documents through government amnesties and exemptions in 1996 and 1999/2000, but many, due to procedural weaknesses in the implementation of the amnesties, remain without documentation, unable to access basic services. This history of past migration from neighboring states seems to have been conveniently forgotten, despite the fact that many of them have developed family ties in South Africa that stretch for decades.

QUOTATION: In 2008 is when the violence started known as xenophobia happened we started killing our brothers and sisters that had come from outside the country and that is where our people were saying we have to do this for they were taking our jobs and that was when relationships broke down and now we want people to leave.

Today, Nkomazi is made up of many cross-border communities (such as Shangaans and Swazis) sharing a language, culture, kinship and traditional leadership structures. Located on a border zone of South Africa, Swaziland and Mozambique in practice it consists of one development area, in which all residents benefit from social and economic development, indirectly contributing to regional integration. These cross border communities travel across the three countries, rarely through the formal border posts, but mainly through informal border gates, especially between South Africa and these countries. Many citizens from the adjacent countries where education is more expensive than South Afirca send their children to Nkomazi for schooling where they often stay with relatives in South Africa or travel to and fro across the border. Though few have immigration permits, these populations consider themselves South African due to historical community and family linkages. It is difficult to distinguish between South African and non-South African children, since they share languages (SeSwati and Shangaan), have relatives in South Africa and long-standing links in

the district, and often have documentation from the Traditional Authorities showing local residence. However the absence of formal immigration documentation continues to present an obstacle to their ability to integrate fully among the local society. For example, orphans lacking identity cards because they are children of migrants, or children born out of South African and migrant partnerships, are stranded in accessing basic support services.

QUOTATION: As we are sitting here, we have our brothers coming from all over the continent of Africa it's not that they came for pleasure like many South Africans think. There were issues that made them run away from their own countries. And as they are here in South Africa we have got our own issues and in all these issues that we were discussing in our groupings….this is where the problem starts.

The arrival of African migrants from further north since 1994 has been part of the changing landscape of cross border migration in post-apartheid South Africa. Immigrants from other countries, including India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Somalia, Ethiopia, etc. have recently begun settling in rural areas such as Nkomazi. Most of these are businesspeople that contribute to the local economy by opening shops in under-serviced villages and townships. This group of migrants is often seen as undermining South African small businesses and operating businesses informally without paying taxes (although many are formally registered and taxed) but they also introduce competition and benefit poor consumers by reducing prices and increasing the diversity of goods available in remote areas. Migrants are also generally seen as a cause of crime, rather than as potential victims of crime who also require protection, and there is often the danger of conflating this perception and grouping all categories of migrants as criminals. Sadly in relation to this group, South Africa's immigration policy has been about control and deportations despite the substantial demands of this approach on public resources, and its failure to stem in-migration. As discussed below, rather than containing undocumented migrants, a restrictive immigration policy has encouraged corruption in the documentation and enforcement processes, implicating key government institutions like department of home affairs and the police.

Service Delivery Issues

QUOTATION: There is the issue of that the people don't have access to services…Our

government is using a wrong approach in terms of ensuring that our people access the necessary services. You ask yourself one question, why...service delivery protest? Who can tell me why? It's because our government is not working through NGOs and the people. It relies mostly on departments...to come with the resources where people who want to enrich themselves are instead of coming through community organisations at a lower level.

This region is no exception to South Africa's history of mass mobilization where people have taken to the streets in marches, demonstrations or the erection of barricades, with the aim of winning political, economic or social demands. From the early 20th century until present protest action has been a distinctive characteristic of the political landscape that contributed to forcing the apartheid regime into negotiation. Today, such action emanates in demands for service delivery. Though strides have been made in improving the quality of services in the locations, access to housing and other basic services remain problematic, and increasingly communities are demonstrating against this and corruption. It has been suggested that the government's abandonment of redistributive RDP in favour of the market oriented Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) macro-economic policy, laid the basis for this post democracy protests. The initial waves consisted of groups that protested sporadically over municipal services, housing and roads. Later protests stages centered on grievances related to demarcation politics such as the familiar Khutsong and Matatiele's demarcation struggles, and the uprisings in Harrismith and Standerton. In recent times Mpumalanga has seen repeat uprisings in areas such as Balfour and others, that point to struggles of exclusion and inclusion and disputes around definitions of political citizenship. Youth organizations are at the forefront of many of these protests and appear to want to adopt more radical strategies where barricades and burning tyres does not catch the attention of the authorities and lead to the desired change. Thus, it is not uncommon to witness a transition from service delivery protest to expressions of xenophobia or destruction of government property. For example, in Siyathemba and Leandra, the community has erupted in violent protest burning down government buildings including libraries and government offices. In these occasions, some protesters attacked shops belonging to immigrants from African countries.

QUOTATION: Number one these people (migrants) use money to get I.D's they are changing home affairs, you find that my sister is married to somebody that is not known and that affects us because we never did that in their country. Today they are coming with rubbish,

its rubbish really because it affects us, the state of home affairs is now changed its no more what the home affairs used to be. You find that my brother is married to a wife that he never met before and that is a problem you find that you have personal problems because they have bribed somebody.

This close relations between the service delivery protests and the ensuing violence perpetrated against migrants may lie in the assumed links drawn by locals between the challenges they face and the presence of migrants. During the conversations in Kamaqhekeza we found that at the heart of many of the grievances against migrants was the perception that unemployment was caused by the preference for migrant labour. This perception may lie in the fact that since 1994 the number of foreign migrants, mainly from SADC countries, in the area, has increased due to a number factors such as the elastic potential supply of labor from the SADC member states, South Africa's economic dominance and the changing political conditions in Zimbabwe that have encouraged economic migration. It is widely believed that farmers draw heavily on labor from these countries without adhering to basic conditions of employment such as the minimum wage, annual leave etc. that many locals insist upon. This generates a level of anger among locals against these migrants, who may not appreciate the vulnerability that migrant workers face and the face of scrupulous employers. These perceptions also ignore the long history of migrant labour in the province and in the Nkomazi area, where for the past century migrants have been recruited as farm labour and acquired de facto permanency while having de jure temporary status.

QUOTATION: I want you to understand the orchestration of xenophobia, where does it come from and why is it xenophobia. Because I know for a fact that in most cases you will find our brothers from Nigeria, from Zimbabwe, from Somalia to for instance to take to Delmas, coming here to start a business. Now somewhere somehow, us as young people from Delmas, young people from Delmas and old people from Delmas, we will feel like you want to show us you kno this area more than us and you want all we have. Now that is a problem that is where xenophobia is created that is where we become sceptical towards these brothers and sisters.

Despite this history, service delivery protests in the province have continued to turn violent with residents turning their anger on migrants, particularly those from Ethiopian or Pakistani communities, and the property they own, forcing many of them to abandon in many cases, what is their entire life's investment as they flee the townships. While police have arrested people for public violence, charges against the perpetrators of violence are often subsequently dropped, encouraging a culture of impunity. Those who laid criminal charges relating to the violence and the damages were later intimidated into dropping these. While some protest leaders have blamed a 'criminal element' that takes advantage of the situation in order to loot, one can easily see how attitudes of the general community towards a specific section living among it, can fuel xenophobic attitudes amidst the exercise of legitimate democratic action. It This impunity alongside legitimate protests has led some authors to observe the emergence a society where ironically, demands are made against all forms of exploitation and oppression in a society, where migrant rights do not form an integral part.

QUOTATION: In Somalia there wars even today there is no president the people and the presidents fight. The people that came seeking refuge here are suffering. There is a war in Somalia that is why our brothers and sisters have fled to other countries to find refuge. Yet when we come we suffer. We experienced abuses last year and we had three Somali deaths last year. Just because of doing business

Purpose

'…in dialogue, the intention is not to advocate but to inquire; not to argue but to explore; not to convince but to discover'. '…in dialogue, the intention is not to advocate but to inquire; not to argue but to explore; not to convince but to discover'.

Before proceeding to outline the process as it unfolded in Nkomazi, it may be appropriate to discuss a few points about how we understood dialogue in this context. We saw dialogue as both an inclusive process and participatory approach that would bring together the relevant stakeholders into a safe place where they could solve the complex issues that were affecting the relationship between migrants and locals. Through skilled facilitation this process fosters understanding among the participants and seeks to identify new consensual options and

shared visions. Dialogue sows seeds, which when coupled with long term investment, can result lay foundations for further interventions employed in the areas of peace building and conflict resolution. In this respect, dialogue as a process needs to be differentiated from approaches such as mediation and deliberation, utilized in peace building, many of which may hold the same objectives in sight. While mediation is an official process and tries to reach agreement, dialogue is more dynamic and experimental, involving parties who are not yet ready for negotiations but do not want a destructive relationship to continue. In Nkomazi the dialogue mechanisms often formed the basis, for some of the negotiations that took place among members of ad hoc committees later established as forums to negotiate a broad range of interest. The power of the CCE methodological framework through which to conduct dialogue lies in the manner in which it incorporates these interrelated process into the umbrella of the dialogue, in a way where they are influenced by ordinary individuals.

