

South African Trade Union Responses to Xenophobia in Workplaces: The National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) and the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (NUMSA)

Master's Dissertation

Nombulelo Gongqa

(g12g1178)

Department of Sociology

Supervisor: Prof Lucien van der Walt

l.vanderwalt@ru.ac.za

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Abstract

This research looks at how trade unions relate to immigrants and how inclusive they are to immigrants who form part of the South African working class. South Africa has been an immigrants receiving country for decades, where most immigrants are from neighbouring countries within the South African region. It was the trade unions that empowered workers to gain back some of their basic rights during the apartheid era, and they did this for all workers who worked in sectors where they were exploited and mistreated by the apartheid regime on the basis of their skin colour.

This research aims to understand how trade unions respond to xenophobia in the workplace, and the ways their strategies increase inclusion of immigrants in the trade unions. This research focuses on the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) and the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (NUMSA), seeking to find whether they have strategies and planned ways to respond to xenophobia in South African workplaces.

This research also looks at the impact of nationalism in South Africa on immigrants. It shows that whilst the concept of nationalism is to protect South Africans, it does exclude immigrants because it places South Africans before immigrants when it comes to benefiting from the resources of the country. This shows that protecting one section of the working class over another weakens the working class movement.

To get views from the trade unions, trade union officials were interviewed and from the interviews, common themes were picked out. From the interviews, it can be identified that trade union officials believe that immigrants should be included in the trade unions, and they should be treated with dignity. However, there are some conflicting themes, which highlight the view that South African locals deserve to get the resources of the country, such as housing, before immigrants. The themes will be discussed in the research to highlight the different perspectives that came from the trade union officials.

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The most special thanks is to God. If it had not been for my faith in God and the purpose of this thesis, I would be here. In writing this thesis, I kept referring to Leviticus 19: 33-34 which says,

... and if a stranger dwells with you in your land, you shall not mistreat him. The stranger who dwells among you shall be to you as one born among you, and you shall love him as yourself: for you were strangers in the land of Egypt: I am the Lord your God.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

This research aims to analyse the response of trade unions to xenophobia in South African workplaces, the ways their strategies increase or hamper the inclusion of immigrants in the trade unions. This research focuses on the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) and the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (NUMSA), seeking to find whether they have strategies and planned ways to respond to xenophobia in South African workplaces.

This research also looks at the impact of nationalism in South Africa on immigrants. It shows that whilst the concept of nationalism is to protect South Africans, it does exclude immigrants because it places South Africans before immigrants when it comes to benefiting from the resources of the country. This shows that protecting one section of the working class over another weakens the working class movement.

Trade unions are an integral part of the growth of the South African working class and the working class realising their rights, both in the workplace, and at times outside of the workplace. This then shows that trade unions play an important role on how workers see and respond to their surroundings. The trade unions that will be on focus for this research are the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) which was founded in 1982, with approximately 270, 649, NUM forms part of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) which was founded on the 1st of December 1985 and is affiliated with 21 unions. The second trade union is the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa (NUMSA) a trade union made up of 339, 567 members; it is part of the South African Federation of Trade Unions, which was formed on the 21st of April 2017 and currently affiliated with 26 organisations and trade unions. Both the trade unions chosen are blue-collar trade unions, which organise where immigrants are common.

When COSATU was launched as a federation, it had 449,698 paying members from all major sectors in South Africa, with the aim of covering the agricultural sector as well (Congress of South African Trade Unions, 1985: 3). At its founding congress, there represented workers from different towns in South Africa: eight hundred and seventy delegates came to the inaugural congress from the Eastern Cape, Western Cape, Natal, Transvaal, then Orange Free State and Namibia (the latter as observers). The National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) and

the Metal and Allied Workers Union (MAWU), immediate predecessor of NUMSA, were founder unions, the two largest affiliates (Congress of South African Trade Unions, 1985: 3).

The inaugural congress resolved that the political strength of the workers depended on shop floor organising and unity. COSATU's aim was to make sure that the workers felt the impact of shop floor organising because this would contribute to the working-class struggle and political struggle of the oppressed South Africans. COSATU was invested and committed to restructuring society in order to make sure that the wealth of society was democratically controlled and shared by all people (Congress of Trade Unions, 1985: 4). From the get go, COSATU showed interest on the struggles of the people both at work and in how they live. COSATU expressed the importance of having the issues of the working class becoming the politics of all the oppressed. During the launch, the role that COSATU would play within South Africa's crisis was emphasised because of the wider struggle for freedom, where people of South Africa continued to resist apartheid oppression and capitalist exploitation (Congress of Trade Unions, 1985: 4). NUM and NUMSA were key to these resolutions, and these show COSATU was not just interested in organising workers but was committed to the reshaping of the politics of the country using the platform of organising workers and influencing people in the communities.

There were a couple of issues that COSATU resolved to tackle, such as unemployment, the migrant labour system, the national minimum wage, and then oppression of women few (Congress of Trade Unions, 1985: 15). However, for the purposes of this research, I will focus on COSATU's positions on the migrant labour system, and on immigration. The former referred to the classic "migrant labour" cheap labour system, which involved circular rural-urban migration by contract workers: these black African men worked in mines, municipalities and industries, and their families remained in the countryside, farming in villages. This involved both internal migrants from within South Africa, from the homelands, and external migrants, or immigrants, from other countries in the region. They could not settle in the cities but lived in closed hostels; the foreign component could also not immigrate permanently to South Africa; both groups returned home to the countryside when contracts ended.

COSATU's 1985 congress resolved to fight for the scrapping of the "the migrant labour system including associated pass laws and influx control systems (Congress of Trade Unions, 1985: 15). It resolved that it would fight for the right of workers to seek employment wherever they

see fit and have the freedom to live with their families. The congress noted that the migrant labour system divided the oppressed and exploited workers into permanent, urban residents and the hostel-based migrants (Congress of Trade Unions, 195:15). It recognised that the migrant labour system was a means to divide the working class, generate cheap labour (the migrants could not strike, and they were paid as if they were single men, nor could they leave the hostels, which were ethnically divided), as employers use the differences in rights, family, ethnicity, rural/ urban, and citizenship.

Additionally, the congress resolved to organise all workers in South Africa regardless of race, and specifically stated that it would organise workers from neighbouring countries on equal terms and for equal rights with South Africans. Immigrants as well as non-South Africans who worked in the country on limited terms through the migrant labour system, were key to unions and inclusivity (The Trade Unions Conference, 1985).

Thirty years later, unions continue to grapple with the issue of immigration. While the migrant labour system has, thanks to unions, largely been phased out, divisions amongst workers remain deep – and new divisions have become central, one of the most visible the conflicts between South African – especially black African – workers and immigrants from outside the country – usually called “xenophobia” in the literature and media. This research looks at how unions today view immigrants and how inclusive they are of immigrants in the South African working class, with a focus on NUM and NUMSA, the two largest blue-collar unions.

Immigration is happening a lot in South Africa; its impact cannot be ignored. The 2007 Labour Market Review (2007; 2) notes that South Africa had been a migrant receiving country for decades, where most of the migrants were from neighbouring countries within the Southern African region. Until 1994, South Africa was also a destination for white European immigrants. Post 1994, South Africa has received diverse migrants from developing countries, in both Asia and Africa (Labour Market Review, 2007; 2). In 1996, South Africa had a total of 5 186 221 cross border crossings; by 2005 there were 7 518 320 total border crossings in South Africa. These figures are composed of people visiting, people who came for business and those who were seeking work. Musava (2015, 45) describes that incidents of “xenophobia” began to appear in the media in the 1990s, and xenophobic incidents have been a regular feature of media coverage between 1994 and 2002. Furthermore, 250 xenophobic incidents were reported between 1994 and 2012.

Tafira (2011, 114) defines “xenophobia” as the strong dislike, hatred or fear of people who are seen to be strangers. This is true, but it does not locate xenophobia in the social structures of capitalism and the state that generate such attitudes; the term “phobia” is itself a problem, as it suggests it is mainly a psychological problem. Xenophobia is, in most cases, a form of racism, in that it groups people of common descent into large categories, with assumed common appearances, cultures and interests. Racism is not only based on skin colour or even obvious differences in appearance, as for example seen in racism against Irish and Jews in Europe in the past, or against Koreans in Japan.

Post 1994, South Africa has received diverse migrants from developing countries in both Africa and Asia. Labour Market Review (2007; 4) shows that the number of foreign-born Africans who were in South Africa, increased in 1951, just above six-hundred thousand, of which many were deported because apartheid restrictions made migration harder. During this time, all black workers were subjected to extreme forms of exploitation under apartheid, which caused increased union action, and collective bargaining in the 1970s and also aided unity among black workers facing a common foe (Labour Market Review, 2007; 4).

The union action allowed workers to gain back some of their basic rights. Labour Market Reviews (2007; 4) explains that migrant workers from other countries were vulnerable and were subject to a vicious form of abuse and exploitation in any sector they worked in. During this time the apartheid immigration policy reinforced racial stratification, where only whites were legally allowed to immigrate to South Africa from the 1940s to the 1990s (Labour Market Review, 2007; 4).

It is important to consider here forms of migration and distinguish the specific features of immigration. Xulu (2013, 213) speaks of internal migration within countries, such as from small towns to big cities. In apartheid South Africa, this was managed by a racist system of influx control involving pass controls, as well as by the migrant labour system. Xulu (2013, 213) describes laws that prevented South Africans from being free citizens in certain parts of the country. An example of this is the rural-urban migration that internally happened in South Africa. There were migrants who lived within the South African borders but were considered to be foreigners in certain parts of South Africa, such as the urban areas, and were assumed to be citizens of homeland states.

Xulu (2013, 213) notes how old apartheid legacies, between rural and urban areas continued to exist during the current times, even in different ways and circumstances. Xulu (2013, 213) argues that, although influx control had been abolished in 1986, and the migrant labour system of hostels has largely faded away, a high number of black African people still move between rural and urban areas to find work; in most cases most people who are between rural and urban areas are poor people who are driven by desperate economic conditions. During the colonial era, the rural black areas – later the homelands –were used as labour reserves for the white capitalist world, which survived on cheap and unskilled labour (Xulu, 2013:212). Xulu (2013, 212) argues that the boundaries between underdeveloped rural areas, and developed urban economy, still exists. This perpetuates the same cycle of having people migrating to urban areas to make a living. External migrants, on the other hand, are people from outside the country itself. Since the homelands were not really different countries to the larger South Africa despite apartheid propaganda, labour migrants from these sites were actually internal migrants. Workers from neighbouring countries, of which the most important suppliers were Lesotho, Mozambique and Swaziland, were external migrants. There were white and Indian immigrants to South Africa from for example Mozambique, but most of these external migrants from the region were black Africans.

Many homeland internal migrants, and almost all black African immigrants, came through the classic circular migrant labour system, and resided in closed male-only hostels. There was a big split between the workers who lived in the hostels and the workers who lived and worked in the towns and townships. The system thus involved migrants who were South African and the immigrants from outside South Africa (Van der Walt, 2019). The system was circular migration: workers would return to their rural homes, which is where their families stayed, but had to travel back to the cities for a period, but never settled in the city.

The life was travelling back and forth to urban work from the rural areas (Van der Walt, 2019). The external migrants from outside South Africa could not live in South Africa permanently as well, and when they could no longer work they were sent back home. They were immigrants but not permanent immigrants, and they were largely kept outside township life. The classic circular rural-urban migration was the model of 1840s- 1980s, which was central to the way mines, factories and municipalities worked (Van der Walt, 2019). Migrant labour was the main

labour on the mines, but extensively used elsewhere; on mines, foreign migrant labour was often most of the migrant labour force, itself majority of workforce.

In 1927, the Native Administration Act was passed, and under it rural chiefs were required to collect taxes, give justice and calculate the number of tax payers in their districts (Neocosmos, 2006: 32). This forced people who could not afford taxes off the land and into wage labour. With this came some coercion as well, where men were manipulated into leaving home and finding jobs, so that they can pay taxes (Neocosmos, 2006: 34). This was a way of feeding into the capitalist system that required an income from cheap labour (Neocosmos, 2006: 35).

Neocosmos' argument is linked to Hlatshwayo (2013b, 229) who argues that the background of migrant labour in Southern Africa is intricately tied to the growth of capitalism, during the start of colonialism. This argument ties in with Neocosmos (2006, 34) when he argues that men were being coerced to find work to be able to pay the taxes that were required by the rural chiefs from them. This created a system where people needed to work for money, and Hlatshwayo (2013b, 229) explains that labour migration dates to the 1850s and 1860s, during a time where a large influx migrated to work in the sugar plantations in Natal. This how migration started, and an example of it is the opening of the diamond mines in 1870, which led to many workers from all over Southern Africa travelling to the mines that were being opened, as the mines paid more than the farms. The arguments above are linked to each other because they explain the beginning of capitalism, and how it was linked with people migrating for work, through having to pay taxes, furthermore, the arguments above aimed to show that an immigrant can be anyone who is by law considered not to be a citizen of a certain geographical area; this was once the case to people who considered themselves to be South Africans.

Xulu (2013, 212) argues that rural areas were seen as labour reserves for the capitalist world, which had a high demand for cheap and unskilled labour, during colonialism. This has continued till current day, where new patterns which serve to reinforce the old trends, have erupted. This shows that immigration has been a big part of the South African capital economy, and it did not only involve immigration from South African rural areas, but it also includes immigrants from neighbouring Southern African countries. Therefore, immigration is a big part of the South African working class.

Hlatshwayo (2013b, 228), investigated the relationship between migrant workers from outside South Africa, and he describes how workers from other African countries have worked in South Africa, and have made a great contribution to the growth and development of the South African economy. The investigation had a survey which explained the relationship between external migrants (migrants who come from outside South African borders) and COSATU with its affiliates (Hlatshwayo, 2013b: 228). Hlatshwayo (2013b, 228) reports that, out of 630 workers who took part in the survey, and off the six-hundred and thirty employees, four employees were migrants who came from other Southern African countries. All four of the employees were working in South Africa to support families in their countries of origin. The findings from the survey were not significant enough to sustain a discussion that achieved the initial objectives of the survey (Hlatshwayo, 2013b: 228). However, Hlatshwayo (2013b, 228) highlights that the results of the survey require a closer examination of COSATU's policies and practices towards migrants, especially in the context of the 2008 xenophobic attacks and the perception among some external migrants take the jobs of South Africans. The following research aims to contribute to the work that Hlatshwayo and another researcher have done. It is important to note two big changes: most of the post-1994 African immigrants are *outside* the migrant labour system and are *outside* the old hostel system. They live and work in the exact same areas as many black South Africans.