It was believed that dialogues in Nkomazi could provide a platform to explore the underlying concerns leading to the xenophobic outbreak, and go some way towards reducing the tension that had led to violence witnessed during 2008. It was also hoped that dialogue would provide an appropriate means of tackling the misconception that had developed on migrants and through improved the relationship between sections of the community, offer innovative solutions to concerns facing communities. What we hoped to achieve in Nkomazi was a process of genuine interaction through which those who participated in the dialogues (both from migrants and local communities) listened to each other deeply enough to change. We recognized that while participants could not give up their identity, each had to make an effort to recognize their counterpart's human claims and adopt the picture of others' into their own, even when disagreement persists. It was however recognized that the structural problems in this area of Nkomazi would not disappear with the holding of these series of conversations. In addition to the conversation, there was a need for continuing integrated strategy involving development efforts to address those underlying issues. The dialogue sought to set up a platform for this by building strong and productive relationship between migrants and locals, while at the same time providing a degree of ownership by the community over how to address and resolve their concerns as they arose in the future without necessary depending on outside assistance.

The Dialogue Process

QUOTATION: Before we start we start our session can we sit together as one community so that we can begin to appreciate one another and give somebody and begin to receive a gift of life can we sit together. Your being here is important. Can I request that you give somebody a gift of life this morning? Let us start something new here. Let us exchange words of hope and peace and replace the ones we exchanged in 2008.

The conversation in Kamaqhekeza proceeded in stages from October 2009 to April 2010 and to a great extent, the process and its pace developed in response to unfolding perspectives and observations made in each conversation. Conversations conducted in Nkomazi provided a good comparison with other conversation undertaken in Mpumalanga, in Delmas and Leandra, bringing to light how different communities respond to similar challenges. Roughly 70 people from the migrant and host communities, attended conversations in the area including representatives from provincial and local government structure, non-profits, and community based organisation and the general community.

In accordance with the CCE methodological, the team of facilitators employed tools that aimed at supporting the community in building relationships among migrants and locals, identifying and exploring concerns they faced in promoting relationships across the migrants and locals and ultimately prioritising decisions for the purposes of taking action. The cyclical steps of the CCE Methodology should not be viewed as static stages, which once undertaken are folded up and closed. In fact the entire cycle is quite dynamic in the sense that as the conversations unfold as the attention paid to reflection and review often means that one has to move back and forth between the later steps of decision making and implementation, and the earlier ones of relationship building and exploring concerns. This is particularly prompted by discussions flowing out of the ongoing bilateral meetings with the relevant stakeholders. Amidst this environment, it is not possible to control the unfolding process, and attempts to forecast the direction of a dialogue process through firm rules can lead to a 'tunnel vision' that curtails its effectiveness. The environment becomes one characterized by experimental learning among peers, based on dynamism collective learning where people move together into a "unkown space" as they let go of their assumptions and create something new together.

Preparation for the dialogues
For strategic reason, and in particular since the region was undergoing a period of

turbulence flowing out of the service delivery protests, it was decided from the onset that it was necessary to meet separately with the diverse leadership of the area before commencing the community dialogue. Given the high volatility of the protest action that hit Leandra during April, it was important to recognize the sensitivities that prevailed and chose an environment conducive to open conversation and reflection. At that time, many of the government offices had become a target of the protest action and failure to be circumspect in various logistics may have undermined the security and safety for participants.

QUOTATION: The word xenophobia…….I'm not talking about the oxford definition, where it says heart and fear of foreigners. To me that definition is wrong in the sense that the foreigners themselves are xenophobic too. So, I don't know how they have defined that. The world xenophobic is everywhere in the world. It does not apply only in South Africa. I is good that at least we sit here we look for ways to solve that problem. As long as we know that all human beings have rights.

Beginning in June 2009, the team of facilitators embarked on a series of bilateral meetings to raise awareness of the dialogue process. The purpose here was to explain the objectives of the dialogues and convince key representatives of the communities of dialogues as an adequate means of finding mutually solutions to the challenges faced; to obtain buy in from leaders into accepting the community conversations as a mechanism towards addressing the tension that had developed; and to examine ways that the migrant community could be properly organized so as to represent their constituency. Bilateral meetings were held with leaders of youth league formations of different political parties; leaders of the community policing forum; officials from the provincial department of home affairs, social development, premiers office and the South Africa Police Service; officers from various chapter nine Institutions such as the Commission for Gender Equality and the South Africa Human Rights Commission; leadership of various trade associations and community based structures such as the taxi associations; and traditional authorities of the local ethnic groups inhabiting the area.

The invitation to dialogue relied on existing representative structure given the highly organized nature of society mainly at grassroot level. Each dialogue was convened with written reminders (sms, email and letters), telephonic conversations and face-to-face meetings with representative leadershps and the community at large. Owing to the desire to

keep the number of participants between 70-80 people to manage the interactions, we decided against the use of other forms of invitation such as public address systems. Many of the target groups confirmed their acceptance of the dialogue process, and nominated participant to represent their organizations. On some occasions national and local media were also present. The response to the invitation call to the dialogue was unique to the situations the communities faced during these period. A number of leaders were eager to have a dialogue that did not focus only on xenophobia exclusively, but also included a number of challenges the residents faced including service delivery, accountability of provincial and municipal leadership structure etc. Attendance to the dialogues by the migrant community was initially low for two main reasons – the pervasive that existed among these groups and the lack of organization and formal representative leadership through whom we could liaise to mitigate the impact of these fears. One of the immediate results flowing out of this observation during the dialogues was the steps that were later taken to establish an umbrella organizations made up of migrants which could act as a voice and liaison with the migrant community.

The meetings were held at the Kamaqheza Community Hall due to the logistical advantage this posed in terms of accessibility. There were however some disadvantages in choosing Kamaqheza. Its long distance from Malelani meant that it was located far away from the centre of local government authorities responsibility for Nkomazi municipality. It also meant that lack of easy access for a number of participants from surrounding areas and the need to entail additional expenses and time in organizing their attendance. The area had also witnessed a number of incidents where shops of migrants, mainly from Pakistani and Somali community, had been burnt following sporadic protests in the area over various issues including service delivery protests. Contrasts can be drawn between this and the selection of another venue for the dialogues in Delmas were participants felt that the premises chosen was more identifiable with one of the political formation causing some tension between representatives of the various political affilitates that participated. In addition, as the conversations were viewed by some of the community as a means to draw attention by local authorities to the concerns they faced, members from adjacent section of the location felt that community hall selected should have been located at the border of two sections. The later selected venue in Leandra which functioned as a centre for the work of various CBOs and was politically neutral, served to show the importance of such factors if the dialogue is to successfully draw adequate numbers for its purposes.

The Dialogue Event

Each dialogue was preceded by a provincial capacity development workshop through which the abilities of facilitators were strengthened on how to model curiosity and encourage participants to tell their story; how document so that participants' ideas were captured in a way they felt valued; and how to capture verbatim quotes or images and sound as part of creating a record or 'group memory' to provide continuity in the process. The role of the facilitators in this process was to model neutrality and convey an assurance to represented groups in respect to their ongoing participation. However, the team members didn't see themselves as detached observers but as active change agents aiming to turn present circumstances towards a more promising future. In line with this catalyst role, the team of facilitators, between dialogues, engaged in rigorous relationship building through bilateral and group meetings with the leadership of both local and migrant communities as well as representatives from key stakeholders.

The actual dialogue event lasted four hours and were initially held on Saturdays and later shifted to the weekdays in order to secure greater representation by government officials, and to avoid clashes with social commitments, like funerals, taking place over the weekend. This however, had the unintended consequences of reducing the numbers of community members who drew their livelihoods from the informal sector and feared to miss out business opportunities. Interchanges during dialogues took place in plenary and in sessions made up of groups of around 5-7 people, who focused on specific topics, and eventually presented their discussions during plenary. The small group exercise helped tone down voices that were more dominant in plenary by providing a more intimate setting where more subdued participants could express their opinions. During the beginning of each dialogue facilitators presented an agenda to the participants for their approval and structured discussions in such a way that the parties could identify their interests, generate options, and select the solutions that would foster cohesion among the communities. The agenda that developed in the course of dialogues was reflective of the thematic steps outlined in the CCE methodological cycle – relationship building aimed and developing a safe space of trust through which the dialogues could take place; identification and exploration of concerns; prioritizing of decisions and action plans to respond to the concerns identified; and constant engagement of reflection and review around processes and agreements that were unfolding out of each conversation.

Relationship Building

QUOTATION: As I sit here seeing this, it came to my mind to remind myself and ask myself where has it gone? That spirit of unity among the people within the community, when a child is born they belong not only to the parents but also of the community and even to the granny next door. A child that is brought up by any father, where has that time gone to where I respect anyone I meet along the street. Where has that spirit gone? Any elder is my mother, my father, when I see a lady, a mum, they are my mothers, where has that spirit gone to where people can unite. To unite as unite, live together, to slaughter and eat together and not question what others want to live in your home. Anybody can come and live with us because we are one, where is the spirit gone to when you see a stranger and someone is come to you And you proud that you have got a vistor visiting you and passing by your home. Where you will take out your special food and your special plates for that person because that someone is different and they come from a different country. And where is the saying that goes "The feet has no nose", where has that time gone where I respect a traveler because I don't know one day or years from now, I will go somewhere and meet him and they would treat me well.

The initial conversations aimed at creating a safe place and cognitive empathy for the experiences of others and their experiences. In this respect various CCE tools were fundamental towards creating an environment undergirded by rules in line with human rights norms such as respect for diversity of opinions, inclusivity and equality. These tools helped in open up channels of communication and a healthy environment in which to share perspectives. Building safe spaces for this work is vital if participants are to move beyond politeness —people saying what they always say, or what they think they are supposed to say—to more authentic sharing of perspectives. When the space becomes secure, participants do not feel obliged to reach consensus and every power dynamic is open to scrutiny. Here there is increasing trust amongst the group, which allows for thoughts and feelings that are usually kept hidden, to come to the fore. Though this was the first dialogue that participants had attended in the area, the success of the relationship building exercise could be seen in the manner in which the process evolved into a true dialogue, as opposed to mere negotiations. Participants, particularly those from local communities, were able to share with each other pain and suffering of labeling and historical injustice caused by apartheid, and many of the present day effects they continued to endure. Migrants also

spoke of the harmful effects of institutional marginalization they experienced while living among the communities. This honesty exposed many feelings and brought a level of realization of the common suffering experiences by migrants and locals.

QUOTATION: I don't know as the community we all agree, that xenophobia was a mistake and it's not something people should bask on, I really think we agree as the community on this one. I am the reflection of my brothers and sisters and I am the shadow of my brothers and sisters. My duty is to take care of my fellow brother and my fellow sister and then my next duty in the journey of life is embrace everyone, embrace someone that I have never seen before, embrace somebody, even if they don't look like me.

Identification and Exploration of Concerns

When it came to identifying and exploring concerns, locals and migrants differed what they felt the issues at hand were. Migrants were keen to go right into discussing concerns around xenophobia and how to end it, while locals preferred to suggesting discuss peripheral factors affecting poor South Africans, which they felt contributed to xenophobia. In trying to merge these two perspectives, facilitators choose to focus on the common stressors faced by both groups that strained their relationships. As they discussed CCE tools like the historical timeline, it was common for participants to resort to personal stories to give coherence to local events. Each of these stories acted as a guide to understanding how each of them made sense of their world — and how inter-connected and coherent, these pictures became when put together. The responsibility of facilitators was to help participants realise that each individual perspective was only a part of the whole story, while at the same time merging all the perspectives in such a way that each participants identified with the ultimate story that began to unfold. This is not without its challenges as some participants insist on debate, in reactions to others' stories rather than presenting their own, thereby failing to inculcate the learning that comes from hear others' stories and how they make up a part of the whole.

Action Planning

Having acquired a picture of the main concerns facing the community, the final stages of the conversations aimed at helping participants' work through the prioritizing decisions and inspiring innovative responses to the concerns identified. This stage made use of CCE tool such as envisioning the future through the community was assisted towards building an

alternative vision for their future as the basis of change. The CCE tool helps to create a bias towards the future as a basis for action and to increase the possibility of a paradigm shift from a community that is more focused on its concerns to one that is more inspired by a possibility. In the course of this, participants talked about a shift in energy and a sense of oneness in their aspiration, as they moved from re-creating and focused on the future.

This set the stage for responses based on community action based on a collaborative and inclusive approach kind of individual and community action. Such an approach helps communities develop a sense of empowerment normally absent in many official forms of "public engagement" such as public input sessions where communication is often one-way and the public hardly engages with each other on the issue at hand. Where institutional decisions are made in this manner, they are likely to be more legitimate and sustainable, and institutional decision makers may want to consider the potential of adopting the role of convener and catalyst for dialogue rather than primary problem solver. That said, some shortcomings could be observed in some of the final agreements that emerged from this stage. Many of the prioritized responses focused primarily on addressing symptoms of problems rather than developing responses that foster long-term systematic change. In addition, one could not help but detect the lingering influence of the past polarization among migrants and locals within the decisions, as participants still spoke in terms of "us v. them" paradigm, even while purporting to take decisions that aimed bringing the two groups together

Emerging Perspectives

The Experience of Marginalization

QUOTATION: I am going to speak in Swathi, I am Shangan but I come from Mozambique…..Today as I am today I am still chained I am not free although Samora Machel sought liberation for all African states, he died in chains and I live bound. In 1993 I remember that I got hurt going to Matola I was a soldier….. I was hit by a bullet as I see things how can we say that we are free? We are not yet free. I live in block B, I live here but I am not free. It is my right to be here even with you if you had to leave you would leave. They say that after five years that you have lived here you can then find residence but home affairs has given us big problems….. we are still searching and fighting for this freedom.

Perspectives adduced by both migrants and locals attest the lived experiences of marginalization that continues to occur among them. We have already outlined the extremes of poverty that shadow many of the residents living in Nkomazi. Many of the locals that attended the conversations felt that this state of being poor undermines their ability to participate fully in their own lives, resulting in a situation where poverty and the lack of power mutually reinforce each other. The poverty limits forms of agency available to them and furthers political disempowerment in terms of their capacity to change the social, economic and political processes which marginalise them. Even those cases where it appeared that poor people were being consulted by public circuits and networks, the manner in which this was done was superficial and only undermined their ability to control and impact upon the systems into which they are locked.

QUOTATION: Here all the people complain about the flexibility of the Department of Home Affairs and how lightly they take the issues of papers. There was a guy, a Mozambican guy who complained about the stand that he's staying in. …I think it's you baba….. Ehh, he's been there for many years, over ten years if I'm not mistaken……Over twenty five years, sorry….. but, he's still not the legal owner of that stand. There'll never accept him in this place.

From the perspectives of migrants we were exposed to evidence that suggests that this environment of institutional exclusion, which often translated to xenophobic attitudes, originated in the manner that the state and its employers interacted with Africans not born in South Africa. For example many migrants pointed to the failure of legal justice mechanisms against perpetrators of xenophobic violence and how this has left xenophobic attitudes unchecked and thereby tolerated-by police and institutions of the state. In the group meetings made up exclusively with migrants, they expressed frustration with state officials (including the police and immigration officials), whom though responsible for protecting their rights, were often involved in extorting money and assaulting them in the name of being "illegal". They claimed that such incidents are routine and often officials are not held to accountable, perpetrating a culture of impunity and abuse of power. Researches have drawn strong parallels in this present day language with the past, where the former victims of apartheid's influx control restricted the movement and business potential of black South Africans and constantly treated them as potential criminals. This shows how this

approach and attitude towards immigration policy remains one of the apartheid legacies that South Africa maintains from which xenophobic attitudes grows and explode.

QUOTATION: The people that come to us come here because of hardship and yet home affairs refuse them. There are people that do not have I.D's because they are afraid that they will not get the necessary documents if the official sees that they do not have money. They want you to pay them money. [If you] don't have ID. Two, three times, ten times to Home Affairs they tell you we can't issue you with an ID. You can end up committing suicide…..Change the procedure of the Home Affairs the way they are working now is not good. Affairs should [employ] competent officials in their work.

Trust in Democratic Institutions and Leadership

Many commentators have observed the tension between the aspirations of our democracy and its reality on many fronts indicating the disconnect between the vision enshrined in the words and structures set up in the South African constitution and the extent to which these are translated into a reality made up of to citizens empowered to self-govern. These view points were supported by a range of perspectives that emerged conversations which appeared to suggest that this disconnect was be happening on a number of fronts. Some comments appeared to express frustration with the current system of political representation which occurs after the elections where representatives are more "party connected" than elected by the citizens, becoming independent and unresponsive to the interests of the electorate, representing only the political party masters and themselves. The result is a loss of trust in the public participation forums, as the direct relation between the public sector and even grassroots based community organizations cannot substitute representative mechanisms of citizen participation.

QUOTATION: Because the non-South Africans, the wealthy ones, they come to Home Affairs, they give them money for the certificates and stuff to be processed in a hurry. And at the end of the day, the South Africans loose their jobs. We cannot trust our leaders anymore.

On another front, some community members pointed at the lack of transparency and supply of information by many present leaders, and how this aids corruption regarding allocation of services, particularly housing. The lack of channels to express these frustrations not only

exacerbates the this gap of trust but has also played some role towards the emergence of community based organizations (CBOs) comprising scrupulous leaders (particularly from small business associations in townships) who are quick to direct these frustration to peripheral sections of the community, by actively fuelling xenophobic sentiments for their own gains.

QUOTATION: Its not that we do not want fellow Africans in our country. No. what we have to do our African brothers and sisters is they have to come us as the veterans and ask comrades what do we do if you met a problem like this how can we solve the problem and then we sit down and discuss it. Here as NAS there is an ANC office an ANC constituency office we help a lot but people are jumping the ANC office because they are having money. They must know the channels

Clearly the trust between the people and their governing institutions is severely strained if not, in many places, fully broken, and reconstructing this trust is vital, particularly if institutions charged with initiating development and transformation are to be effective. Participants suggest that one possible way of undertaking this restoration is by rejuvenating ethics and moral values across society in which certain behaviour at leadership level becomes unacceptable. In this regard, they suggested that community dialogues might play some part in creating such an atmosphere, and in further rejuvenating the processes of public participation and consultation, as leaders and the community intersected into a common forum where ordinary people shaped opinions on their concerns and accompanying solutions.