Hlatshwayo (2013b, 228) argues that this work is important because South Africa's development has come from the contribution of workers who came from other African countries. Therefore, the existence of xenophobia in South Africa conflicts with the labour movement. Hlatshwayo (2013b, 228) describes that one of the most visible indicators of post-1994 South Africa's re-admission into the global community of nations was an increase in the number of people who were entering South Africa. Furthermore, many people who entered South Africa were on visitors permits because they were visiting family, friends, tourism and business. The number of visitors in this category was five-point-five million in 2005, additionally there is a category of people who have entered South Africa, in what is believed to be large numbers, since the beginning of democracy. This category is composed of undocumented immigrants who have entered South Africa unofficially (Hlatshwayo, 2013b: 228).

Furthermore, it is difficult to get an accurate figure of the number of people who entered South Africa since the beginning of democracy, and it is impossible to know which of those people are undocumented immigrants (Hlatshwayo, 2013b: 228). Crush & Williams (2001; 12) support Hlatshwayo's argument, as they argue that the claim that there are millions of undocumented immigrants who have entered South Africa, is the centre of the anti-immigration narrative. This is because the method of calculating the number of undocumented immigrants feeds into the false idea that there is an uncontrollable number of immigrants in the country (Crush & Williams, 2001; 12). The method of calculation takes the deportation figures and uses a multiplier to get to a grand total. The issue is that it is impossible to draw correlation between deportation numbers and the size of the deportable population in the country (Crush & Williams, 2001; 12). The issue with this is that the arrests and deportations are not accurate, because immigrants such as Mozambicans are easy and cheap targets for the police, therefore the number of deportations can sometimes be due to immigrants being targeted (Crush & Williams, 2001; 12).

Hlatshwayo (2013b, 228) aims to understand how COSATU responded to xenophobia in the workplace and how they increased immigrant worker presence in the union, especially during the post-apartheid era. This dissertation seeks to look at trade union strategies and responses to xenophobia in South African workplaces, and it will specifically look at NUM (a COSATU affiliated union) and NUMSA (which is a former COSATU affiliate), and a comparison of the union's views, strategies and responses to xenophobia will be done.

This then highlights Marx's argument on the process of proletarianisation, where a large amount of the population was reduced to dependence on wage labour for income (Hlatshwayo, 2013b: 229). This means that masses had to sell their labour power to an employer for wages, because they did not have a source of income (Marx, [1867] 1990). Colonialization in South Africa, led to people leaving their homes in different places to come and work in the mines, in Johannesburg. This shows that the South African working class was made of different nationals and people from different tribes.

Hlatshwayo (2013b, 229) explains the process of how people started to migrate for work during the colonial era, as a response to the lifestyle that had changed from life in the rural areas, to needing employment to be able to pay taxes that were being enforced by the colonial government. Hlatshwayo (2013b, 229) explains that large scale labour migrancy in

South Africa started in the 1850s and 1860s, which was a time where large numbers of men migrated to work in the sugar plantations in Natal, during a time where the British colonial capitalism was taking shape. Furthermore, the opening of diamond mines in Kimberly during 1870 also caused large numbers of workers from all over South Africa to go to the new mines which offered better compensation than sugar plantations. The number of unskilled labour grew because of the discovery of gold in the Witswaterstrand in 1886, where high wages attracted workers (Hlatshwayo, 2013b, 229). South Africa has always been a centre that attracts migrants from within and outside South African borders.

Hlatshwayo (2013b, 229) explains the process of proletarianisation meant that the mass of the population was reduced to dependence on wage labour for income, which means workers had to sell their labour power to an employer for a wage, because they did not have assets and sources of income. Cohen (1980;11) explains the labour process, which involves the creation of the working class. Like Hlatshwayo, Cohen explains the process of how workers resorted to work, which changed their lifestyle completely. Cohen (1980;11) describes the labour process in five points, this process is important because it shows the thought behind people moving to different places to find work. The potential worker is compelled to leave his way of living that brings him income, such as land holding, petty trade and craft production, and instead the potential worker relies increasingly and fully on a wage. Cohen (1980,11) explains that in the industrial relations, this is the process that the potential workers goes through is known as labour commitment. This is a notion that typically misconceives the problem by presenting as the worker's psychological choice. This leaves out the fact that there is a high level of compulsion in the process which can be referred to as enforced proletarianisation (Cohen, 1980; 11)

When the worker is at work they must submit to an unequal authority structure of the workplace, where there are managers, gang-bosses, foremen and supervisors, who install a relationship of control, where there is also managerial control (Cohen, 1980; 11). The next step is that the worker must psychologically adapt to the physical and psychological conditions of employment that they get exposed to in the workplace (Cohen, 1980; 11). Furthermore, the worker must accept an unequal distribution of rewards for the labour power extended (Cohen, 1980; 11). The workers are also compelled to notice the overall political and juridical structure that permits the growth and establishment of the capitalist

social relations (Cohen, 1980; 11). This system contributed to migration, including migration to South Africa. As Hlatshwayo (2013b, 229) explained, the mining industry in South Africa depended on Southern African countries as labour reserves. He explains that to make a living, some workers left farming and agriculture at home to work in the mines, where some workers were leaving jobs in farms to join the mines because there was better payment.

This is why trade unions had to permeate a space where workers were different and came from different origins, and to be successful, the workers had to unite (Hlatshwayo: 2013b, 230). It was important to unite workers and fight for the equal and fair treatment of all workers. This context is important, when looking at the relationship that the trade unions have with immigrants who currently reside in South Africa, because it asks a question, of whether the trade unions have found it important to maintain a solid relationship that supports all workers, regardless of who they are and where they are from. Globalisation in South Africa has also contributed to the migration in South Africa, and how immigrants view South Africa.

Globalisation in Africa has shown itself through South Africa being the centre of the African region, because the policies of the IMF and the World Bank have led to the collapsing of other African economies (Hlatshwayo, 2013b: 230). The transfer of wealth from African countries to the North, has made a great impact on the collapse of the African economies (Hlatshwayo, 2013b: 230). However, wealth is also transferred from other African countries to South Africa in different ways, such as the centralisation of African markets in Johannesburg (South Africa) (Hlatshwayo, 2013b: 230). This system has led to the Southern African countries struggles to provide for their citizens, and South Africa being seen as the country with opportunities and possible ways to survive.

During the process of employing workers for wages, migrant workers found employment in South Africa but now, with the global crisis, it has become difficult for migrants to find work, because competition for work is high (Hlatshwayo, 2013b: 230). This competitive environment cultivates different kinds of conflicts and divisions, and in the case of migrants, xenophobia and discrimination is cultivated, by the workers who see themselves as indigenous to south Africa, and therefore deserving to get employment over a migrant worker (Hlatshwayo, 2013b: 231). Companies use this conflict and gap to their benefit, where they employ migrants who are desperate as a way to drive the wages down, knowing that a

migrant is often vulnerable and would be more open to lower payment than a local worker. This breeds conflict between the workers, where they point fingers at each other because of insecurity and lack of job safety (Hlatshwayo, 2013b: 231). So the problem is not a “phobia” but built into a larger capitalist system.

Legal immigrants are immigrants who have documentation that shows that they have been granted permission to live in South Africa. This document can be a permanent citizenship permit, or a visa, that allows immigrants to live in South Africa for a period of time. Illegal immigrants are immigrants who are unable to produce formal documentation that allows them to be in South Africa.

Therefore, the scenario discussed above brings the discussion to the involvement of the trade unions, and how they are cultivating relationships with migrant workers in South Africa. The discussion focuses on trade unions because of a concept that Hlatshwayo (2013b, 230) discusses; stating that employees pointing fingers at each other can lead to dangerous violence at work and xenophobia in the workplace. This shows that, failing to organise immigrant workers has a negative impact on all the workers because it drives the wages down for all the workers.

It is therefore important to look at the response and the relationship that trade unions have with immigrants in South Africa, because globalisation is happening; and just like immigrants going to various places to make a living, the capitalist structure does as well. If South Africa becomes a closed country with no immigrants and workers who hold a vulnerable position in society, the capitalist system would manifest itself in a country that offers cheap and vulnerable labour. This shows that international solidarity should start with the migrants who are already in South Africa, because this issue does not only impact South African workers, but it is about the working class movement and what it stands for (Hlatshwayo, 2013b: 231).

Hlatshwayo (2013b, 231) explains that South African trade unions have not responded well enough to xenophobia; furthermore, Hlatshwayo (2013b, 231) warns that trade unions should treat migrant workers from other countries as a reality, because there is a high probability of illegal migration continuing and increasing, although not all immigrants are illegal, it would be vital for the unions to be prepared with ways of working with immigrants. This means that the trade unions cannot stop the process of immigration that is taking place,

and even if they could, this would not be beneficial for the greater working class, because the capital can re-focus to another exploitable labour source. These themes that have been highlighted from Hlatshwayo's work will be used to further discuss the relationship that South African Trade unions have with migrants in South Africa, and their responses to xenophobia in the workplace.

As discussed above, the trade unions that will be looked at and researched are NUM and NUMSA. Both these trade unions will be discussed on how they relate to migrants, according to events that happen and what has been reported about the trade unions. Furthermore, interviews will be conducted with different officials of the trade unions as a work to connect themes to the known values of the trade unions. There is a lot of literature around the world on trade unions and immigrants, however, there is not much of it in South Africa. South African literature does not always focus on immigrants in relation to trade unions, but looks at the relationship immigrants have in the communities they stay in. The two unions that will be compared come from different federations, and it is important to compare the trade unions to explore the issue.

1.1 Field of Research

This research aims to understand the relationship trade unions have with immigrant workers in South Africa. In looking at this relationship, the issue of xenophobia in South African workplaces is key in understanding how the trade unions confront segregation in South African workplaces, especially segregation that is based on nationality. To uncover the relationship that trade unions currently have with immigrants, certain themes that arose from the data collection have been used to discuss the way trade unions relate and perceive immigrants. The themes are immigrants and crime, the governments involvement, international solidarity, benefits that immigrants should get, commitment to the apartheid struggle, the importance of immigrants' skills, and xenophobia as Afrophobia. These themes were common among both NUM and NUMSA officials.

1.2Context

Buhlungu and Bezuidenhout (2012, 263) described that the findings of a research they had conducted revealed that some branches and regions of NUM were explicitly divided, and the divisions were between ethnic groups, more especially Xhosa people and Sotho people.

Additionally, there are issues of citizenship because majority of Sotho speakers who work in the mining sector are migrant workers from South Africa's neighbouring country, Lesotho. NUM has had to work with issues of tribalism and faction fights since it was formed (Buhlungu & Bezuidenhout; 2012, 264). As a strategy to oppose the mining industry which was powerful and constantly attempted to divide workers along ethnic lines, NUM created solidarity among its members. Before apartheid ended, NUM was successful in creating solidarity among the workers to an extent that workers were organised across ethnic lines, it is ironic that post-apartheid South Africa has ethnic divisions surfacing again (Buhlungu & Bezuidenhout; 2012, 265).

Buhlungu & Bezuidenhout (2012, 262), discussed the shift from apartheid to democracy, where democracy presented the labour movement with a paradox; for more than a century the employers in the mines had used tradition to divide workers along ethnic lines (Buhlungu & Bezuidenhout; 2012, 266). The workers lived in tribal groups, where ethnic symbolism was promoted in ways such as tribal dances. However, NUM was intentional about undermining tribal divisions, where activities such as tribal dances were discouraged. The workers who were separated according to tribal and ethnic lines were migrants, who were workers that travelled from rural areas to find work in the city. The workers were housed in different hostels according to their ethnic groups and tribal lines where different groups lived with people from their tribes, this increased the divisions between the workers, as they would respect each other based on the ethnic groups (Buhlungu & Bezuidenhout, 2012;267). Additionally, NUM fought against ethnic-based residences for workers, through bypassing "indunas" who were supposed to be ambassadors of traditional culture and control (Buhlungu & Bezuidenhout; 2012, 266). The "indunas" were a symbol of traditional leadership who were supposed to represent the culture and lead the ethnic groups. NUM also used the space in the hostels as offices, which made it easier to organise public addresses and mass meetings (Buhlungu & Bezuidenhout; 2012, 267).

This kind of set up allowed NUM to build strong bonds of solidarity between its members, and it cut across ethnic national origins. The resources that came from the compound, as an organizational space, gave NUM a solid platform, where they were able to connect with other unions to extend solidarity to a national level (Buhlungu & Bezuidenhout; 2012, 267).

The union undermined the tribal divisions by discouraging tribal dances and fighting against ethnic based tribal allocations. This was a good way to build the strength of the union (Buhlungu & Bezuidenhout, 2012: 268). This was a good way to build the strength of the union. NUM did this by turning around the single sex compounds to their favour, through colonizing the compounds, making it easier for the union to gather people for meetings (Buhlungu & Bezuidenhout, 2012: 268). The spaces in the compounds were also turned into offices and the workers had access to the union site. From the time that COSATU was formed, NUM was the leading union in COSATU, which shows that NUM's principles were aligned with the principles of COSATU. The importance of labour migration and making sure that all workers were united and not exploited regardless of where they came from was a strong principle that COSATU and NUM saw as important, see (Buhlungu & Bezuidenhout, 2012: 268) and the Congress of South African Trade Unions (1985, 12). Both COSATU and NUM believed that workers are exploited more when they are separated according to race and ethnicity. This shows that NUM's strategy of uniting workers was important to them as a trade union in order to make sure that the union was strong and workers were united, but aligning their resolutions with COSATU's was also beneficial for NUM's political dominance in the federation.

Hlatshwayo (2013, 275) describes that COSATU made a call for trade unions in Southern Africa to work together in brainstorming ideas and practical suggestions on solving issues of migration. However, COSATU also contradicted themselves by proposing to the South African Development Community to impose a quota system on the number of immigrants that enter different countries (Hlatshwayo, 2013: 275). Instead of organising and uniting all workers regardless of their country of origin, COSATU was blaming the employers for employing illegal immigrants and suggested penalising the employers for hiring illegal immigrants. This sent the message that an illegal immigrant should not get a job, instead of protecting immigrants from being exploited, COSATU suggested that it would be easier to not employ illegal immigrants at all (Hlatshwayo, 2013: 276). This is one of the reasons to why COSATU is struggling to build unity today. Additionally, the unity COSATU had with regards to immigrants in the 1980s, has also been challenged by the fact that they are part of the "Proudly South African Campaign", which encourages the purchase of South African goods and services like jobs. This implies that

South Africans are important people who should get preference with jobs (Hlatshwayo, 2013: 276).