Socio-economic Factors

QUOTATION: When you go to home affairs they tell you that the person has a right to be here while we run out of work and stay unemployed.

In the post-apartheid era, people's expectations have been heightened and the realization that delivery is not immediate has meant that discontent and indignation are at their peak. South Africa's political transition to democracy has exposed the unequal distribution of resources and people are more conscious of their deprivation than ever before. It seems that continuing poverty and inequality and unmet basic needs in South Africa's urban areas

pose challenges to realising the protection afforded by the constitution. These challenges have been compounded by the global recession resulting in job losses leaving many vulnerable. At the same time cross border migrants, refugees and new internal migrants are inserting themselves into the deeply unequal landscape of the city. Many Africans from the rest of the continent, particularly SADC nationals and Somalis, make their homes in the informal settlements and townships. This feeds the impression that migrant are responsible for low wages, an ideal situation for xenophobia to flourish, an ideal situation for xenophobic sentiments to flourish. In this environment the history of dependence on migrant labour from southern African countries and its contribution to South Africa's mineral (and natural) wealth is conveniently forgotten. It does not help that the country lacks a strategy for organising migrant workers and that most of the time labour market easily exploit this situation aiding the multiple violations of their basic rights at the hands of employer.

QUOTATION: Discrimination and segregation is not only happening in amongst the foreign nationals it is also taking place amongst us, which is caused by maybe the background you come from or the level of education you have. These are the things happening amongst us that are really bad that as communities you need to begin to embrace one another… we need to pull one another to one direction so the gist of this issue that what we are experiencing is not about foreign nationals it is also happening amongst ourselves as South Africans. We are going through our own inner pain.

Its been said that although poor South Africans are also marginalized from the benefits of resources and development, they are able to wield their citizenship as a tool of leverage to demand attention from the state. As noted this has developed into a situation where in the given context, locals create a target to blame for ongoing deprivation, and exercise their power against those seen as encroaching upon their rights-to state resources. Migrants become scapegoats because they are seen as a threat to the slow pace of service delivery (particularly housing), employment and standards of living in South Africa. This coupled with the high expectations for social change, explains hostility towards migrants and the threats made on their foreign owned business, particularly those operating in informal settlements.

QUOTATION: Let us not exploit people from outside there is no way we would succeed. In South Africa we exploit people that are not from here, we put them to work and then when

we are done with them we now chase them away without pay. That is not right because these people come from a hard place

Locals explained the relationship between dissatisfaction with socio-economic conditions and the presence of migrants willing to work for low wages, as the primary reason for the prevailing attitudes of xenophobia. However a closer examination shows that this relationship is complex and some researchers suggest that there is a need to look into deeper factors associated with macro-economic policies adopted by the country. These researchers identify capitalism and globalization as the systemic root of xenophobia through the manner that these systems facilitate the exploitation of migrant labour by wealthy South Africans. In discussion possible solutions to the tension caused by this set of affairs, a few participants suggested establishing a framework to incorporate the flows of labour by organising migrant workers under trade unions so that existing labour laws could cover them. In many countries migrants as an important component of the labour that needs to be organised in their own right. There is a need to draw on international experience on organising migrant workers and learn lessons on how these have gone about acknowledging the importance of the social agency that migrants bring to host countries.

QUOTATION: The other issue identified was with regard to lack of documentation or legal documentation. It's common cause that we still have employers who still take advantage of the situation. For example, if he knows that you don' have for example a passport or work permit and you are poor, you are struggling to get employment, you don't even have a place to stay; at the end of the day he will end up saying "ok, it's fine, I'm wiling to offer you for example a job and despite the fact that you don't have either a valid passport or any legal documentation that may assist you in terms of getting employment…so that he can take full advantage of you. And you are his mercy.

Historical Factors

QUOTATION: Machel as he rightfully put it said that the liberation of Mozambique was meaningless unless the total liberation of all of Africa. At that time it was South Africa and Zimbabwe the major countries that were outstanding so Machel said the Frelimo army was resting and the next step is South Africa and Mozambique that is step number one. And now it looks like this process was not completed. There is still prisons in the minds of South

African and even Africa people. Instead of solidarity, we hate each other.

Commentators have pointed out how the long history of dispossession, racism and violence that South Africa has gone through has generated a 'national psyche' which manifests on many fronts – through a culture of violence as means of solving problems; low levels of tolerance for the "other", particularly in light of the isolation of South African coupled with the pessimistic information disseminated at all levels about the continent during apartheid; the symptoms of a traumatized society that continues to search for healing and a break from persistent present day fixtures rooted in its past.

QUOTATION: I think my colleague has said a mouthful, just to add on the issue of this event of 1994. It has allowed this country to accommodate other countries so that we can know what we don't know and to get the teachings from other people, I know for the fact that it has made people from other countries to come to South Africa. We have got this culture shock whereby we see how Somali's greet as they have done today. It has taught us what we don't know, the food that they eat, to them, to other nations if they see us eating tripe, they don't know tripe, other people think we are like cows we eat grass. It has allowed us to understand other nations and understand who we are as Africans the way we accommodate oneself.

The struggle against apartheid institutionalized violence, as a means of communicating grievances and achieving political leverage remains, a legacy that has remained embedded within the national psyche. The violence of South Africa's past is deep-rooted and resort to brute force persists today as a "problem-solving' strategy in political, social and community life. Moreover, the motivational factors today differ from one setting of violence to another and often take on a life of their own outside the political situation. In some areas the division between political and criminal violence, and private and political concerns, has long been obscured, so that the two are generally interwoven. The spate of violence associated with service delivery protests during 2009-2010 period suggest that the legacy of violence as a means of expressing grievances is likely to continue to take impact the psychological, social, political and economic lives of all South Africans.

We raise the issue of openness. The locals…they are not open to other people. Ok, lastly we are dealing…xenophobia attack…believe you me this is an … attitude. So, you have to understand your attitude, my attitude so that we can…live together. They don't know much about many other areas that is why they are not open to living together.

In addition, institutional racism (as well as induced ethnic division) created by apartheid with its enormous emphasis on boundary maintenance has contributed to lack of trust and tolerance of others and the ability to construct a national identity founded on a shared vision. Its been suggested this lengthy seclusion from the society of nations, explains the hostility toward post 1994 migrants. Decades of apartheid education and isolation and 15 years of post-apartheid learning have done little to educate citizens about the rest of the continent, the history of cross border migration to the country and its present. To compound this, many South Africans (in rural areas such as Nkomazi) continue to be shackled with ideas of 'foreignness' or 'South African-ness', rooted in their apartheid past, and resort to ideas such as skin colour, knowledge of local dialect, inoculation marks, as criteria to categorise "outsider-ness', and use these to exclude prevent migrants from accessing resources and exercising their rights. As cross border migrants from new countries move into marginalised areas, they provide a convenient target for the expression of frustrations by excluded South African citizens.

Despite the work of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, the failure to adequately acknowledge or even fully understand the damage done to the collective psyche by apartheid's dehumanising of blacks remains alive. The manner in which colonial and apartheid era stereotypes have impacted on current consciousness and the high levels of violence in South Africa (including xenophobic violence) are symptoms of a deeply traumatised society at individual and community level. Amidst the safe spaces of dialogue a few people spoke about the extent of unresolved trauma and ongoing trepidation in their fractured community, much of which was rooted in the past. The concept of 'historical trauma' has been used in some contexts as a means to understand the colonial history and the severe psychological injury perpetuated intergenerationally. The resulting injury has been compared to internalized oppression characterized by despair, helplessness and self-hatred, which is all related to intergenerational post-traumatic stress disorder, where the oppressor psyche is integrated into the fabric of the oppressed. Some authors see the

violence against migrants from this point of view – as a form of self-abuse, where shame of and rage against the past, is turned in on itself and others.

I want to say that before we accept refugees we have to ask ourselves one thing; we can't even accept our next door neighbor, we can't even accept or take care of children whose parents have died. The little that these people have come in with we want to take it from them and that is painful, maybe it's just the beginning but we are going too far. But the problems that we have within us bigger anger than this. We have to accept ourselves and the people that we were living with so that we can accept other people; it's hard to say that you love someone when you don't even love yourself. I am saying that what we did was wrong and painful, we cant get along with other people if you don't get along with yourself. My brother went to exile and stayed in all the African countries and I understand what they are going through but I want to say that we have to clean up house first.

Security, Rule of Law and the Criminal Justice System

This issue of bail is giving them another chance because he can commit a crime today, tomorrow he goes to jail, and in the jail three days he's out and you find him again. Once he's inside there he got more experience from others which he met there and he become more experienced again when he comes outside with another tactics. And society, community becomes again more vulnerable because of that guy……...According to me, they don' have the right to get bail. Because if you give somebody who killed someone, you give him ail he comes out, he will cause more crime because he knows that "I don't have money"...and the crime, that circle of crime will continue day by day. In that aspect I noticed, I am here since nineteen ninety five.

During the conversations, the problem of crime was put down to a combination of a number of factors including unemployment; moral decay of society and the effects on the youth: and the increasing crisis of masculinity stemming from the inability to live up to traditional notions of male responsibility. Perceptions around crime are also linked to stereotype that associate Mozambican (Shangaan) with inherent criminality. The understanding of crime is closely intertwined with morality rather than simply categories relating to the penal codes, so that issues of sexuality and the apparent proliferation in multiple relationships between individual local women and Pakistani men were raised during the conversations as crimes.

They marry girls at the age of ten years at primary level how do you think that you can accommodate these people it's a problem to the bone. Our comrade has said that when they were in exile they would never sleep with a girl of 15 years, so when these people come here they bring their dirt? When a child is 16 then maybe because you can then see that she is developing physically but with a ten year old child sleeping with a man of 45 years. If you fall in love with someone from outside the country and you ask them to come home to see where you live and they too do the same because at the end of the day there will be a problem. If it may happen that you fall in love with somebody you must try to get their background and you must try to understand because it does start problems.

Once these people (migrants) came here they shot our children here in South Africa and not theirs. They don't care because they have left their families behind it is difficult to carry these people, I am sorry to say. So then if a person is in a country and he doesn't have valid, whatever, documentation…I'm intimidated, I'm intimidated. So yes, as I was saying, it's going to be difficult to sort of arrest that particular person if he happens to commit crime. First of all you don't even finger prints of that particular person. Even if he can communicate with the authorities of his respective country, how are you gonna try and solve that? It is a challenge. So, I'm not gonna be able to answer all the questions because I see I'm being intimidated.

There is a sense that the state is not functioning well and the community lamented over corruption and low service levels among the police and local government officials. As a result of this inefficiency, alternative forms of policing that express themselves through concerned through citizens and tribal authorities, have emerged. The chiefs wield authority in rural areas and part of their responsibilities is to solve community conflicts, often construed to include crime. The perception that crime is on the rise has led the tribal authority to initiate formations attached to the tribal council in response. Often these forums use immediate violence in their operation to combat crime arguing that waiting for the police is fruitless as they are always late. Extra-judicial responses that involve violence against the perpetrator in public resonate with a large section of the community, many of whom believe that such solutions embody an open nature justice process, which provides collective and tangible relief to the community. They see this as an open-ended justice through which the perpetrator is forced to amend their ways while providing some kind of

relief for the victims as well. The fact that the police are aware of these acts and chose to turn a blind eye, when they arrive to arrest an alleged criminal, communicates tacit approval of these methods. It has been alleged that they justify this silent endorsement based upon their limited resources to respond enable swiftly, and furthering an atmosphere of cooperation with local residents, especially the tribal authorities in apprehending suspects.

At times, when crime and violence are perceived to be out of hand to an extent, legitimate structures of authority and normal age-hierarchies are suspended, and the 'youth' temporarily assume authority to block threats and defend the morals of the community. Some feel that this execution the mob is a display of the moral feelings of the community. The violence employed by the formations of everyday policing (and the state) is always premised on the existence on a primary moment of violence that renders the response legitimate. In some cases this extra-state justice feed on the state's perceived lack of capacity to police the South African countryside, where the community attempts to feel this gap by employing the very symbols of state violence. In other cases, local representatives abdicate their official roles, illustrating the blur that exists in the relationship between what is state and what is not state. State representatives live in the area they patrol and are deeply ambiguous about the modes of policing as performed by residents. They appear to have the additional burden of negotiating acceptance among the community amidst the dual roles as state officers and community members. As community members there personal notions of morality and crime sometimes are more important than the provisions of the law, even when these are in direct contraventions of the law.

In respect to the treatment of migrants, it is interesting to observe how many of these extra-state forums decide what constitutes crime and who are the criminals. Accordingly some sectors of the community, such as Mozambicans, who carry ominous stereotypical labels as criminals, and are not considered as insiders, are excluded and unable to obtain redress from this system. Often no immediate action is taken on their behave as the security discourses only works for those who belongs to the moral community and deserve to be protected. This attitude percolates into the state institutions such as the police, and often also determines access to resources and livelihoods.

Eh, the old man was talking about receiving the people from other countries as human beings and he stated about the children accusing us of being the cause about all what is happening, and he mentioned the human rights. Government gives the human rights to the

children and now they are misusing those rights, and he says now, let us talk, let us teach them. The solution, he says, let us teach them how to behave. What is human rights and all that. It's a mouthful. We need better approaches to deal with things there and then.

Observations & Learning: Exploring the case of transnational spaces in Nkomazi

By virtue of its location on the border zone of South African, Swaziland and Mozambique, Nkomazi has historically witnessed, and continues to experience, a unique dynamism of migration across three main fronts – transnational migration rooted in the relations of cross border communities sharing a common language and culture; circular migration that can be traced to the historical system of migrant labor that supported the needs of the mining and commercial agriculture sectors; and in more recent times, migration from further north, flowing out of the impact of globalization and technological developments that have increased the scale of international migration. Each of these fronts underlie the reality of a migration dynamic based upon transnational social spaces were migrants sustain ties across the borders across multiple nation- states. The reality of transnational social spaces is that migration may not be definite and that migrants who have settled for a considerable time outside the original country, frequently entertain strong transnational links. Many such links are of an informal nature, such as intra-household or family ties and sometimes can be institutionalized through formal associations and organizations. The reality of such spaces mean that states must take time to understand what these spaces mean and the impact that they are likely to continue to have on migration outlook and policy.

Transnational spaces and cross border communities in Nkomazi

As pointed out from the onset the location of Nkomazi amidst intersecting international boundaries favors the existence of many cross-border communities sharing a language, culture, kinship and traditional leadership structures. These communities preceded the present international boundaries and despite their emergence, continue to maintain their social ties, albeit amidst the difficulties posed by existing immigration regulations within each of the state territories. They continue to make the area they live in part of transnational spaces composed of small groups living as integral units despite the existence of territorial borders. Many of the Swazi and Mozambicans belong to households and wider kinship systems, which live apart but maintain a strong sense of belonging to a common home. In addition they conceive themselves as one economic and solidarity unit across despite the fact that the economic assets cross boundaries and are mostly transferred to

and fro across these abroad to those who continue to run the household 'back home'. In effect the form transnational communities who's social ties, intimacy, moral obligation and social cohesion existed long before modern states came into existence.

Through this participation in transnational social fields, many Swazi and Shangaan communities living in Nkomazi can be best understood as transmigrants with daily lives consisting of multiple interconnections across Mozambique/Swaziland and whose identities are configured in a relationship to more than one nation-state. They move between multiple present homes and by doing so they construct their identity on the basis of combined factors such as their birthplace, traditions, memories and feelings. Often the result is that they have two homes and sustain regular connections with both of them through which they live out a multi-layered, complex and ambivalent identities based on a sense of belonging to more than just one home in one country. Accordingly, there is some ambivalence of belonging among them where the conception of home acquired a sense of dynamism offering an invaluable insight into complex identifications. From a state centric point of view this appears to introduce a disjuncture between peoples and their homeland as migrants may create more than one home, not necessarily attached to a homeland country like South Africa, Swaziland or Mozambique. However the reality that migrants retain these multiple identities and do not need to abandon their culture and language in order to adapt to another society. It seems they preserve their original cultural (from their ancestral home) and simultaneously adapt to a second one (that of the new state territory).

Seasonal migration
We have shown how numerous research repots detail the historical pattern regional migrant labor system in this part of the country, extending as far north as Malawi, with Africans coming in and out as contract and seasonal making significant contribution to the mining and agriculture sectors of the South African economy. Migrants from Swaziland, Mozambique alongside others from Zimbabwe and Malawi, made up a large part of the labour force that, during this period, moved freely across the borders. From our interviews with migrants it is clear that such arrangements persist where migrants from neighboring states make multiple and seasonally entries into South Africa, retaining connections with their countries of origin, while at the same time developing close ties in South Africa. As a result, Nkomazi is still made up of a large proportion of migrants from Swaziland, Zimbabwe or Mozambique who continue to make these circular, or repeated migration, between

source and host countries, often to fill in the gaps of labor demand in commercial agricultural farms.

As examples from around the world, this type of circular migration has always existed in unmanaged ways. The notion refers to a continuing, long-term, and fluid movement of people between countries, including both temporary and more permanent movements. Thus in the case of Nkomazi, many of the migrants from adjacent countries have made multiple trips across a border, and there is an increasing probability of making repeat moves the more an individual has already moved. Over time, once people living in these spaces learn how to cross borders (or have reliable contacts to help them cross), they are less concerned with whether they go legally or not. The self- perpetuating nature of such migration suggests that with each move, migrants build knowledge of the social connections and experience lowering risks associated with moving, and encouraging further migration. Their everyday life activities extend the borders of their state of residence and link them with their homeland or with other communities in different states. They create a social network based on their everyday actions and regular routines that expend borders of one country.