The transition from apartheid to democracy brought new ways of doing things, and this challenged the levels of solidarity, one of the factors that affected solidarity careerism (Buhlungu & Bezuidenhout; 2012, 269). The constant deracialization of education made it possible black workers and NUM members in particular, to move up the occupational ladder; where NUM members have had the opportunity to move to artisanal and supervisory positions (Buhlungu & Bezuidenhout; 2012, 269). Although this occupational change was a positive thing, it introduced tensions and new dynamics in the union, where some members do not feel that they are able to grow because of racial discrimination in the process of giving opportunities to people for them to move up (Buhlungu & Bezuidenhout; 2012, 270). This occupational change and growth is called upward mobility, however, it is not always received well because workers feel that certain preferences are given to certain ethnic groups, when it comes to promotions. Although this conflict is between migrants who are South Africa, divisions from it affect non-South African workers. This is because it stimulates a culture of divisions between the workers, where a lot of importance is placed on ethnicity when it comes to upward mobility. This discussion looks at NUM in particular and discusses the way NUM has transitioned from being a union that worked to bring workers together and give them a sense of solidarity, to be a union that has discrimination, where certain workers do not feel that they can progress in their careers because of racial dynamics in the union. This moves the discussion towards looking at the relationship that the trade union currently forms with immigrants, as it is clear that in the past it was NUM's mandate to have worker solidarity that cut across ethnic lines. NUM, has historically shown the importance of having unity and solidarity between workers, and during the apartheid era NUM embedded the unity on all workers across ethnic groups. However, (Buhlungu & Bezuidenhout, 2012; 272) describe that even in the post-apartheid era there were tensions at the mines, and one of them was tribalism. Tribalism started growing with growth of careerism during the post-apartheid era was dividing the union, and different ethnic groups supported their people when it came to opportunities for positions (Buhlungu & Bezuidenhout, 2012; 272).

Buhlungu & Bezuidenhout (2010, 256) describe that NUM has challenges that have come with the ending of apartheid and more freedom for mineworkers to work differently than the past.

The changing of roles for some workers whilst some remain in the same treatment they experienced before liberation has caused insecurities amongst the workers, and this has presented labour movements such as NUM with new challenges, which are pushing them to look for other models of mobilising members. Buhlungu & Bezuidenhout (2010, 256) describe that labour was compounded in the past and the union could use this for solidarity, however, the fragmentation of labour in the new period has led to new divisions which undermine the old solidarities and the foundations they were based on, which is men working in the mines and living in mine hostels, where masses of workers could be found and organised at a central place (Buhlungu & Bezuidenhout, 2010: 256). In the liberation period, divisions such as, having a male dominated workplace which is now mixed with men and women, having a mixture of permanent versus contract employees, South Africans versus foreigners, ethnic overlaps, and workers who live in the compounds and those who do not (Buhlungu & Bezuidenhout, 2010: 256). This shows that the NUM has different challenges which need different strategies, and one of those challenges is unifying South Africans and foreigners, because unlike in the colonial era, South Africans and foreigners no longer see themselves in the angle of having a common fight against an oppressive government system, but now the South African workers see the foreigners as competition and people who threaten their job safety. However, these labour patterns and challenges are not uniquely South Africa, other unions face the same issues, and further discussions in the paper will bring this to the surface.

In this part of the text will be a discussion on NUMSA, where the relationships formed between workers in South Africa and workers in Germany will be looked at. In this introduction, trade union B (NUMSA) is discussed, along with the relationship it holds with workers in South Africa and beyond. International solidarity is a theme that will be discussed in this research, where the interpretation of international solidarity to unions currently will be discussed. Bolsman (2010, 520) discusses the labour internationalism, where he looks at the relationship between workers at VW South Africa and workers at VW in Germany. As mentioned above, solidarity is important because it eliminates the chance of having workers who are vulnerable as this weakens the workers struggle and organisation. Bolsman (2010, 520) looks at the relationship between NUMSA and VW workers during a time where the workers were dismissed in a large number, for conflicting and protesting the union, NUMSA. Furthermore, Bolsman (2010) looks at the transition of NUMSA from apartheid to democracy,

and just like the discussion about tensions and dynamics that arose with NUM during the transition to democracy, there have been tensions within NUMSA during this transition, where shop floor activists have a struggle against their own trade union.

The theoretical frameworks used in this research analyse the trade unions from a Marxist perspective and an Anarchist perspective. The Marxist perspective assists in looking at different reasons to why trade unions are structured the way they are, and it looks at their beliefs system and reasoning behind organising workers. Anarchism looks at the reason to why trade unions and their members may not see eye to eye, the bureaucracy in trade unions and the way in which trade unions' alignment with the government has interfered with the response of the workers, and it often causes conflicts because the interests of the workers are not met, due to the interests that the trade unions may have with the government in power. In this text, I will be engaging with literature that discusses trade union renewals and how different unions both in South Africa and other countries have dealt with the issue of migration.

Van der Walt (2016, 349-350) explains anarchism, where he looks at what it is and what it is not, going against several misconceptions that are believed about anarchism. Van der Walt (2016, 349) rejects the assumption that revolutionary socialism is limited to Marxism and Leninism and recognises anarchism which has been suppressed by Leninist and Marxist. A long-standing view describes anarchism as anti-state; however, this is not helpful because Classical Marxism also insisted that the state will 'wither-a-way'. Additionally, liberalism has shown anti-statism through because it is for free markets, which by nature limits state power (Van der Walt, 2016; 250). Therefore, looking at anarchism as being anti-state is both simplistic and not enough to show what it is. The description that anarchism is a 'sensibly' bottom-up and democratic movement is also not enough, as it does not identify anarchism in a different way from other movements (Van der Walt, 2016; 250). Van der Walt (2016, 350) explains anarchism as, "a rationalist, revolutionary form of libertarian socialism, emerging from the 1860s, opposed to social and economic hierarchy and inequality, and fighting for radically democratic, delegate-based federation of worker and community councils, rooted in assemblies, placing commonly owned means of production, coercion and administration under popular control, so enabling self-management, democratic planning from below and production for need, not profit". Anarchism's core foundation is individual freedom, which it

believes is only possible through cooperative, egalitarian social relations (Van der Walt, 2016; 350). This is important because it recognises the notion of a society, because anarchism can only happen in a free society, and it is not an individualistic movement.

The anarchist theory will assist in looking at the ways in which the trade unions that base their movement on Marxism have limitations, it then looks at how Marxism is still used within the trade union structures, but within itself, does not have the ability to grow the unions beyond being liberation movements, in fact the decline and deterioration of the labour union structure could be contributed by the limiting Marxist thinking that fails to look at current societal issues that affect workers.

Chapter 2: Methodology

In this research, an in-depth field research was done on two South African trade unions, NUMSA and NUM. During the time of the field work, the researcher spent time interviewing trade union officials at their head offices to obtain data. The research is qualitative because it aims at understanding relationships and perceptions. Qualitative research has been defined as the kind of research that emphasises on words as opposed to the quantification in the collection and analysis of data (Bryman, 2012: 280).

Face-to-face interviews were conducted where national representatives of the above-mentioned trade unions, were interviewed. The interviews were semi-structured interviews, where there were key questions, but also there was an allowance given to the participants to be able to have the freedom to talk freely about issues that come to their minds, even if it is issues that the interviewer had not asked (Bryman, 2012: 437). The aim of this research was to speak with the spokespersons or policy co-ordinators of the different trade unions. Snowball sampling was used, because it is a sampling method where contact with the relevant people is made, and the people then recommended other people who are relevant to the research that was conducted.

2.1 Documentary Resources

To supplement the interviews that served as field work and data collection, the research also includes some consultation and an in-depth investigation of NUM and NUMSA resolutions, policy documents, press releases, and discussions and reports on issues that are related to xenophobia in South African workplaces, international solidarity and policies that relate to the union views immigrants in the workplace.

2.2 Fieldwork

Starting from the month of August to September 2017, the fieldwork began, where organised appointments with some trade union officials were done. The appointments were to conduct interviews with the trade union officials and leaders, where four leaders from each trade union were interviewed on behalf of the trade union they worked for. The trade union leaders were interviewed at different times, but at their respective national trade union offices. The content of the interviews focused investigation the thoughts, beliefs and attitudes towards

issues of migration and xenophobia in South African workplaces. In visiting the two trade unions, there were trade union members who were willing to take part in the interview process and share their insights on the topic. The union officials were approached on snowball sampling method, where recommendations were made by other union officials. In the interviews conducted, questions about the relationship that trade unions have with immigrants in South Africa were asked, where the trade union official members also had the chance to explain the policies and resolutions that they have come to as the trade union, with regards to this topic.

2.3 Interviews

This research focuses on the relationship that the trade unions have with immigrants in South Africa, it also looks at the strategies that trade unions have come with as an attempt to fight against xenophobia in South African workplaces. This focus then led to questions on the policies that the unions currently have on migration and immigrants in South Africa as well as the role that the trade unions are committed to playing in relation to xenophobia in the workplace.

Qualitative research was conducted as a way to investigate the topic mentioned above because it assisted the nature of the research. The interviews that were conducted were semi structured interviews, where there were questions that the union officials were asked gave structure to the interview, but the interviewees had an allowance to say and share other opinions that they felt were relevant to the question. The research focused on the views of the trade union officials because they are involved in the making of resolutions and policies about labour. The fieldwork of this research took was conducted in August 2018, where the trade union officials of NUM and NUMSA were interviewed in their respective union offices. The interviews conducted were set through appointments with the trade union officials, where officials were given the opportunity to prepare for the topic being discussed, or at least know the topic which they would be interviewed on.

The interviews were successful because the officials that were interviewed spoke freely and shared insights on policies that their trade unions had adopted with regards to xenophobia in South African workplaces. The participants (trade union officials) shared their views and the views that they have learnt from the trade union they represent. The trade union officials also

highlighted issues and examples that assisted them with explaining the view of the trade union and their perspective on xenophobia in the workplace and international solidarity. The interviews, where however conducted in a professional space, and this may have influenced their response to questions. Some officials could have said more about how they may see things but having the interviews at the trade union offices could have affected the responses that the participants were willing to give.

2.4 Sampling

It has been briefly mentioned above that a snowball sampling method was conducted, where the participants who were trade union officials, were found through referrals and recommendations from other participants who had already been interviewed. NUM's spokesperson did a lot of recommendations and referrals to participants who would be able to have an interview on the topic at hand, these participants either knew about the topic discussed or had a large amount of experience working with the trade union and its workers. This was the same with NUMSA, various participants referred the researcher to other union officials who knew more about the topic, as well as the history of the union when it comes to issues of migration and xenophobia in South Africa workplaces. From each union, four participants were interviewed, which gave the researcher a variety of responses which were all aimed at proving a point. The point was that as trade unions are against xenophobia in South Africa, in this case reference was made to how the respective trade unions fought against the tribalism, especially in the mines.

The methods of conducting research were chosen because they offered different ways to serve the objectives of the research, which is to understand the relationship that trade unions have with immigrant workers in South Africa. The documentary resources assisted with understanding the history of trade unions, and getting an understanding of the objectives of the trade unions about unity and migration. The documentary resources also served the objectives of this research as they gave an understanding of the actions taken by trade unions when combating xenophobia in the workplace. The interviews with trade union officials assisted in asking specific questions around the immigrants in South African workplaces. The trade union officials have experience as workers and people who represent workers, therefore, they understand how the trade union works through their own experiences. The interviews assisted with understanding the views of the trade unions about immigrants

through the officials who are part of the trade union structure. The sampling method also assisted in reaching the research objectives because the trade union officials recommended each other based on the knowledge of officials who would know how to share the views of the trade unions on immigrants in South Africa, and South African workplaces.

2.5 Table 1: Interviews with the trade union officials:

Name	Date Interviewed	Position
Phakamile Hlubi		NUMSA Spokesperson
Zanoxolo Wayile		NUMSA Head of education
Basil Cele		NUMSA Deputy President
Christine Olivier		Head of International Relations
Livhuwani Mammburu		NUM Spokesperson
Tafa Moya		NUM Mining House Co-ordinator
Patrick Mathebane		NUM Stakeholder Affairs
Joseph Montisetsi		NUM Deputy President

The interviews conducted were semi-structured and they aimed at exploring the following themes:

- The union's view on xenophobia and migration issues that take place in South Africa.
- The policies that the unions have with regards to migrant workers and issues that come with immigration in the workplace.
- Strategies that the unions have organised with the intention of combating xenophobia in the workplace.
- The awareness that unions have on migration issues and conflicts that affect South African workplaces.
- The concept of international solidarity and what it means to the respective trade unions.

In-depth and semi-structured interviews explored the topics that have been stated above, where the trade union officials were asked to answer questions based on their experience, interaction with immigrants, and based on their knowledge of issues of immigration in South African workplaces. This method was to explore the tools which the trade unions have at their disposal when it comes fighting against xenophobia in the workplace.

2.6 Ethical Considerations.

When conducting the interviews, the first step was to call the national offices of the respective trade unions and introduce the topic of research, then ask for someone I could speak with, someone who would have the knowledge required by the topic. Some trade union officials were suggested by previous participants, while some I was able to find and contact from their profiles that were presented on the websites of the trade unions. In each session of an interview, I would introduce myself and the topic at hand in detail, and ask the participants to sign a participation form which explained that the information would be used for research purposes. This also means that the participants got the information that the research would be shared publicly and academically. In this case as the researcher I had to get consent from union representatives, however, there are no ethical considerations because I was dealing with union representatives who were elected to answer the research questions on behalf of the trade union. The names of the participating trade union representatives will not be kept anonymous, as they are representatives of the trade union and consent was given for the interviews to be done with them because they know the policies and resolution of the trade union in depth.

2.7 Limitations of the Study

Time was the first limitation to the research because it prevented the researcher from finding more trade union representatives. Although the amount of participants meets the requirements of the research, but it would have been a privilege to get more views on the topic. Due to limited resources, the research could not extend to finding immigrant workers and getting their perspective on the topic of how they relate to the trade unions. The perspective of the immigrant workers would have provided more information and comparison to the perspective of the trade union representatives. During the research, it appeared that it would be important to look at the topic discussed from both perspectives,

because the immigrant workers would give their perspectives based on what affects them, and whether they have a relationship with the trade unions. Furthermore, the immigrant workers would also share their experiences with conflicts that are related to xenophobia in the workplace, after all, this issue affects them specifically, and giving them an opportunity to share their perspective would have provided a good balance to the research. Having said this, resources and time would have been major limitations if the research had been done in this angle. This is because the researcher would have had to go and find migrant workers who were willing to share their experiences. This would have taken time, as several steps would have been taken when it comes to interviewing people at their workplace. It would have also taken time to be able to find migrant employees who were specifically part of trade unions, especially the trade unions in focus.