Remittances are perhaps the best-documented transnational behavior and recent surges in financial and social remittance have caused multi-lateral establishments like the World Bank to centre national international economic development policy on transnational migrant networks. Migrants collectively send large of cash, large enough to prop up the economies of entire communities, and in some cases, nations. The development prospects of nations like Zimbabwe have become inextricably linked to the economic activities of members of the diaspora living in South Africa and the remittances they send stimulate local economic growth around their home country villages and towns in surrounding country. Financial remitting is just the tip of the transnational iceberg, and several other forms of social remittances and transfers take place between these migrants and their home countries such as the large volumes of communication (via telephones, emails etc) and the exchange of information/knowledge through the broadcasting stations – all of which influence across borders and are difficult to quantify.

International Migration

As many commentators have observed, the arrival of African migrants from further noroth

and immigrants from other countries, including India, Pakistan, Bangladesh etc. since 1994 continues to be part of the changing landscape of cross border migration in post-apartheid South Africa. Many of these, such as the Somalis who have fled civil war twenty years ago, have created diasporic communities of people physically disconnected from their countries of origin but with a sense of belonging based on imagined territories that transverses any the boundaries of any physical state. Often these residents (such as the Somalis or Ethiopians) are made of a family that comprises a transnational social network relationship, where one individuals grows up in one country, a sibling goes to school in another, and another works in a third country – creating an international network with stable social ties and binding with reciprocal expectations. Within these transnational social network relationships there is ongoing circulation of money, goods and people for mutual support and securing existence. Economic assets are mostly transferred from abroad to those who continue to run the household 'back home'. Often these migrants belong to the transnational organizations based religious affiliations, which cement existing social symbolic ties.

Because of the 2010 World Cup there will be a lot of job creation. And then because of this 2010 World Cup also, economic growth and al the foreigners come in because of this opportunity and don't go back. What changes happens in the community as a result of this special event, it causes the xenophobia and in the end it consists of fragmentation. Will the World Cup bring happiness that is the question. Why don't they consult the feelings of the community members around certain events? Don't assume that the World Cup will bring happiness and opportunities without thinking about xenophobia causes division.

What does all this communicate? For starters, it is no longer a typical life practice within the global family of humanity, for people to stay many years in one place in the world. Migration is the dominant experience, with individuals sometimes spending a longer time in one place, sometimes changing location in rapid succession, and perhaps even living in two places 'simultaneously'. Technological, economic, political and cultural factors have paved the way for such possibilities as advances in communications and transport have reduced the barriers of transacting across borders, allowing migrants to maintain personal, social, and economic networks across countries. Increased levels of education worldwide have also expanded cross-border labor markets as nations expand their pools of well-educated

professionals, creating opportunities for individuals to migrate to jobs in other countries. The globalization of culture and identity also weakens traditional tensions between what is local and foreign cultures, and promotes hybridization that embraces both. Fostered by global consumption cultural hybridization is competing with dominant cultures and encouraging the proliferation of cultural diversity. As transnational immigrants engage in cross-border activities, they build ties, which link countries of origin and settlement through which ideas, information, products and money, circulate.

Limitation of the present migration approach

The types of transnational migration indicated above are not new but have rapidly escalated in the past decade with the revolutionary changes that propelled globalization and accompanying international migration. The emerging cross-border interactions flowing out of this kind of migration are dynamic and complex involving new social networks that determine everyday practical life beyond the social context of national societies. Today, transnational migration and border crossings are proliferating at an increasing rate with growing social, economic and cultural connectivity of the world, resulting in the mixing of languages and blending cultures out of this intrinsic connection between people and places. As a result many migrants experience home as multi-dimensional experience of living or having lived in social worlds that span two distant countries and characterized by regular crossings of borders. In sharp contrast with the way immigration is defined by many states, such migrants, work and socialize across borders, and have not left their homes permanently with the aim of assimilating into the culture of the new country. In such spaces migrants move from one state to another, blurring borders and creating transnational social spaces that do not overlap with state territories.

These trends in migration echo developments in a range of other areas where due to a range of international factors, the state has to come to terms, often reluctantly, with its diminishing role as the primary determinant of what occurs within its borders. Despite this reality, many state policies in this field still connote migration with deviant behavior that requires policies of closing doors to "unwanted" in migrants and limiting emigration of nationals, in the name of advancing state security. The attempt to base migration regulation around predictable movements draws upon nineteenth-century paradigm on the centrality of the nation state where there are two categories of migration (internal and international migrants) and a demand for the 'adaptation and integration' of migrants at their

destinations, regardless. The system applies the theory of the nineteenth-century nation-state, where state institutions continue to make decisions on migration issues unilaterally, in a context various factors inducing international migration call for greater consultation between states at the regional level. Where cooperation does occur, it is mainly in terms of the enforcement of migration restriction and security, underlying the fact that policy makers still operate within the legacy of the nineteenth-century theory of the nation-state. In doing so, the state attempts to advance regional integration without willingness to admit and accept the reality to incorporate vital principles on the movement of people, such as those contained in the SADC Protocol on the Free Movement of People.

Now I will urge each and everybody here more especially young people to say when you see somebody, now when you see somebody coming here and opening up a business in your area that means there is a demand for this business and that equally means that you are not thinking enough as an individual to promote your community. Now it is important for us to start today and say if I don't like somebody from the next door, I don't like a person who sells things from the front opposite, I must start today and say if I didn't have that idea I must go and say to him, how did you come up with this idea. How can you help me to help my community? Thank you.

In keeping with this paradigm, during the past decade the government has responded negatively by formulating and implementing migration restriction policies which fuel exclusionist notions of nationality and focus on intensification of border control. South Africa's immigration policy in particular, has been about seeking to control undocumented migrants through deportations despite the substantial demands of this approach on public resources, and its inability to stem the in-migration. Such measures have often been no more than temporary deterrents and fail to take into account the border-making and border-destroying effects of migrants defining their own transnational social spaces. As pointed out earlier this has only served to encourage corruption. This approach also widens the gap between the administrative handling of migration and their self-perception, and comes into conflict with the present day human rights expectations that confers upon every person the right of participation in public life regardless of their historical or cultural ties to that community.

Policies and research based on this approach assume that migration is a one-off transitional event where migrants are here provisionally or with the aim of return to their 'culture of origin' or aim to permanently settle in the new country and thus need to adapt to its culture (and be provided with the skills for integration). The UN-sponsored definition evokes this image of definitive break, seeing migrants as individuals who have relocated across an international border for more than one year. This definition, externally imposed on migrants, ignores the scores of migrant who move around between their country of origin and the country of migration as if borders where not there. These transmigrants are simultaneously involved in intensive social relations at a number of locations on an ongoing basis and many institutions and programmes give no consideration at all to this kind of lifestyle – often with severe consequences. Their inclination towards crafting migration policy based on national identification enhances the clash of cultures between residents and migrants as a struggle between insiders against resident outsiders. It also forces upon such migrants the undemocratic choice of either becoming fully naturalized insiders or unwelcome outsiders, thus widening the gap between what administrators deem to constitute regular residential (based on a definitive break) and what they label as deviant migrant behavior. Despite this, international migrants activities and networks continue to make the external borders of sovereign states ineffective, particularly in this part of the country where economic disparities between South African and its neighbors make restriction measures of no consequence.

Rethinking migration policy

The prevailing state-centric view of migration amidst growing transnational relations, such as that evident among multinational businesses, non-government organizations (NGOs), trade unions, religious networks and other global induced factors, is increasingly coming under scrutiny. It is crucial that department of home affairs in collaboration with its counterparts from other countries, as well as inter-governmental forums and international agencies, revisit migrant agendas, by moving out of the constraints of the present operatives into an approach that recognizes the reality transnationalism and its potential beneficial across borders. The merits of transnational social spaces in guiding migration policy lie in their lack of connection with territory where personal actors have constructed a wealth of untapped beneficial activities, out of reach of individual states because they lie at odds with the territories of sovereign states. The present responses by many states faced with transnational spaces, based on assimilation (merging of minorities into the 'core majority'

culture) and cultural pluralism (where minorities maintain a core repertoire of their cultural identity), both limit the potential for cultural diffusion and exchange.

The answer may lie in transposing the approach taken by our constitutions and its affirmation on all languages and the promotion of diversity, to such areas with an emphasis on syncretism, where a dominant culture co-exists side-by-side with various sub-cultures. If embraced right through to the grassroots level, this approach may influence transboundary ties and their potential to form new identities in the long run. It may also be more in tune with the realities in these spaces and provide better responses to the factors that induce them and the benefits to be derived. This approach is also more reflective of the trends towards regional integration and cooperation, and calls for the implementation of migration policy that is not hampered by its classification under sovereign states. This includes the corresponding cross-border social ties and integration that flow out of this phenomenon, as groups of people build social structures and social spaces that go beyond the borders of national states. In this way it is better adapted to harnessing the contribution to change in socio-cultural perceptions, identities and local economic development. Finally, a transnational perspective recognizes migrants as autonomous and well-informed actors interconnecting spaces in pursuit of their livelihood that should be involved in decisions regarding the spaces they impact. A migratory policy rooted in inclusion/exclusion paradigm fails to take into account the subjective consciousnesses of migrants and whether they wish to remain outsiders, insiders or prefer an in-between status. The current trends in international migration may dictate that migrants should be allowed to categorise their own motives rather than choosing among administratively imposed categories.