Chapter 3: Literature Review

This literature review looks at the connection between capitalism and racism, with the argument that capitalism fuels racism, because when employees are divided based on their differences they can be exploited easily. Furthermore, the way in which discrimination weakens the working class was covered as a way to highlight the importance of having workers' unity that is guided by trade unions. The future of trade unions has been discussed, in relation to the way they relate and connect with immigrants.

The importance of a strong relationship between the working class and the trade unions has been argued, with a suggestion that trade unions should represent all workers regardless of their nationality as this will strengthen the workers' movement. The review argues that the government is not the answer in solving exploitation and making sure that there is no xenophobia in the workplace because they are not different from capitalists who have the intentions of looking after the strength of the state. Xenophobia in the communities that workers work in has been discussed, with argument that the life a worker has at home and in their community influences their work life, therefore it is important to acknowledge and highlight xenophobia in the communities outside of the conventional work environments. These topics serve the research objectives because they as look at the ways trade unions could improve their involvement in the lives of workers regardless of the nationality of the workers, through making sure that all workers are treated equally in the workplace.

Unions in South Africa have played a big role in uniting workers and fighting against injustice in the workplace, they have also gone as far as working with liberation movements as a strategy to liberate the working class. In South Africa, the union federation COSATU has been a supporter to the ruling and liberation party, the ANC. In attempts for fighting for justice and equality and liberation of the working class the labour movement was preached about the importance of workers uniting. This research aims to look at the strategies that South African trade unions NUM and NUMSA have towards eradicating xenophobia in the workplace. Furthermore, this research looks at the union policies on issues of migration and the union practices in reality. Both NUMSA and NUM have been affiliated with the federation COSATU, however NUMSA has broken away of COSATU and it is currently affiliated with SAFTU which is a federation that was founded in 2017.

This literature review will first explain the theoretical framework which has been used in the research. A definition of what xenophobia is, will be explained along with what trade unionism is. The history of South African workplaces and issues of stratified work will be discussed as an example of what happens when workers are separated, and the challenges and the injustices that occur when workers are given jobs according to who they and their ethnic groups. One of the aims of this research is to highlight the effect of treating workers differently in the workplace, and what happens when workers are not united because they come from different ethnic groups.

3.1 Theoretical Framework

This chapter looks at the different kinds of divisions that come between workers, the divisions that weaken the working class movement, from ethnic divisions to racial divisions, which lead to conflicts such as xenophobia. The concept that any form of division can affect the workers' movement will be emphasised in this chapter, with a clear explanation of who immigrants are, who migrants are, and the definition of xenophobia. This section will highlight the importance of seeing xenophobia as racism, and how looking at xenophobia in a different light undermines the negative impacts it has on society.

Callinicos (1993, 12) argues that several black radicals have been influenced by versions of Marxism. The black radicals draw on Marxist analyses of the slave and of imperialism and they also insist that racism benefits capitalism economically (Callinicos, 1993: 12). Callinicos (1993, 14) argues that xenophobia was formed as part of a process that capitalism become a dominant part off, where its benefits have been related with the benefits of capitalism. This shows that racism in the workplace can arise from the divisions that are created between different groups of workers who are competing in the job market, based on the fact that they come from different parts of the world (Callinicos, 1993: 14). The way racism is structured causes workers who should have the same goal to fight against each other, and it also prevents workers from effectively fighting against the employers who exploits them (Callinicos, 1993: 14). Callinicos (1993, 14) points out two facts and they are that racism operates in a system that does not have the best interests of the workers, no matter what race or ethnic group they come from. The second fact is that, when a working class gets divided it harms all workers, even the workers who are not direct victims of racism (Callinicos, 1993: 15). This indicates that a society that has racism in the workplace and in the community

will not be successful because xenophobia, like racism divides workers and causes them to compete with each other, with the idea that they are building a nation (Callinicos, 1993: 15). Callinicos (1993: 37) argues that there is historical connection between racism and capitalism, and this means that a working class that is fighting capitalism should be fighting its connection to racism, as well.

Callinicos (1993, 16) argues against the idea that racism is a phenomenon that belongs to certain groups of people. Callinicos (1993, 16) argues that racism exists when certain people are discriminated against based on characteristics which are held to be innate to them as a group. Whilst racism is associated with skin colour, this is not always the case, because there are instances where racism was not based on skin colour. The Irish people were victims of racism in the nineteenth century, in Britain although they were as white as their oppressor. This shows that xenophobia is racism, because it is discrimination based on ethnicity and nationality, which is not always based on skin colour difference. Callinicos (1993,17) shows that it is inaccurate to see racism as a view that can only belong to a certain group of people, this argument is important in this research because it shows that xenophobia or discrimination based on nationality and ethnicity, is in fact racist. This is because xenophobia crosses skin colour lines. Callinicos (1993, 18) argues that a victim of racism is not a person who can change themselves so that they can avoid racism. An African person who is black cannot change their skin colour, just like a person cannot in truth change where they come from, they may change their way of life, but they have no way of erasing the history of where they were born. There is generally no way to escape racism for the people who are seen as inferior. Racism is related to ways in which workers are treated in the workplace, where racism and capitalism are related, because racism was developed during an important time of capitalism's development (Callinicos, 1993: 23).

Callinicos (1993, 35) explains Marx's perspective on the issues of workers being divided. Marx's text starts explaining the issue of economic competition between workers, because if two groups of workers have different national origins, and speak different languages and traditions, there is a potential that racial antagonisms may exist (Callinicos,1993: 35). Additionally, Callinicos (1993, 39) argues that from Marx's view, it is the project of the capitalist to be able to create and uphold a racially divided working class, and the ways of keeping this conflict and hate alive, media such as radio, newspapers, and churches were used

to spread the word and to spread the division between the two races. Racism is then being described as the secret tool that capitalism uses to remain in power. This shows that research on how trade unions react to xenophobia in the workplace is important because it looks at how trade unions fight capitalism through fighting divisions such as xenophobia in the workplace.

Callinicos (1993: 34) describes the dynamics between immigrants and natives in a country, can be referred to as modern day racism. This is a situation where the immigrants are treated by the native working class as inferior, and enemies. However, this does not benefit the working class including the natives. Instead the natives who are also part of the working class become oppressive tools to the immigrants, making it easier for the immigrants to be vulnerable to exploitation, because they will not be united with the working class (Callinicos: 35). Callinicos (1993: 35) argues that, discrimination within the working class, weakens the entire working class, and whilst native oppressors see themselves as better, they are in the same position as the immigrants. The capitalists continue to divide workers and, in some instances,, they give some workers certain benefits, while depriving other workers the same benefits; having said that, it can be noticed that the workers who get more benefits are also exploited, the same way that the workers who are not exploited are (Callinicos, 1993: 39). This can be applied to the issue of xenophobia in the workplace, where workers might not get along because they are treated differently because of where they come from and their ethnic origin. The Marxist theory is centred around the disadvantages of having a working class that is divided because of race, it discusses the issue of workers being divided by the capitalists, who uses differences between the workers, creating an illusion that certain workers are better than others (Callinicos, 1993).

Maximoff (1953) describes the ways that the government or the ruling party, are not any better than private companies, because governments also aim and work on gaining profits which leads to exploiting workers. Maximoff (1953, 138) explains the way in which a state that exists generally prevents and fights against the formation of other states, and states that are stronger. This shows that there will be countries who dominate other countries and survives by making sure that other states are not strong enough and constantly depend on those dominating countries (Maximoff, 1953, 138). This is an important argument because South Africa has a dominating relationship towards other countries, and because of this South

Africa does not give enough support to those countries so that they can be independent, but rather takes on a pseudo supporting role whilst using those states for resources (Maximoff, 1953: 138). This leads to a situation where the dominated states do not have resources to support their people, and a situation where the people from those countries see South Africa as a place with better resources. This eventually leads to people migrating for the reason of improving their lives. Hatting (2012b) describes South Africa's relationships with other states, and his argument is aligned with Maximoff (1953) and the argument made in this text, which explains the process that leads to immigration. Hattingh (2012b, 52) argues that South Africa is an imperialist state, because it is a state that is constantly looking at expanding its influence and power as compared to other states. This is an argument that stems from the anarchist theory, which describes the state as an institution that aims to serve its own interest, where the ruling class keep expanding their power to dominate and be able to have more control (Hatting, 2012b: 52). Hatting (2012b, 52) argues that, state officials, who make up the ruling class, do not necessarily own means of production but they have access and control over the means of production, this provides them with the power to be able to control and influence wealth. Furthermore, Hatting (2012b, 52) explains that anarchists have argued that class is not just about relations of production and ownership of production, but also relations of domination and having access to power. Ownership of production is important, and links to this topic because people started opening themselves up as labour when they did not own production. Production ownership gives people the power and choice to structure their labour as they see fit.

This highlights the fact that state officials are not always working on behalf of the people because they do not own the means of production, they rather use their power and the state to increase their wealth and status (Hatting, 2012b: 52). Hatting (2012b, 52) refers to Bakunin's argument where he stated that the biggest law of the state is to preserve itself, and a state has a constant struggle against other foreign states, where the state can only be strong when other states are weak. South Africa has proven to be an imperialist state, because of the relationship it fosters with other countries is one where it is constantly using its power on the neighbouring states (Hatting, 2012b: 52).

In some cases, the power exerted by a state is not violent force, but power where one state finds itself depending on the other for survival or certain resources, the state supplying

resources would be in a position of power. An example of this South Africa's involvement in the DRC, where South Africa deployed troops to go and stabilize conflicts in DRC; this seems like a good gesture when looked at from face value, however, South Africa showed that they did not care much about the working class because of the bad living conditions that the soldiers found themselves in (Hatting, 2012a:1). Hatting (2012a, 1) also explains that South Africa sent their military to the DRC because of interests they had in planting South African businesses in the DRC, and also they had interests in the minerals of DRC. This shows that the South African state was investing in itself more than assisting the DRC, the aim was to expand its power and control. In relation to this, the region depends on South Africa for opportunities and employment, because immigrants leave their countries because of hardships hoping to start a new life in South Africa (Hlatshwayo, 2013: 271). Hlatshwayo (2013, 272) makes an example of Zimbabwe, where he argues that South African state and some of its corporations, which are multinational in character are responsible for the migration patterns, through the Economic Structural Adjustment Programmes, where shops were opened in countries such as Zimbabwe, that were forex-rich (Hlatshwayo, 2013: 273). Importing mass-produced goods from South African supplier networks, replaced the local, and when the forex ran dry in 2000 it became difficult to find those goods and there were no goods to replace them (Hlatshwayo, 2013: 273). This then shows how the immigrants came to South Africa with the hope that they can make a living and get an opportunity to live a better life, as a result of not being able to live a better life in their countries. The argument above shows that South Africa had a part to play in the weakening of Zimbabwe and that contributed to having immigrants come to South Africa to find the resources they would not be able to find in their home countries.

3.2 What is Xenophobia?

Tafira (2011, 114) uses the universal definition of xenophobia that defines xenophobia in the universal definition, which is the strong dislike, hatred or fear of those who are perceived to be strangers. Earlier, I have argued that the image of a "phobia" does not address the issues, as it ignores the role of capitalist structures. Here I focus on the *content* of the attitudes and actions people have called "xenophobia."

Tafira (2011, 114) challenges some of the actions that have been labelled as xenophobia, he rather argues that they are racism. Later in this text, a comparison of xenophobia to actions that have been labelled as racist will be done as a way of showing similarities on issues of

violence and discrimination. Tafira (2011,114) argues the importance of looking at what is called xenophobia as new racism because racism is not only based on skin colour and biology but can be because of different ways of living. (Tafira, 2011: 114) argues that the definition of xenophobia is thin and limited, and therefore cannot cater for the kind of violence that happens, when black South Africans attack other Africans in the townships. Xenophobia is defined as the intense dislike and fear of those who are strangers (Tafira, 2011: 114).

Tafira (2011, 115) believes that by avoiding calling the violent acts against immigrant's racism, we fall into the trap of limiting racism as something that is only based on skin colour. Furthermore, racism is fluid and is not static, this means it can manifest itself in different forms and ways. This means that racism cannot just be defined in biological and economical ways but it must include systems of values and appropriations (Tafira, 2011: 116). This is because the values formulate terms that are political, legal and moral, but stimulate racist expressions, and these expressions can come in a form of language; using language that can be demeaning and derogatory creates ways where people see themselves and others differently (Tafira, 2011: 116). This constructs identities about the different people, where terms such as *amakwerekwere* and *amagrigamba* are terms used by South Africans, although demeaning and loaded with negative connotations about who immigrants are, connotations that imply that immigrants are uncivilised and are sub-human. It is important to bear this definition in mind when talking about xenophobia in the workplace, because in this text similarities are drawn between workers who worked during the racist era and those who work in the modern South African society.

South African History Online (SAHO) (2015,1) also defines xenophobia as a deep dislike of non-nationals by people who are nationals. Furthermore, xenophobia is a demonstration of racism because racism and xenophobia support each other, as they share the same values and discourse (SAHO, 2015: 1). This definition of xenophobia is to highlight what will be meant by xenophobia in the following research and discussion, however, the relation of xenophobia to racism is to highlight the violence and divisions that are caused by xenophobia and how similar they are to racism.

In the past decades there has been a lot of research and writing on xenophobia in South Africa, and with the regular xenophobic events it is not surprising that this is a topic of interest. However, there is not a lot of literature on xenophobia in South Africa with regards

to trade unions. Hlatshwayo (2013a, 2013b) has researched and looked at COSATU with regards to xenophobia, whilst Di Paola (2013) has looked at the local section of NUMSA. This text will be adding to the thin research that has been done on Xenophobia related to trade unions. It is important to also acknowledge the research that has been done by Bolsmann (2007, 2010) on union international links and cooperation with multinational firms.

In this research it is important to look at research that looks at how South Africans in their communities and daily lives relate to immigrants. This Research has been done in different scenarios that focus on different communities in South African communities. Maselwa (2017) shows the widespread xenophobia across class and race in South Africa, where she focuses on the relationship dynamics between immigrant shop owners in the rural areas with the local people. This research brings a different angle in that it looks at the South African local's relationship with immigrants. This is relevant because the workers who work in mines come from different communities, including Eastern Cape rural areas. This link is important because the worker who is led by a union is still part of a community when they go back home, their thinking at work can be influenced by the way of life at home and vice versa. Maselwa (2017, 14) argues that Somalis especially those operating as spaza operators, have been victims of xenophobia, that has been shown through various stereotypes, prejudice and violent exclusions. Maselwa (2017, 14) states that as asylum seekers and refugees, Somalis have the right to work in South Africa, and most of them have chosen to start informal businesses, where they often run spazas in the townships and rural areas.

The relationship between local people and the Somali spaza operators has not been a smooth one because the Somalis have been accused of driving out business the local business owners, and gaining the resources that are seen as a right to local business owners (Maselwa, 2017: 15). It is because of this that Somali spaza operators have been exposed to violence, where they are attacked, and have their shops looted; they are not seen by the local community people as the rightful owners of resources that come with having a business because they are immigrants (Maselwa, 2017: 15). This shows that being an immigrant in the communities can make a person vulnerable because they are not seen as people who should get rights like the local people, or even they should be last in line, where the "rightful" receiver of human rights and resources is a local person (Maselwa, 2017: 15). This example is important because it shows the reactions that South Africans have towards immigrants getting the same resources

as they do, or competing with immigrants for resources. It is important to highlight the mentality that views immigrants as outsiders who should not be getting the same opportunities as the local people. This thinking extends from the communities, such as the interactions local people have with the Somali spaza operators, and it can be the same in the workplace, if not more brutal.

3.3 What is trade Unionism?

Hyman (2002, 17) looks at the issue of trade unionism from a perspective of whether they have a good future or not, and why. The history of trade unions is described as one that could be traced back from two centuries, where the dynamics of the unions structure and formation reflect the multiple characteristics of context and of the ambitions of their founders (Hyman, no year). There are five common theme which can be identified from among the vast historical diversity, these themes can assist one in understanding trade unions, their current predicaments and their future possibilities (Hyman, 2002: 18). Firstly, the history of unions is that they were built on the foundation of pre-existing solidarities and they gave structure to a consciousness that was there before, a consciousness of collective interests and a collective identity (Hyman, 2002: 18). Although not easy, forming a collective identity and forging unity had firm supporters and in some cases the principles of a collective identity had an institutional foundation pre-dating capitalist employment relationship (Hyman, 2002: 18). The resistance from collective units and organizations was sparked by the rise of capitalism and its creation of wage-slavery and exploitation. As time went on, capital labour relation had grown, collective engagements at work grew and the collective experience from work was complemented by the domestic life, shared recreational, cultural, and sometimes religion (Hyman, 2002: 18). This meant that people shared the same identity at work, and they also sometimes shared same living experiences, which then brought them closer together, this then becomes interesting with migration and the changes that affect the labour movement when the members of a union do not share the same communal experiences, and when they are not from the same group. Furthermore, the people were resisting against the political landscape, and in most cases the employers became the recruiters, where the union was an extension of the company's community (Hyman, 2002: 18).

Secondly, as the trade unions grew and expanded they started to contradict themselves, by being defender of the working class and fighting for people who are oppressed and

underprivileged, while on the other hand they also defended some of the advantaged sections of the working class, who in most countries, became union members. Hyman (2002: 11) shows that the union has a contradictory character because they believe in unity and work towards unity, but they have a way of doing things that is exclusionary to certain groups of society, especially those who do not work. This is relevant to this text because it looks at how the trade unions react to xenophobia in South African workplaces, which excludes certain people in society, and causes them to be treated as though they are not part of society. Therefore, Hyman (2002) reveals that unions, although meaning well, do have an exclusionary history that might not be xenophobic, but is still exclusionary. Hyman (2002, 11) explains that unions are unite and divide at the same time because some unions, prefer to divide workers according to blue collar and white collar workers, this reduces the chances of workers identifying with their employers. Thirdly, most unions were traditionally founded based on what was termed a traditional employment relationship and the stereotypical trade unionist possessed an industrial muscle (Hyman, 2002,18). Fourth, this core constituency could be regarded in most countries where the union first emerged as a popular majority. Even if some of the manual industrial working class was in few countries numerically the dominant segment of the population, it was always visible and could easily and rightfully be considered the face of modern society (Hyman, 2002: 19).

In some cases, union members excluded workers who were female, insecure, transitory, but unions' pretensions as the presenters of the general working class were hardly ever questioned (Hyman, 2002: 19). This shows that unions are not always representing all working class people, there have been times when they represent specific groups while excluding others, the example of unions excluding female participants can be related to the where unions are not welcoming to immigrants and other vulnerable groups. The fifth characteristic is one where unions, even those proclaiming inter- and anti- nationalism, have been immersed in national societies and they live in societies that have strong national policies (Hyman, 2002: 19). These types of unions will have world views that are influenced by national and cultural assumptions which means they are influenced by prejudices. These unions have also been influenced by their regulatory and political authorities who also operate on a terrain that is foundationally based on nationalism (Hyman, 2002: 19). Hlatshwayo (2013, 269) agrees with the argument on nationalism, where the unions as he

argues that South African trade unions have not been able to show national solidarity with immigrant workers because of national chauvinism, where a union such COSATU privileges the interests of South Africans.

The characteristics of trade unions discussed above are important because they show the structure and the construction of trade unionism. Understanding these characteristics, equips us with being able to analyse the current situation that unions are in, and it also helps with understanding future benefits and challenges that unions will find themselves facing in the future (Hyman, 2002: 19). The stability of national industrial relations system formed on a triangular relationship of unions, employers and governments has been shaken by a series of external challenges that are usually identified under the label of globalization (Hyman, 2002: 19). This involves the increasing of cross-national competition, as new competitors enter markets that were once dominated by a small number of European and North American economies. The trade unions have also faced internal problems that are because of the transformation in the union's own constituencies, which is the workplace. The workplaces are changing and along with this, the melting away of the usual employment relationships of the past; and also, more social and generational changes (Hyman, 2002: 20). A specific change is the shift from the male being the nine-to-five workers, where his existence was based on this, to an environment that has both men and women working the nine-to-five (Hyman, 2002:20). This means that unions are facing a situation where workers have highly differentiated patterns during the day. Along with this, class boundaries have been merged and the class identity is broadly defined, and there is not a lot of willingness to combine interests, like there was in the past (Hyman, 2002: 20). This leads to internal divisions and the lack of capacity to organise an integrated movement.

Trade unions losing membership is a sign of a working class that is not united, and it can be a sign of workers that are not well represented and protected against their employers. Union membership has declined, especially among the younger generations than it was for the older generation. The unions have responded to this by making some of the services that individuals use, cheaper and better, where they cut prices on banking, insurance and travel costs (Hyman, 2002: 20). This seems to be a new approach to how unions used to do things, however, there is no evidence that it has helped increase union membership. In South Africa, trade unions such a NUMSA offer funeral policies to their members, and this is used for members to buy

in and remain in the union. Having said that, it does appear that representing members who have grievances and problems at work, has increased union membership and has also helped with retaining members (Hyman, 2002: 21). This really shows evidence that unions need to change and have new strategies on how to retain members and looking at strategies and plans on the kind of relationship unions have with immigrants can also help them retain members. In a scenario where unions have a strong relationship with immigrant workers, not only would they increase membership, but they would be encouraging and representing a strong, united working class.

The question on the strategies that unions have and how they respond to xenophobia in the workplace can be related to how they have adapted to migration patterns in the past years. It is in the unions' best survival interests for them to be able to adapt to the changing work patterns and migration patterns; being fully aware of how globalization and migration affects the workplace will also equip the unions in knowing how to handle conflicts that are related to the presence of immigrants in the workplace. Kochan et al. (2004, 30) explains that union membership and collective bargaining coverage have decreased radically in the United States (U.S.) to the extent where there is a serious concern on whether unions can serve the needs that are expected from them by the American workers, both now and in the future. Kochan et.al (2004,33) uses the Communications Workers of America (CWA) as an example of a union that has had to deal with a competitive environment where technology impacted the telecommunications industry in significant ways. The CWA was formed in the 1940s through merging a number of regional telephone unions, until the development of a more centralised structure, which was bargaining with the most dominant employer AT&T, in 1970 (Kochan et.al, 2004:33). However, AT&T lost market shares as cable TV and wireless and internet portions of telecommunications exploded on the scene, and with this union membership plummeted (Kochan et.al, 2004:33). With the new technological innovation, the industry evolved and included new non-union wire line companies, wireless, cable and TV firms. This changed the type of people employed in the industry, from traditional occupation groups such as technicians, repairmen, splicers and customer service workers (Kochan et.al, 2004: 34). The new jobs included work such as computer programmers, who were employed in the information services industry (Kochan et.al, 2004: 34).

Kochan et.al (2004, 34) explained that the work transformation in the communications industry created challenges for the union, where the first challenge was about the size of the labour force and the union density. The union density had fallen from sixty-seven percent in 1982, to twenty-seven per cent in 1997. This means union membership had dropped. Additionally, most of the new workers are different from the traditional workers, where a significant number of workers are employed in non-standard work arrangements, such as independent contractors, temporary workers and freelancers (Kochan et.al, 2004: 34). This is an example that highlights the importance of staying relevant for trade unions, and in this text, the importance of working with immigrants and fighting xenophobia can keep trade unions such as NUM and NUMSA relevant and would further challenge them to understanding the different skills that come with different nationalities and knowing how to unite different workers.

3.4 Context on trade unions and xenophobia

Hlatshwayo (2013a, 267) explains that there is extensive literature which covers different issues on xenophobia, literature which describes the nature and form of xenophobia and the responses to xenophobic outbreaks. Hlatshwayo (2013a, 267) also highlights that this literature has tended to focus on places of residence and trade such as townships, cities and towns. Having said this, there is not much literature about xenophobia and the relationship between immigrant workers and trade unions at the workplace where immigrant workers spend most of their time (Hlatshwayo, 2013a: 267). This shows that there is focus on the topic of xenophobia, but it often does not pay much attention to issues of xenophobia in the work place and issues immigrants face as workers in South Africa (Hlatshwayo, 2013a: 267).

Hlatshwayo (2013, 269) points out and acknowledges that there is thin literature on the relationship between immigrants and trade unions at the workplaces, although this is a space where workers spend most of their time, and a space that plays an important role in determining the survival of immigrants in South Africa. There is not a lot of research done on the issue of xenophobia in the workplace, particularly in South Africa. This is an interesting point, considering the fact that forms of xenophobia in South Africa can be related to economic expectations and economic frustrations (Di Paola, 2012: 2). Di Paola (2012, 2) explains that the topic of xenophobia in the workplace is not a well-researched topic, she further explains that this could be contributed by the wide view that assumes that workers

are less inclined towards xenophobia than unemployed people. This view also comes from the neoclassical view that suggests that workers are not exposed to xenophobic sentiments because of the privilege that comes with being employed (Di Paola, 2012: 2). Di Paola (2012, 2) looks at how workers of different nationalities relate to each other and how NUMSA as a trade union positions itself in the interaction of workers who are different nationalities.

Hlatshwayo (2013a, 267) looks at the policies that the confederation of unions, COSATU has on migration and xenophobia and argues that the policies are contradictory because the union claimed to stand against xenophobia, but has immigration policies that can be considered as a xenophobic discourse and national chauvinism. These policies include the Buy-Proudly-South African products campaigns and policies that were promoted by COSATU. This is because COSATU was promoting South African production and support of businesses, and with this comes the idea that South Africans must be placed first when it comes to business that includes selling skills and products. This does show that the union is trying to promote South African products and grow local people. But this comes at a cost because it is exclusionary, and it excludes people who are not South African, and therefore it can be a policy that is xenophobic. Hlatshwayo (2013a, 267) explain that the immigrant workers he interviewed argue that, COSATU is like the South African government as it is only concerned about defending the rights of South African workers, which then contradicts the federation's principles of international solidarity and the rights to defend all workers.

Hlatshwayo (2013a, 268) explains that one of the principles of COSATU is solidarity, which encourages the unity of all workers regardless of where they come from. This is the first indication that COSATU and unions affiliated with it should stand against any form of racism, including xenophobia. Solidarity is a concept that aims at uniting all workers against people who stand in the way of the workers realizing their rights inside and outside South African borders (Hlatshwayo, 2013a: 268). This includes anyone or institution that stands against worker's rights, such as employers from time to time (Hlatshwayo, 2013a: 268). Hlatshwayo (2013a, 268) states that, although there is an increasing number of immigrants that live in South Africa, the union movement has not been able to pledge solidarity towards immigrants who reside inside of South Africa. It seems that the challenge between COSATU and immigrant workers is national chauvinism which appears to depend on COSATU's commitment to privileging the interests of South African workers at the expense of immigrant

workers (Hlatshwayo, 2013: 269). Hlatshwayo (2013, 269) acknowledges that among the workers and shop stewards that believe in prioritizing South African workers, there is a minority group of COSATU leaders and shop stewards who have supported immigrants during xenophobic attacks and it is this minority that has tried to assist immigrant workers to achieve their rights (Hlatshwayo, 2013: 269). This argument shows that the members of the unions are in different camps, there is a dominant voice which speaks to nationalization of resources and making South Africans a priority, while there is a minority which shows solidarity to immigrants through campaigns against xenophobia (Hlatshwayo, 2013: 269).

Di Paola (2012, 24-25) draws on South African political history, how the labour movement assisted workers in coming together and fighting against unfair employers. During the 1970s there was resistance against the apartheid government in South Africa and building foundations and structures on the ground become a priority of plan that was meant get the maximum involvement of the masses who were going to directly challenge, oppressive and dominating institutions (Di Paola, 2012: 25). This meant that the relationships between different people and different sets of identities also changed as the plan took place, this became a situation of national unity where workers came together, and no one was excluded, no matter what race they were (Di Paola, 2012: 3). Furthermore, the union movement added a well-organized, disciplined and more democratic structures to the resistance which was formed to apartheid; the union movement also succeeded in making sure that the opposition agenda had important issues such as, economic transformation and material conditions of the masses (Di Paola, 2012: 25). This shows that workers were united for a cause and they had a common problem and issue which required them to come together.