It is increasingly shown that managing migration policy to take into account transnational migration may bring about many benefits for areas including increase opportunities for trade and investment linkages; retention and availability of international transfer of skills; and reduce negative social and familial consequences associated with illegal migration. Such policies consolidate the link between migration and development, and translate into mutual gains beyond any one state territory. It is for this reason that International Organization for Migration (IOM) has proposed circular migration as a tool for migration management, which could offer innovative solutions to intricate migration issues, particularly in places where public opinion strongly resists proposals for migration because of reasons such as high unemployment rates and social pressures. In these situations governments respond to

public opinion by closing the borders to migrants, results in the enlargement of the backdoor of undocumented migrants working in irregular jobs. Thus the outcomes of this are completely different from the policy goals, as the combination of working and living without documents, only fuels the negative attitudes against migrants based upon competition for scarce resources and stereotypes that accompany these outlook..

Approach

A multi-directional migration approach based on trans-nationalism promises to be a complementary and corrective response to the complex social network in areas like Nkomazi, where social life runs crosswise compared to the linear relations that exist between the host country and the country of origin. In the later case economic resources are restrictively structured to social space on based upon a paradigm of the nation state instead of transforming the structures in the nation-state-society to accommodate trans-migrants in several ways. The starting point to achieving this might be through re-formulating the strategic vision on migration policy in the economic, demographic, cultural and social language of diversity, so as to improve cross border cooperation among state bodies, NGOs and international organizations responsible for migration issues.

Such a vision may translate to more bold changes in the management of migration systems to promote legal entry and exit into the country. These could include including the adoption of flexible long-term multi-entry visas for returning migrants (as well as the possibility of making residence available and dual citizenship) to encourage productive and free exchange between countries; accompanying this with the creation of databases of those who comply with conditions of their permits and prioritizing new permits to such migrants under a simplified procedure; and incorporating technical aspects such as shared databases to keep track of migrants and induce more cooperation around thorny issues such as undocumented migration and incentivize dialogue processes to address divergences over migration policies between two ends. Policies around health could be created to help migrants to return countries of origin temporarily by offering leave of absence from employment and other forms of assistance where migration takes place back and forth between the receiving country and sending country. Strategies around labor management could promote mechanisms that harmonize domestic labor demand with foreign supply, more flexible recruitment of migrant workers coupled with the establishment of intermediary entities to match demand and supply. Such strategies could also give priority to workers who have

returned to their countries at the end of their contract and the imposition of harsh penalties on brokers that provide supply undocumented migrants.

Policy

In addition to the above, transnational patterns call for new thinking towards educational spaces as these can no longer be developed around the traditional images of the sovereign state as the natural social order. They require embracing new social spaces with interaction beyond borders, while continuing to use the state as a structuring force for addressing the tensions often experienced when providing teaching and social services to migrants living in the transnational migration. This tension arises from the fact that the national state is organized around 'container societies' where one geographical space is exclusively linked to one social space, and thus unable to effectively respond to realities based upon several social spaces extends over several geographical spaces. National-state educational institutions and vocational training system assume an individual gains education in one educational space (within a national territory) and ignore migration biographies where educational careers are pursued on a fragmented basis across national borders. In light of the critical skills shortages within South Africa, institutional educational programmes should be decoupled from the traditional migration approach based on national-state territories to facilitate further demand for education and access employment systems by migrants.

While a migration policy that accounts for transnationalization may bear positive prospects for creating greater cohesion, some of its benefits point to dangers that need to be taken into consideration. For example from a cohesion point of view, some authors have suggested that the strong links maintained with the society of origin are typical of the 'first generation' of migrants that gradually dissipate in the second or third generation and that, continued social integration by migrants with their places of origin may signify an undesirable segmentation in the host society and failure in migration policy. Though inaccurate in its conclusion, this view highlights the need to look more closely at the issue of intra-generational stability of transnational social spaces and the tension between successful structural assimilation and continued integration in the ethnic society of origin. Theoretically, multiple-integration may seem conceivable, but practically it requires careful consideration on how inclusion can be covered in the context of transnational mobility so that the potential for social equality of transnational migrants (i.e. equal participation for resources) in the host society is not undermined. From a labor point of view, there may be a

number of concerns to bear in mind when designing these migration policies (particularly those based around tools to manage circular migration), such as questions on whether the nature of work permits decrease the social-economic mobility of migrants and hence their chances of exploitation; create closed labor markets and limit new migrants; and hinder strategies for migrants making them more socially excluded.

Thank you, in fact I would like to say my few words to challenge each and every person that is here today to go out and share whatever you have participated in today. You know when you start to be a person you have got a bucket of life that is empty, every time something happens in your life, for instance when you are in your mothers stomach as a child. When your mother feels angry or feels betrayed you are being affected and that is one egg in your basket of life; and when you go to school, a teacher says to you, you are stupid it adds in your basket. If someone says to you, you are ugly or you are black or you are yellow or green, it adds in to your bucket of life until it overflows. So what I am trying to say, each and every individual has to have a self introspection, if you start to understand yourself, you will start to understand the person next you. Then you will know how to live with other people

Summary of other outcomes and learning

The objectives of the pilot programme were to uncover the underlying causes of frustrations that led to the 2008 wave of xenophobic violence. The expectations of pilot were not to address these deep-rooted factors but rather to promote respectful inquiry, and to stimulate a new sort of conversation that allows important issues to surface freely. While opponents in deep-rooted conflict are unlikely to agree with each other's views, they can come to understand each other's perspectives. It is also worth pointing out that as social cohesion is defined in terms interconnectedness of members, there are challenges in measuring its non-quantifiable outcomes. There is also the difficulty of attributing what the dialogue process itself is responsible for in terms of social change and what is attributable to other initiatives or dynamics at play in the area. Notwithstanding this complexity, the results of the conversation at Kamaqhekeza ignited hope and laid ground for significant change to take place in various areas. This section discusses the process, tangible and intangible results that arose from the dialogue, including some of the opportunities for future efforts to build social cohesion in the area.

Dialogue as a tool for enriching mutual understanding and stimulating agreement

"We have the greatest capacity to make a difference when we dare to open ourselves up, to expose our most honest nightmares and our most heart-felt dreams."

Conflict is often rooted in issues considered nonnegotiable and the idea in the dialogues is to introduce an environment where participants feel safe to question their ideas and open up to opportunities for creativity. This is what dialogues strives for – to build up mutual understanding and transform the way parties interact in public conversation by inviting participants to bring their new ways of thinking that question attributions made about others. The goal of dialogue is to increase understanding about concerns and this demands that people listen to each other without assuming they know the intentions of the other. People bring with them assumptions, such as the meaning of life, the country's interest and how society works, rooted in culture, religion and economic background. Dialogue attempts to expose these assumptions and through inquiry, tries to integrate multiple perspectives and unfold shared meaning. When one person says something, another person's response expresses a slightly different meaning. This difference in meaning allows parties to reflect on their views, learn new perspectives and develop mutual understanding, amidst this back and forth movement of the conversation. It slows the interchange among participants allowing them to refrain from accusations and return back old destructive patterns of communication. Parties with different views find new constructive ways of communicating, which stimulate new ideas and open up possibility for change.

Now I think for this event to be here, for this gathering today at least it has opened some of us, we must understand exactly where do we come from and for us it has opened doors for other people from other countries to come to this country freely. We can now understand for them to be in this country as human beings and for them to be here, not because they want to or maybe assist us maybe in a sense that they open shops or other things. But just for them to be amongst us as human beings. One clever man once said to me...if God wanted us to be in the same skin, we would have been in the same skin but because God understood the importance of us being different, not being different in the sense of doing things. Here in this meeting when I look at you I see a different people. There is no need to fight about that.

Beyond simply learning how to engage in dialogue, the CCE methodology aims to enhance

the capacity of the community to prioritize decisions and develop plans address the concerns facing the community. The condition of trust and tolerance created in the course of dialogue opened up spaces through which such agreements could be reached. A central agreement among participants was a commitment on both sides to continue the dialogue and build friendly relations across sections of the community residing in the area. The agreement formed the basis for establishment of an ad hoc committee composed of migrants and locals as a useful tool for advocacy and engaging relevant stakeholders. It also laid the foundations for several other undertakings aimed at addressing various concerns that had emerged from the conversations such as crime, service delivery, and access to documentation. The capacity of the community to develop an inclusive agenda for action was well reflected in the development of plans that sought to build consensus among both migrants and locals around various proposals that had emerged during the dialogues and alignment the existing social capital in the area behind these action steps.

The issue of xenophobia affected the whole continent its not only South Africa, it has affected the whole continent, this question of xenophobia and this is not right. Let's leave xenophobia behind, I am a politician and I am a member of Umkhonto wesizwe this is not right and I want to tell you that it is not right. Even the Zulu's in the hostel they will tell you that we don't war, let us unite and as a member of Umkhonto and ANC, I would like to say let us unite, let us not point fingers at each other that is not nice, I thank you.