Although due to economic development and urbanization there was a manipulation of ethnicity because people from different backgrounds shared similar problems and grievances. Having said this, ethnic identity did not disappear, and when the National Party and the ANC were negotiating, there were violent ethnic conflicts which were fuelled by the intervention of the apartheid government with Inkatha Freedom Party (Di Paola, 2012: 26) this shows that, in South Africa ethnicity has always been an issue which has conflict, and it was commonly used as a tool of divide and rule, where employers and the state used the differences between people's identities to divide and rule them while they are apart. The ethnic conflict also played on the hostel and the township divisions as well, because different ethnic groups who lived in

these areas were insecure about each other because of the political influence from ANC and Inkatha Freedom party. This is because the IFP Zulu supporters would chase IsiXhosa speakers out of hostels and factories, whilst the Zulu supporters were killing anti-IFP Zulu people. This shows that there were divisions along political lines as well. Bezuidenhout and Buhlungu (2008, 267) explain that the accommodation structure of the mines was set up in a way where all the workers were separated according to their ethnic groups, this was a divide and conquer strategy by the employer. NUM worked and organised workers in a way that undermined the tribal and ethnic divisions, through uniting the workers and encouraging them to present a united front. NUM fought against activities such as tribal dances, and ethnic based accommodation divisions and instead used the residential hostels to hold meetings and to set up offices (Bezuidenhout & Buhlungu, 2008: 267). Furthermore, the process of nation building, which began in the 1990s, was characterized by an inclusive approach towards reconciliation of all South Africans.

However, after the first democratic elections in 1994, there was an increase on the focus that was given to the concept of national identity what was a strategy to ease the process of forgiveness between the oppressed and the oppressors (Di Paola, 2012: 26). The risk of coming to this solution was that there was a chance of it creating a scenario where national chauvinism was being created, where conceptions of 'us' and 'them' were recreated. Di Paola (2012, 27) describes a situation where one of the progressive forces who played a part in the overcoming racial oppression in South Africa is now adapting to new forms of exclusions and is in some cases the perpetrator in excluding certain groups of society. This can be explained by the adoption of the rainbow nation concept, which was widely used but not accurately defined, but was also based on the pride of being African and South African. The rainbow nation concept gave opportunity to a more conservative resort to traditions, culture and ethnicity (Di Paola, 2012: 27). This means that whilst the rainbow nation concept was meant to campaign for all South Africans coming together and being united, it also gave the South Africans a national identity that could only be theirs with no one from outside. This also created a South Africa that the rest of the world saw as accepting, because their idea that it is a rainbow nation, where everyone of any ethnic background should live in peace and harmony. This was meant to be a nation building method, where South Africans came together in one national identity, however, the risk of this is that it was a short cut, as the

past hurt was not dealt with properly through time (Di Paola, 2012:26). The risk is of such a shortcut is the creation of national chauvinism, where the conceptions of us and them still exist in South Africa, but instead of being between black and white, they are found between other groups that show differences, such as South Africans and non-South Africans.

Nationalism is an ideology, a form of culture and a movement that focuses on the nation (South African History Online, 2011:1). Nationalism emphasises the unity and the collective of a specific nation. An example of this is the concept of South Africa as a rainbow nation for South Africans. Di Paola (2012, 11) explains that, emphasizing the meaning of otherness along national lines, is consistent with the mainstream political discourse which emerged with democracy and which resorts to nationalism as the essential cement of society. This is linked to the ANC because the foundation of the ANC was based on uniting South African people so that they can fight for their freedom (SAHO, 2011: 1). Furthermore, the post-apartheid state has engineered a distinction between citizens and foreigners in opposition to the one forged by the popular struggle in the 1980s (Di Paola, 2012: 11). This is because the new distinction implies a depoliticisation of the nation and reduce citizenship to indigeneity (Di Paola, 2012: 11). Both at the national and local levels, the adoption of a nationalistic discourse is expanding, this could be useful in diverting people's frustrations away from the focus on social and economic aspirations (Di Paola, 2012: 11). When inequality and marginalization rise, nationalistic practices and teachings may increase to the extent of social divisions, and also create a platform that can spark violence, harassment by state officials and lack of social security (Di Paola, 2012: 11). This exclusion of non-South Africans has been fostered by leaders who blame immigrants for lack of service delivery and poverty in the communities (Padayachy, 2017: 75).

Di Paola (2012: 11-12) questions whether and how forms of xenophobia in South Africa are related to the complex interaction between frustrated economic expectations, the reproduction of apartheid practice that stigmatizes the other, and a strong nationalistic discourse, which is formalized by legislation, although it ignores migration as a central element of the country's history. Immigrants are a central element to South Africa's history, because they have worked to build South Africa as workers at different places in South Africa. Immigrants are not new to South Africa, in fact the country is made up of them, especially when you look at cosmopolitan cities, such as Johannesburg. Di Paola (2012, 12) explains that,

economic frustration, unemployment, and competition over scarce resources are elements often used to characterize a context that can be conducive to the rise of anti-migrant sentiments and attitudes. Di Paola (2012, 12) argues that many South African workers consider foreign workers to be responsible for driving down the wages and the working conditions, due to the belief that is endorsed by many employers who claim that foreigners work harder for less. The South African workers are not wrong, because employers use immigrant workers for cheap labour, often because the immigrants are undocumented and even when they are, they are not seen as people who are fully included in the South African workforce and should therefore benefit from all human rights that a South African worker gets. Human rights such as, being protected by the labour law and trade unions when it comes to issues like the minimum wage or working hours. It seems like including the immigrants in the trade union system and the workforce, would not only be a good thing for the immigrants, but it would benefit the South African working class as well. This is because the working immigrants can only be used to drive the wages down when they are still kept at a vulnerable position, of being excluded from the organisations that fight for the rights of all workers, and from the labour laws that protect people in South Africa at large.

This leads to a result where the workplace is the prime platform where competition is related to the opportunity of accessing employment (Di Paola, 2012: 12). Accessing employment is a symbolic reminder of a clash of interests between immigrant and South African workers over promotions and access to benefits, this shows that although literature records a few xenophobic incidences in the workplace, there should be more focus on the topic of xenophobia in the workplace (Di Paola, 2012: 12). Di Paola (2012, 12) explains that there is little research conducted on xenophobia in the workplace, she explains that one of the reasons that there is not enough research done on the topic is because of the dominant perception that workers are likely to not have xenophobic sentiments because of the privilege that comes with them being employed. This reasoning leads to the reluctance to questioning issues of xenophobia among workers, and the little evidence suggesting the presence of xenophobia in the workplace then justifies the assumption that workers are privileged and do not take part in xenophobic sentiments and actions (Di Paola, 2012: 13). There is literature on racial and ethnic divisions amongst South African workers past (e.g. Johnstone, 1971) and present (e.g. Buhlungu, 2010), but little on divisions between South Africans and non-South

Africans. Most of the material on xenophobia has looked at attitudes across society, or community-based attacks (e.g. Maselwa, 2017 and von Holdt & Alexander, 2012).

Very little is known about how unions (the largest working-class movement and biggest civil society group outside churches) have addressed post-apartheid xenophobia. There are only two studies: Hlatshwayo (2013a, 2013b) looked at COSATU, and Di Paola (2013) looked at a local section of NUMSA. There is no material on any one union's policies. There is material on South Africans in union internationalism. This includes involvement in international federations (e.g. Southall, 1995), direct international links between unions and federations (e.g. Toren, 2010), and cooperation inside multinational firms (e.g. Bolsmann, 2007, 2010). But the proposed research looks at worker's internationalism in a different way: relationships of national and foreign workers within workplaces inside South Africa.

Di Paola explains the importance of having research done on xenophobia in the workplace and xenophobia that relates to labour issues, furthermore, she explains that there is not a lot of literature done around the topic and more research on the topics that relate to the issue of worker relationships and migration issues needs to be done. The dominant literature in South Africa, looks at xenophobia as an issue that exists in the townships and settlements where people are unemployed. Literature not focusing much on xenophobia in the workplace is a limit, because there is not a lot of literature to show the link between South Africa's labour system and xenophobia. However, there is a strong link between xenophobia and labour because this is where competition between immigrants and South Africans takes place, and the immigrants with the South African workers normally go to work coming from the communities that literature looks at with xenophobia (Di Paola, 2012: 2).

Di Paola (2012, 14) focuses the research on relations that workers of different nationalities have in the workplace and beyond, the research also looks at how the trade union NUMSA positions itself when it comes to issues of interaction that workers of different nationalities deal with. Di Paola (2012, 14) uses an inclusive definition of working people based on the Marxian concept of the working class, which acknowledges the differences and fragmentation when it comes to work, but it also avoids distracting from the common goal that brings the workers together; there are different groups that make up the working class but the focus and the definition used in this study will include all workers. Like in Di Paola's literature the

term workers, will be used for all working people regardless of the fragments they work under.

Di Paola (2012, 2) explains that in her research that was done at the Marco Polo Bus factory it is evident that there are xenophobic sentiments and practices that are present in formal workplaces. This then challenges the limited presence of research done on xenophobia specifically in the workplace, which implies that there is xenophobia in the workplace is not an issue that should receive attention (Di Paola, 2012: 2). This research focuses the aspect of xenophobia on how trade unions respond to xenophobia in the workplace, it questions and investigates the knowledge that trade unions have on issue of xenophobia and what they do about it. Furthermore, this research investigates that trade unions in South Africa get involved in the lives of immigrant workers, and whether the trade unions are currently structured in a way that is welcoming to immigrants.

Hlatshwayo (2013b, 228) argues that workers from other African countries have worked in South Africa for a long time, and have contributed significantly to the South African economy. This is why the presence of immigrants and the increasing levels of xenophobia are issues that are a challenge to the labour movement (Hlatshwayo, 2013b, 228). After 1994, the amount of people who were coming into South Africa increased, people came for different reasons some being to visit, while others came for tourism. With the documented immigrants who entered South Africa for various reasons, there were also undocumented migrants who came into South Africa to look for work and to also find better living conditions (Hlatshwayo, 2013b, 229).

Hlatshwayo (2013b, 229) explains the historical background of when immigrants came to South Africa and how the history of migrants and immigration in the country is intricately tied to the uneven development of the capitalist mode of production from the beginning of colonization. At the beginning, capitalist production started in mining and agriculture and these two sectors, especially the former, played a dominant role in the evolution of migrant labour within the within South African region (Hlatshwayo, 2013b, 229). Under the British rule, working in the mines paid more than working in plantations and in agriculture, additionally, more people left their home countries because peasant production became unpopular, and this also brought some migrants and immigrants into the big cities (2013b,

229). Hlatshwayo (2013b, 230) quotes and makes an argument about how the construction of the South African working class, at least for the last hundred years has been drawn from all of Southern Africa, even as far as the equator. This shows that the South African working class has never consisted locals only, but it has had different nationals who came at different times, from colonialism years till current years. During the colonial time the mining sector had a lot of immigrants and now things have changed because immigrants work in different sectors such as construction, hospitality, farming and housekeeping. The event that sparked this in South Africa is colonialism, land grabs, early commercial agriculture and the discovery of gold in the Witswaterstrand. Most Southern African were forced to sell their labour for survival because they could not depend on peasant farming any longer (Hlatshwayo, 2013b: 231).

Workers unions during the 1980s outranked xenophobia by uniting workers and encouraging a working-class identity both in the workplace and in the communities that workers lived in (Hlatshwayo, 2013b: 231). Hlatshwayo (2013b, 231) uses Marx's argument to describe the kind of unity that comes with workers being able to transcend their differences and unite as a working class. Hlatshwayo (2013b, 231) describes this as the progress of the proletariat from being a class to be a class for itself, which is a change in the kind of action state, where the former is a class that has a position in the social structure and the latter is an active conscious force that can change the world. Furthermore, Hlatshwayo (2013b, 231) compares the process and the act of the working class being able to outrank and bat xenophobia to events where the working class has been able to overcome tribalism in the mines. This brings a point of hope that the working class in South Africa can overcome xenophobia and any other discrimination in the workplace.

Hlatshwayo (2013b,231) defines globalisation as the merging of the world's markets under one power of transnational corporations such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank, the World Trade Organisation and developed economies. The concern about globalisation in Africa is that South Africa plays the role of being the centre, more so in Southern Africa (Hlatshwayo, 2013b: 231). Hlatshwayo (2013b, 231) argues that the policies of the IMF and World Bank have not been healthy for Africa because they have collapsed African economies through the process of transferring wealth from the African countries to the North, and contributing to this wealth is transferred from all over Africa to South Africa in

ways such as the centralisation of the African market in Johannesburg, South Africa's state corporations' investments in other African countries, and the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD). This shows that South Africa has contributed to the weakening of other Africa countries' economies, which has contributed to the increase in migration to South Africa. However, due to globalisation there has been a decline in employment, and causes more competition in the employment space, and makes it harder for the immigrants to get jobs (Hlatshwayo, 2013b: 232).

Hlatshwayo (2013b, 231) explains another contributing factor to why people from other countries come to South Africa from the perspective of globalization and how other countries get disadvantaged by it when it happens in an unequal manner, more especially in Africa, because it has happened in an unfair and unequal manner here in Africa. Southern Africa shows the unequal development between countries and it can be explained by looking at how for centuries, labour powers of migrants from the region have contributed to building extensive infrastructure in South Africa, especially in Johannesburg (Hlatshwayo, 2013b: 231). This shows that unequal and combined development is responsible to the continuing attraction of ultra-cheap labour in the Southern African region (Hlatshwayo, 2013b: 231).

An example of this can be seen in the way Mexican nationals have had mass migration patterns to America, due to the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), which has had a negative impact on peasant subsistence farmers in Mexico (Hlatshwayo, 2013b: 232). This has caused low levels of employment in Mexico, which has led to Mexicans leaving for America and becoming a source of surplus labour in America (Hlatshwayo, 2013b: 232). In the case of the Southern African region and the African continent, South Africa has played a role in being the centre, by acting just like the organizations of the North (International Monetary Fund, World Health Organization and the World Bank) which have had implemented policies that have contributed to the collapse of many African economies, by transferring wealth from the African countries to the North (Hlatshwayo, 2013b, 232). South Africa has implemented the same patterns in the region, where wealth is transferred from different countries in the Southern African region to South Africa in different ways, such as having Africa's capital markets situated in Johannesburg, South Africa (Hlatshwayo, 2013b, 232). In agreement with this, Hatting (2015b, 51) argues that it is no secret that South African private companies are found all over Africa, these companies have even become sources of foreign direct

investment, even exceeding the foreign direct investment from countries like America. This means that the South African companies that are all over Africa sell goods that are in competition with goods sold in those countries. This puts the original businesses in those countries in crisis. This is how the economies of other African countries weaken, under the South African private companies' investments.

Hatting (2015a, 1) describes a situation where South Africa got involved in a crisis that was in the Democratic Republic of Congo, where South African military troops were stationed there for more than a decade; with the role of peace keeping, standing over elections, and being involved with protecting the interest of Joseph Kabila, who is a South African state ally. Hatting (2015a, 1) argues that, the South African ruling class has interests in the DRC because it views the DRC as a strategic country that has the potential to produce extensive profits, both for privately owned South African companies, and state-owned ones as well. There are already several companies which have set camp in the DRC, and they are known for exploiting the DRC working class as the source of cheap labour and market for their goods (Hatting, 2015a: 1). This shows that South Africa is an imperialist country, and as argued by Hlatshwayo (2013), South Africa is partly responsible for poverty and the economical struggles that some African working-class people find themselves in, because they act as the big brother of the continent while using their power and resources for their own gain, and to exploit fellow African working class.

Hatting (2015a, 1) explains that the troops that were sent to DRC are the working class because they are not the ruling party, but they have been sent by the ruling party. This shows a situation where different sections of the working class have been made to work against each other, and the Generals from the DRC military would fight with the South African troops, where they would also be accused of war crimes (Hatting, 2015a: 1). The South African troops were being used by the ruling class to work for the interests of the ruling class, where in the process the troops were turned in to killers, who looked at their fellow working class with eyes of violence and hate (Hatting, 2015a: 1). This power fed into the xenophobic mind-set that foreigners from other countries are criminals who need the South African power structures to assist in delivering peace, where even the South African troops in DRC had a mind-set that the DRC soldiers were criminals who needed to be fought, instead of looking at them as fellow workers who needed to be worked with to gain the freedom they needed.

Hlatshwayo (2013a, 268) argues that one of the principles of COSATU is solidarity, which is centred on workers being united regardless of who they are and where they come from. COSATU has policies that aim promote regional economic development, where they propose to grow the Southern African economy to build its industry and grow the standard of living (Social Equity and Job Creation, 1996: 36). This shows that COSATU does believe in the unity between Southern African countries as it would create a better living for all its citizens, this is a way of showing international solidarity, as it encourages these countries assisting each other to grow a regional economy.

This principle aims at uniting all workers against their employers and all those who stand in the way of progress for the working class, and in the way of workers realizing their rights internationally (Hlatshwayo, 2013a, 268). Hlatshwayo (2013a, 268) argues that COSATU's support of international solidarity and its rejection for xenophobia contradicts the action of the federation, because they do state their position, but they have not been able to campaign against xenophobia, especially during the xenophobia attacks in 2008. Hlatshwayo (2013a, 268) argues that trade unions need to accept that there is a rise of immigrant workers and they need to be able to make allowances for the presence of immigrants in South African workplaces by pledging solidarity with immigrants who are within the South African borders. This can happen by changing the pattern of privileging South African workers over immigrant workers and making sure that all the workers have the same representation, no matter the nationality (Hlatshwayo, 2013a: 269).

Alberti (2013, 4132) discusses how the benefits of equality and diversity measure like adherence to legislation or human resource management good practice, do not exist in organizations where immigrants work. Alberti (2013, 4133) then highlights alternative ways through which unions and migrant workers can stand up for themselves and their rights. Alberti (2013, 4133) also discusses that the topic of the strategies that unions have to applying good quality and diversity practice in the way they recruit immigrant workers and how this area, is an under researched area. The probed question focuses on the fact that trade unions stand for justice, equality and diversity strategies by contributing to the regulation of employment and regulation of work, however the question is how unions apply good diversity and equality practice in the day to day recruitment and organization of their members (Alberti: 2013, 4133). In this case Alberti (2013, 4133) is referring to unions in the United

Kingdom during the 2000s, this is bringing an aspect of how trade unions are in different contexts and places. This question draws attention to whether the recruitment process of trade union members is specific to diversity or if it is the same to any member. The prediction is that a union that pays specific attention to diversity and differences between members will be able to cater for special needs that the members might have. Unions in the UK have identified the fact that in order to protect their members' interests and to fight against exploitation, migrant workers must be recruited into union membership (Alberti: 2013, 4133). This has then led to different views on how unions can construct new strategies that aim at reducing the marginalization of migrant workers at work and in the communities (Alberti: 2013, 4133). Alberti's (2013, 4133) research was completed in the United Kingdom and it shows how industries such as hospitality, care work, domestic services and cleaning are dominated by foreign-born workers, and that often this type of work is associated with poor working conditions such as long and anti-social working hours, low pay and harassment. The UK's labour regulations contributes to the vulnerability of migrants in the workplace (Alberti: 2013: 4133). This shows that a country's legislation and regulation can affect how immigrants are treated in the workplace and at times in the communities. There is a point-based system which regulates the immigration of non-UK where only those with high educational qualifications would be able to apply for permanent settlement (Alberti: 2013: 4133). And an immigrant that is just skilled or low skilled is depended on a permit that can only be granted by their employer (Alberti: 2013, 4133). This means that immigrants that are low skilled could never be sure of their status in a country and they would be more prone to exploitation by their employers, this is because the employers would have the power and would hold the fate and future of the immigrant into their own hands.

The example mentioned above is off a scenario in the UK, but it shows a few things that even South African trade unions could learn from. The issue of regulation shows that the government is involved, and the trade unions could hold the government more accountable. The South African constitution protects equally, everyone who lives in South Africa, regardless of their difference. The South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC) (2016, 1) discusses that Section 1 of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996 states clearly that South Africa is a non-sexist non-racial society, and these are the founding values of the constitution of democracy. Furthermore, section 9 of the constitution states that no person

should be discriminated against on the basis of race, gender, sex, marital status, pregnancy, ethnic or social origins, colour, sexual orientation, age, disability, religion, conscience, belief, culture, language or birth (SAHRC, 2016:1). This shows that the trade unions (NUM and NUMSA) have the constitution on their side, and they can use the constitution as a way to represent the immigrants. Additionally, the constitution can also be used to protect the immigrants who are being exploited, as the constitution stands against any form of discrimination.

Alberti (2013, 4134) explains the role of trade unions, as organizations that have been formed to represent the collective interests of workers as workers in the workplace; unions aim to negotiate with employers and governments, to defend and improve the conditions in which the workers sell their labour capital. Alberti (2013, 4134) describes the role of trade unions as organizations that have had a wider social agenda and have, at times also played significant roles in wider social justice issues, although, issues of equality, cultural recognition and wider social issues have been secondary to the focus, which is the pay and working conditions of workers. This means that the unions have not always fully gotten involved in making sure that all workers are treated equally across cultural lines, as they have with other issues like pay and working hours, this then shows a gap and a territory that unions still need to explore. It has also been argued, that in the UK, the shift of orientation in the 1960s towards identity politics or social and cultural issues, set groups of workers against each other, which made it more difficult to pursue the political project of class politics and socialism (Alberti: 2013, 4134). Having said this, this idea of unions thinking in terms of class, presupposes the idea that there is one collective identity that is universally defined in terms of class (Alberti: 2013, 4134). This then requires individuals to set aside their own identities while pursuing same class interests, furthermore, this 'primacy of class' approach, fails to answer the question of why individuals or groups have felt excluded from trade unions (Alberti: 2013, 4135). This shows that at times trade unions focus more on unifying workers in one class identity, although this means that some workers then put their own differences aside, often meaning they can be vulnerable and not be able to voice out concerns that are just related to them being different ethnically. It is important to look at how trade unions look at intersectionality in terms of equality and diversity, the following research aims to question the extent that trade unions are invested in the issues that affect immigrant workers in the workplace,

furthermore it also seeks to highlight the importance of recognizing diversity in the workplace. NUM and NUMSA have not shown a clear strategy and plan on how they deal with xenophobia in the workplace. However, NUMSA (2016, 255-257) gives a resolution on how NUMSA is against the discrimination and exploitation of immigrants, and that they will work hard on building a unified society. Having said this, there is no clear plan that explains how NUMSA will combat xenophobia and discrimination in the workplace. An anarchist view on the importance of fighting discrimination in all forms, is presented by Van der Walt (2016b, 263) where he argues that the idea that some working class groups can benefit from the oppression of others, is not the truth, because divisions in the working class harm all sections and they create antagonisms that weaken the organisations. This shows that the lack of a clear stance and strong voice from the unions on discrimination against immigrants, is weakening the unions and it does not benefit the working class (Van der Walt, 2016b: 264).

Alberti (2013, 4135) uses an example of how the feminist black academic work in the field of Human Resource Management and international relations has drawn upon the notion of intersectionality to highlight the importance of moving away from the idea of homogenous social groups. Having said this, the confidence in the function of HRM has led to an underestimation of the role of trade unions as organisations that are key to the development of the equality agenda, especially to the inclusion of immigrant workers (Alberti, 2013: 4135). In this paper, this will be used as an example that challenges the view that immigrant workers are the same with local South African workers, the main argument is focused on looking at how trade unions in South Africa balance the duty of wanting to treat the working class the same, regardless of race and ethnicity, with recognizing that there are some ethnic groups that are working class, but are more vulnerable than other workers due to their ethnicity.

Alberti (2013, 4138) explains an example of a trade union that made attempts to attract migrant workers and make sure that they are made to feel comfortable as members of the trade union by providing services such as translation and advice on employment rights to the migrant members. This shows that the trade union recognizes the importance of catering to the needs of immigrant workers, although immigrant workers might be in the class as other workers, they sometimes have different needs that need to be looked after that other members may not have. It is also important to note that workers who are migrants did not feel encouraged to join unions due to various reasons, but one reason being that the union

does not offer them the kind of protection they need, the gain of joining the union is not high enough (Alberti, 2013: 4138). This division does not work for the workers as a collective, Callinicos (1993, 14) argues that racism arises from the divisions that are fostered between different groups of workers who often compete since they come from different parts of the world. Racism and discrimination divide the workers and prevents them from uniting and fighting the employers who exploit them in unity (Callinicos, 1993: 14).

It appears that sometimes unions made efforts, to at times organize immigrants but they face obstacles and challenges. It is therefore important to look at the challenges that trade unions are facing when having to organize immigrants. Fitzgerald & Hardy (2013, 1) describe how the UK was only one of three countries to fully open its labour market to entrants from the A8 countries (group of 8 countries that are part of the European Union), this is because it was argued that migrant workers contribute to growth because they occupy vacancies that faced labour shortages. This points to the importance of skills and the fact that migrants are more welcomed in foreign countries, when there is value that they could add to that country, this is showed in looking at the importance of skills when looking at immigrants (Fitzgerald & Hardy: 2013, 1). Fitzgerald & Hardy (2013, 3) refer to Pennix & Roosblad (2000) who suggest that trade unions have three main dilemmas when having to deal with immigrant workers.

Firstly, unions are faced with choosing whether to resist migration or not, an example is by demanding quotas or engaging with migration by trying to influence policies (Fitzgerald & Hardy: 2013, 3). Secondly, trade unions are also faced with the dilemma of whether to recruit and organize immigrants or to just ignore their presence, which may be possible in cases where immigrants are geographically and occupationally segmented (Fitzgerald & Hardy: 2013, 3). Finally, recruiting and organizing immigrants also raises the questions on how much additional resources should be used to integrate immigrant workers into union structures and support their special needs (Fitzgerald & Hardy: 2013, 3). Historically a number of trade unions were openly hostile to immigrant and migrant workers and tried and tried to exclude them from certain sectors (Fitzgerald & Hardy: 2013, 3). This shows that it is not always that trade unions fully support the presence of immigrant workers, and at times it is because they believe that they are protecting local workers, an example of this is the highly divergent responses to immigrant workers at workplace level, which has ranged from refusing membership to black workers in some skilled unions to active recruitment drives that used

leaflets in other languages (Fitzgerald & Hardy: 2013, 3). This is an example of what has happened in the UK, but it has also happened in South Africa, where trade unions during colonialism and apartheid years were divided according to members' skin colour, this shows that trade unions were racialized and can be racialized, although they are fighting for the working class. Buhlungu (2001, 69) explains that in the trade unions were divided according to skin colour and occupation, and it was only recently that the trade unions were open to different races.

Fitzgerald & Hardy (2013, 4) discuss that the history of the labour movement in the United States, shows that it is not a fact that migrant workers are harder to organize and are not interested in joining unions than local workers. The recruitment of migrant workers was the main aim to building the labour movement in the U.S. During the 1990s, a series of radical immigrant organizing successes showed that there is potential for bringing foreign-born workers into the space of organized labour (Fitzgerald & Hardy, 2013: 4). This showed that, even when the immigrant workers were not organising, they could unite and win with no formal union protection, because they came together and were united. Fitzgerald & Hardy (2013, 4) explain that with the immigrant workers being part of organized labour, they became stronger in the workplace because they now had the ability to win disputes when they came across intimidation, exploitation, violence and the possibilities of deportation. This is an example of the structure of the labour movement in the U.S. at a specific point; it is to show the benefits that would come with having trade unions that have strategies that are structure in a way that is inclusive to immigrants, and strategies that seek to understand what it means to be an immigrant worker in South Africa (Fitzgerald & Hardy, 2013: 4). Callinicos (1993, 43) argues that racism was not in the interests of the white workers, because a divided working class weakened both white and black workers as well, therefore unity is the best across races as it eliminates the chance of having a vulnerable group of workers that is cheaper than the other.

Van der Walt (2016b, 264) argues for this, where he describes how black immigrants in South Africa face extreme oppression, but the local workers do not benefit from this as they get pay undercuts because of the cheap labour. The people who benefit are the employers who get cheap labour and the politicians who get easy scapegoats from blaming lack of service delivery on the presence of immigrants in South Africa (Van der Walt, 2016b: 264). Even if all

immigrants would be sent back to their countries of origin, this would not benefit the working class, and it would not increase employment rates for South Africans.

Having said this, it is important to understand that it is hard for unions to be able to balance the needs of the workers they already represent with the needs of the workers they may be attempting to recruit at times. This is because, at times the needs of the workers that are already part of the union and those of workers who are being recruited may be in conflict, although all workers as a union have the same needs, they do have different individual needs as well (Fitzgerald & Hardy, 2013: 4).