Dialogue, voice and potential for building a participatory democracy
The relationship between dialogue and the institutions of democratic government began to emerge as it became evident that dialogues can improve the capacity for citizen participation and thereby by strengthening weak or transitional institutions where the political culture is dysfunctional. Poor communities in this area fell largely excluded from the structures that make decisions about their lives and some of the violent protests that have taken place can be seen as reflection of frustration from the lack of channels through which to make their voices heard and influence outcomes. It is important to bridge the gap between dialogue and policy decision-making through the creation of permanent spaces, like community conversations, where government can interact with the most marginalized, towards jointly addressing issues of social concern can lead to more equitable and participatory democracies. There is a need to entrench inclusiveness in democratic societies on a routine basis as the more inclusive a process is, the more legitimate its outcomes will

be considered. The dialogues can also improve the capacity to cooperate across political party lines. While competition among political parties is a mechanism for public debate on issues, the deadlock this often produces means that some other mechanism must be found through which politicians can cooperate for the benefit of all.

I will say let us go into our various areas and start preaching this gospel of unity. I count the number here and that is an individual assignment to go and preach the gospel of unity. If you can't manage yourself it is difficult to manage other people, xenophobia begins from little things, if you don't communicate with your neighbour that is xenophobia and that is discrimination. Let us go and correct ourselves and go and face the world and face the challenges of xenophobia, by taking our voice to the councillor, then the provincial leaders. This is the main purpose of this event is to ensure that in our environment people live their life with full potential.

The need for long term Investment

Dialogues require a long term outlook if they are to have any impact and during implementation there is the constant tension between responding to the immediate crisis and at the same time address the deeper structures that, if not changed, produce the same kind of crisis. Often by deliberately slowing down the dialogue process to attend to multiple long-term realities, capacity of members of community to address their immediate concerns is enhanced. However this is not always an easy task amidst the pressure to deliver solid sustainable results after short periods with little consideration for the time to reflect upon inner feelings or systematically work through the core issues necessary to achieve deep change. Part of these difficulties arises from the lack of having necessary resources to carry out dialogues process based on this long-term consideration. The fact that many of the operational partners felt the need to continue the process but were financially handicapped, taught us that dialogues should only be embarked upon after securing financial resources, including funds to meet the proliferation of commitments that arise from relationship building, follow up and dissemination of outcomes of the conversation. The answer to this lies with donors and their expectations of the dialogue initiative. Donors are keen to see impact and may expect dialogue outcomes to transform community aspirations irrespective of implementation periods. Donors therefore need to be educated on the potential arising from a dialogue initiative, as well as its limitations.

Growing transformative leadership at community level among migrants and locals

Migrants have several challenges that hamper their ability to respond to xenophobic violence including their capacity to coherently voice their concerns and influence decisions. There are few organizations representing refugees, asylum seekers and migrants in rural areas like Nkomazi as most such organization mainly operate within cities like Nelspruit. Migrants from the region have not formed organizations in the same way as refugees and asylum seekers and tend to rely on informal networks. Some of these informal groups were based upon nationalities or while others were shaped by religious beliefs of the membership, with each aiming to protect its singular interests. For example the Asian Pakistani associations aimed at protecting the interests of their members in conducting business in the area. In the absence of formal organizations, the prevailing forms of social networks constitute a safety net for migrants and a way around structural exclusions they experience daily. However, these social networks are insufficient for the purposes of articulate migrant concerns with government. The formal organizations in the area working with refugees and migrants are mostly South African run and provide services to refugees and asylum seekers (such documentation) rather than to migrants in general. In addition, many of these formal NGOs work on broad issues of human rights and democracy, advocating for the rights of mainly South African citizens. For this reason many migrants that participated in the conversations felt the need to establish formal organizations that unify refugee communities regardless of their language, culture and political orientation and agenda, that would correspond with the relevant government departments.

Following the conversations migrants have now established an autonomous organization that has assumed the objectives that correspond to many of the concerns around their capacity identified during of the conversations. Members of the CPF felt that such an organization is especially critical when it comes to mediation and resolution of potential conflicts and building consensus between migrants and locals. The organization aims at the human rights of refugees by raising awareness of migrant rights, fighting all forms of discrimination and xenophobia and promoting co-existence through mutual exchange around common interests such as entrepreneurial and self-reliance. However, the task of finding funding for such an organization is not easy, given the preference by donors to fund organizations with strong administrations and track records. The danger of future financially marginalization is real unless the requisite support is forthcoming community-based organizations and in manner that is effective, sustainable and has the degree of flexibility

necessary to ensure migrants are able to respond to their own unique situations. Migrant capacity can also be improved by pairing emerging such newly established organizations with better resourced organizations to strengthen their organization development and strategic leadership; their knowledge of the donor environment and how to attract resources; their technical capacity in specialized fields (such as advocacy, mediation and conflict resolution);

Complementing the dialogue process

Dialogue is primarily a means of exploring the field of thought and while it can help avert violent conflict within a tense situation, its role is to complement and not replace other mechanisms adept for these situations. Thus, dialogue is not a technique for conflict resolution, although associated problems may be resolved in the course of a dialogue as a result of increased understanding generated among the participants. It simply lays the groundwork for future and more suitable intervention such as mediation, humanitarian interventions which are more appropriate for building peace in such situations. Dialogue does not also address much of the trauma evidenced among the communities arising from intergenerational transmission of violence highlighted above. This can only be addressed through various integrated healing responses to historical trauma, which include strategies aimed at helping people to reflect on their internalized oppression; providing ceremonial space to grieve for the many losses relating to issues such as death, self-esteem and land; and reclaiming cultural practices and values, particularly for the purposes of developing positive identity and self-esteem.

Finally, the importance of an effective communication strategy for informing the public on progress made in the dialogue from the onset cannot be overstated. It is necessary to get the outcomes of the dialogue beyond participants to the general to community. Due to capacity constraints the operational partners mainly left this activity to participants that attended. In view of the multiple relationships underpinning the dialogue (the convener, implementation partners, operational partners and key stakeholders), it is important to determine who is to be responsible for publicizing the transformation emerging out of the dialogue process. Where residents in the area are unfamiliar with the outcomes of the community conversation there is a risk that this may jeopardize the gains made from the conversation. Significant successes occurring need to be widely disseminated and future dialogue efforts in the area should be buttressed with an information campaign to publicize

the agreements that emerge out of the conversations. Public opinion must be reached out with powerful messages and it is important to work with local and national media so that messages that are conveyed reach as much of the community as possible. In this regard, depending on the context in which the dialogue takes place, the media can be invited to play internal or external role in reinvigorate such campaigns.

Conclusion

South Africa belongs to all who live in it regardless of colour [or] asylum seeker and the immigration bill…I can promise if we go on like this the level of xenophobia will come down, but one thing is out of question to say that we can eradicate xenophobia. That one, nobody must even dream about it. That thing is everywhere in the world just like racism. It applies to families, it applies to communities, it applies to colour and it applies to everything. So, that's something that you cannot get rid of it. But through dialogue it can be reduced for sure.

We believe that nature of migration today also points at a social cohesion policy that should aim at strengthening regions (not nations) and the people who live therein and encouraging cooperation that is organized in a cross-border fashion based upon cross-border areas into one region. Practically all institutions, including schools, unions and health services workers associations should be important partners here actively involved in strategies that promote regional culture and diversity for example through periodic markets where communities across the border offer their produce or handcrafts. In addition, to support cross-border relations these levels, communities should be play active participatory roles in local media, radio and TV stations, promoting cross border inter-culturalism and reminding communities of what unites them and not what separates them.

It remains to be seen whether these reasons will prove sufficient incentive for South Africa to adopt a new approach. Though this migration may have a limited appeal to law and policy makers at present, the irreversibility of this migration suggests that society will in the future have to learn to live with more diverse population and tough choices will inevitably have to be made now but a more timely and better-informed reaction to this response. In the long such a response is likely to induce greater connectedness among identities and cultures and positively blur distinctions between citizen and alien, native and foreign, local and migrants, which continue to limit the participation sections of society. Instead of one homogenous, mono- cultural nation-state, it may become possible to see people in motion between places

and fusions across borders enriching and extracting cultural values.

The identity of South Africa has to be understood as affirming cultural differences and multicultural realities. Social cohesion coupled with a respect for cultural diversity is one of the driving needs identified in South Africa. This is often stated in policy documents, but needs to be taken more seriously at grassroots level. In many of our communities this has not yet filtered through into local awareness and information should be disseminated widely to counter indifference or negative feelings about what could be perceived as a distant government policy.

This can also happen when such policy is democratized through local decision-making processes that allow both migrants and locals to participate in its creation so that no one feels excluded or uninvolved. The CCE methodology aims at this by drawing communities into the processes of decision-making and implementation, rather than purely relying on top-down measures. Conversations can present forums at this level of governance where people can discuss projects that respond to the needs that accompany transnationalism migration and develop new language aimed at cross-border relations that counteract the present language of threat and xenophobia.

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