Fitzgerald & Hardy (2013, 6) explain certain topics that have been discussed with regards to migrant worker, and the strategies that have been used to recruit them. The first question that is mentioned is how different the recruitment and acceptance of migration is now, from what it was decades back when people from Pakistan and India travelled to America. Fitzgerald & Hardy (2013, 6) refer to a trade union officer who describes how as a union they used to get their hands dirty and work with immigrants from India and Pakistan, highlighting that the only way that kind of commitment would be possible is through having structures and policies in place to help unions assist immigrants accordingly. It is suggested that the current policies that unions have are a sign of departure from their responses to migrant workers in the 1960s and 1970s, where in the 1970s there was evidence of racial divisions in some disputes although the movement was more aware of cultural diversity and the importance of publicly being anti-racism. Furthermore, unions were better at promoting solidarity between workers and not just workers who were locals (Fitzgerald & Hardy, 2013: 6). Fitzgerald & Hardy (2013, 7) suggest that it is essential that trade unions treat people equally and speak out in favour of migration and also in favour of having immigrants in the union.

One of the important topics, discussed by Fitzgerald & Hardy (2013, 7), suggests that trade union policies should include migrant worker strategies in their learning agendas and policy compilations. Unions taking a stand and stating that they support vulnerable workers everywhere is a way for them to send out a message that they are interested in all workers, but not a specific group of workers (Fitzgerald & Hardy, 2013: 8). This shows that, there are some voices in U.S. unions which felt that it would be better to combine the issues that are related to migrant workers with the rest of vulnerable workers. However, an interviewee

responding to Fitzgerald and Hardy (2013, 8) argues that combining the concerns of migrant workers to those of vulnerable workers could lead to policy practice that fails to respond specifically to the issues that certain groups face. Therefore, it is important to address migrant workers according to the issues they face, but not because they fall under a vulnerable group, because workers who are vulnerable are not always going to be vulnerable the same way (Fitzgerald & Hardy, 2013: 8).

3.5 Conclusion

Recruiting migrant workers could raise some challenges for the unions, challenges that the unions could not be well equipped to deal with. The first challenge is to find and recruit migrant workers, who are mostly employed in places that are not unionized or even employed by agencies (Fitzgerald & Hardy, 2013: 8). The second challenge is having to train and groom workers who have been passive into having agency and activism, which will create sustainable membership and strong union branches, even when it is immigrants joining branches that already exist, they will still need to be strong (Fitzgerald & Hardy, 2013: 9). The third challenge is developing policies that are going to accommodate the needs of migrant workers after the migrant workers have been recruited. It is looking at ways in which the union can change to being more immigrant friendly if they were not, and also looking at what tools they have with regards to making policies and pushing for policies that will remove immigrants from the vulnerable group as workers (Fitzgerald & Hardy, 2013: 9). In South Africa the challenges are the same as mentioned above, and additionally South Africa faces other challenges in organisations such as COSATU, where they have in-house power battles that are connected to the African National Congress, which is the national party they are allies with, because some of the union members have used the alliance with the ANC as a platform for upward mobility (Hlatshwayo, 2013a: 284). This shows that internal union challenges and conflicts can prevent the unions from achieving their potential and looking at more things they could be doing.

Chapter 4: Data Analysis Write Up

This chapter will discuss the findings from the interview and documents from the trade unions mentioned above. Both NUM and NUMSA officials showed similar beliefs and the themes indicate this. The themes covered are, unions against xenophobia, immigrants and crime, the government involvement, international solidarity, benefits that immigrants should get, commitment to the struggle, the issue of scarce skills, the issue of whether xenophobia is “Afrophobia,” and the notion that South Africa is a “big brother.” Both NUM and NUMSA officials displayed these themes and from the findings, in both the trade unions there is compassion shown for immigrants, and there is belief that they deserve to be treated with dignity just like South Africans. However, the officials contradict themselves when showing views that immigrants bring crime to South Africa, and immigrants are a burden to the country’s economy, as there are not enough resources for them and preference should be given to South Africans.

4.1 Unions against xenophobia.

Both unions NUM and NUMSA have made it clear that principally they stand against xenophobia and condemn xenophobia. The glaring image is that in principle all representatives of the unions do not support xenophobia, however it does seem that there needs to be more work done on strategies and structures they have to prevent xenophobia. Olivier (2017, NUMSA) who is the head of international relations for NUMSA, explained that the union is totally against xenophobia and it does not condone attacks on foreign nationals. According to Olivier (2017, NUMSA) the union’s perspective of xenophobia is the exploitation of foreign nationals and the attacks on foreign nationals. It is because of this understanding that the union talks and educates their members on issues of xenophobia, during important gatherings such as the congresses (Olivier, 2017: NUMSA). However, Olivier (2017, NUMSA) does not talk about any other way that NUMSA uses to fight xenophobia aside from educating their members about xenophobia. Hlatshwayo (2013a, 268) when he describes how COSATU supports the principles of international solidarity, but as a union they have never taken a solid stand against acts of xenophobia that happen in the country. As argued before, during the 2008 xenophobic attacks, there were COSATU members who stood against xenophobia, but not enough to make a lasting impact (Hlatshwayo, 2013a: 269).

Hlubi (2017, NUMSA) who is the spokesperson for NUMSA explains how as NUMSA they believe that xenophobia, racism and sexism are one of the destructive fruits of capitalism, and they must be weeded out and destroyed at all costs. This statement shows that the union is against acts such as xenophobia. The description of xenophobia as something that is the fruit of capitalism also shows that the union condemns xenophobia. This is because the union identifies itself as a Marxist and believe that Marxism does not the endorse the concepts of xenophobia and the separation of the workforce (Hlubi, 2017, NUMSA). Hlubi (2017, NUMSA) describes that the Marxist education provided by the union to shop stewards and union members then equips them to be able to condemn xenophobia. This again shows that the principles and belief values of the trade union condemn xenophobia. Callinicos (1993, 39) argues that, upholding a divided working class has always been in the interests of capitalism, he explains this from Marx's perspective of racism in the workplace. This argument agrees with the view that the unions have about xenophobia, and how it is the destructive fruit of capitalism. This highlights that the Marxist values that trade unions have centred their structures on, goes against discrimination, such as xenophobia. Callinicos (1993, 11) describes the Marxist theory, saying that racism benefits capitalism and does not ever benefit the workers. The Marxist theory seems to be highlighted by Hlubi (2017, NUMSA). This shows a link between the between the theoretical framework of the paper and the theory that the union believes in.

Mathebane (2017, NUM) who works for stakeholder affairs for NUM, describes that the union NUM which is part of COSATU, is a union that has been against xenophobic attacks. Mathebane (2017, NUM) explains that as NUM they believe that people have the right to be in South Africa, this again shows that, in principle, trade unions are against xenophobia and do not associate themselves with acts such as xenophobia.

Tafa (2017, NUM) who is the NUM mining housing coordinator, compares xenophobia to tribalism (ethnic separations) in the mining sector. Tafa (2017, NUM) describes that in the past, people who lived in the mine hostels were separated into sections according to the ethnicity they came from, NUM worked on eradicating that and as it stands, Tafa (2017, NUM) explains that there are no ethnic divisions at the mines anymore and people are all mixed and living together. Tafa (2017, NUM) explains this as a symbol that tribalism and xenophobia are not tolerated by the trade union. Montisetsi (2017, NUM) who is NUM's deputy president,

argues for the same idea that Tafa explains, in that the union NUM, condemns xenophobia. Furthermore, Montisetsi (2017, NUM) argues that as NUM they are not faced with issues of xenophobia because, before the NUM was formed, there were faction wars that were encouraged by tribal lines in the mines. However, when NUM was formed, it was formed by people from different ethnic groups, who saw that they are just comrades who are for the same cause (Montisetsi, 2017: NUM). Buhlungu & Bezuidenhout (2008, 267) agree with point of tribalism being undermined by the union NUM, where the union eradicated symbols and the traditions that were performed in the mines to reinforce tribalism. Trade union involvement in the lives of the mineworkers changed their mind-set from tribalism to one of solidarity with each other, where the mineworkers knew they were stronger in unity (Buhlungu & Bezuidenhout, 2008: 267). Due to the black consciousness influence to the trade union NUM, the union encouraged the workers to unite because of their common black identity, this then undermined the language and ethnical differences that were between the different ethnic groups (Buhlungu & Bezuidenhout, 2008: 267). However, Bhlungu & Bezuidenhout (2008, 262) explain that with the dissolving of the apartheid system and coming of new ways of working, the foundations of organising solidarity was challenged by the unions' own successes of being able to provide social mobility for its members. This caused conflicts within the union especially with regards to leadership, where the election of a new general secretary in 2006, showed the dilemmas that were facing the unions, because Achie Palane who was not satisfied by the election process, revealed that he was prevented from being a general secretary by the tribalism of a Xhosa-dominated faction (Buhlungu & Bezuidenhout, 2006: 263). This indicates that the unions still have traces of tension that are caused by tribalism, and tribalism causes issues for the unions. This shows that the NUM officials were relatively arguing the truth when talking about the role that the trade union played when fighting tribalism and how it also influenced the way mineworkers think of each other and how they view their differences, which can also affect the levels of xenophobia in the workplace, but their explanations seem to be more optimistic than what could be really happening when it came to internal conflicts.

However, the democracy brought new challenges to the trade unions, where the older forms of solidarity and what it meant to be in a trade union, started to change (Buhlungu & Bezuidenhout, 2008, 269). The organizational achievements of NUM and the gains that it won

for its members, such as moving from apartheid to democracy, made the union a diverse union in terms of occupation. The union also started recruiting in the construction sector, and also union members started getting educated and trained, which provided them with qualifications to move up the ladder as workers as well. Montietsi (2017, NUM) does talk about how NUM provided workers with better opportunities, which were related to the fact that NUM members had access to education and therefore, got exposed to better job opportunities within the mining sector. However, Montietsi (2017, NUM) does not present a convincing story on whether the education and upward mobility of the union members, included both South Africans and non-South Africans.

The issue of workers being divided and being put in sections according to their ethnic groups, as well as workers getting different jobs based on who they are ethnically is something that started during colonialism and happened during apartheid. When the transition towards democracy happened, political democracy had a great influence on the position of the labour movement in South Africa (Di Paola, 2012: 10). During apartheid and the end of it, principles that had been fought for by the workers' movement and the political movement were issues like class solidarity and the unity of the workers (Di Paola, 2012: 10). However, due to elite formation, rapid increase of differentiation among workers in terms of social mobility and some getting better opportunities than others, and commodification of services has been identified as casual factors that have diluted militancy and solidarity within organized labour in contemporary South Africa (Di Paola, 2012: 10). This shows that the labour union and the new African National Congress (ANC) had encouraged workers to be united and they pushed for the better treatment of workers, including class solidarity, however the rhythm that these organizations dance to is slightly different from that of the transition from the apartheid years. COSATU and the ruling party (ANC) put a strong emphasis on the construction of a national identity, which became a challenge to the class-based solidarity principles that the unions adopted, which include workers uniting across races and ethnic groups (Di Paola, 2012: 10).

The discussion above, shows that the trade union representatives condemn xenophobia and also understand it as a divide in the working class. It seems like the Marxist values also guide the view of condemning xenophobia with the impression that all workers must work together and be treated the same way. Having said this, following themes will at times show

contradiction to this view. Di Paola (2012, 9) explains that in contemporary south Africa that there is unease between theory and practice in the position that the labour movement takes when it comes to the issue of xenophobia. The fact that xenophobia still widely affects working people testifies to the inability of trade unions to state politically the commonality of all workers in South Africa, regardless of their ethnic origin and communitarian origin (Di Paola, 2012: 9). This means that trade unions are not able to show the working class the similar working conditions they work under, and the fact that all of them are exploited the same way by the capitalist system, and it is not about their skin colour and ethnic origins, but they should rather unite, because they still have common challenges in the workplace, such as exploitation.

The principle that NUMSA embraces is non-racialism because they view it as something that divides workers (NUMSA, 2014). In a 2016 conference, NUMSA made resolutions that show that they condemn xenophobic attacks against fellow workers from neighbouring countries. NUMSA (2016, 255) states that the union condemns xenophobic attacks and also the union urges the government to put measures to protect immigrant workers. Their resolutions include that, immigrant workers, whether legal or not must be protected by the formal labour system and existing bargaining agreements and authorities must make sure that these things happen, before deportation (NUMSA, 2016: 255). NUMSA (2016, 255) resolves that the department of labour should check the skills of foreign nationals so that they can help this country develop. And, NUMSA (2016, 255) also resolves to educate members and the broader community against xenophobia. Furthermore, NUMSA (2016, 255) resolves to repair and boost the capacities of service organisations, so assist communities to press home their concerns and demands. Highlighting the ideals of non-racialism back in the spotlight of debate and sharing experiences of xenophobic attacks will be done, along with co-operating with SACP branches in building a working class consciousness and integrating foreign nationals back into the communities through exchange programmes, so that people understand where the foreign nationals come from when moving forward (NUMSA, 2016: 255). Additionally, border control policies, home affairs, safety and security department and the housing department must re-orientate to realize efficient and effective public service. Decisive action needs to be taken to root out the corruption in these departments (NUMSA, 2016: 256). NUMSA (2016, 256) resolves that the government must educate civil servants and ordinary

citizens on how to handle, respect and forge relationships with foreign nationals. The re-integration of the people displaced as a result of xenophobic and Afro-phobic eruptions back into communities where they were displaced must address the fundamental causes of the problem of high levels of unemployment, delivery of basic services such as water, housing and electricity. These resolutions show that NUMSA does care about eradicating xenophobia, but it does not necessarily reveal any day-to-day action against xenophobia in the workplace.

NUMSA (2016, 255) does believe that if xenophobic eruptions are not brought to an end they will divide the African working along nationalities, and this will weaken the working class against the bourgeois in Africa and elsewhere. NUMSA (2016, 255) shares that the capitalist system that increases and reproduces reserve army of labour (the unemployed) and replaces locals by foreign nationals at low wages and cruel conditions of employment. These beliefs show that NUMSA agrees with the arguments that have been made in this literature, about xenophobia weakening the working class, and foreigners being used for cheap labour conditions. This indicates that NUMSA does think of xenophobia in relation to the workplace, but it is not clear if they make it an important mandate to fight xenophobia in the workplace and work on being inclusive to foreign nationals.

NUM has also shown that they condemn xenophobia through the interviews with their members and some press statements they have released. NUM (2015a) released a statement explaining that they were concerned about the xenophobic attacks on foreigners who operate small businesses in the township. Furthermore, NUM (2015a) urges the government to come up with an inclusive approach to addressing sources of xenophobic uprisings. NUM (2015b) described an example where NUM supported the University of Johannesburg to stand firm against xenophobia. NUM (2015b) explained that they condemned anti-working-class attacks on innocent immigrants in Durban and throughout the country. This shows that NUM does stand against xenophobia and both their members and statements show this. However, this does not show that NUM has strategies and responses to xenophobia which are specific to the workplaces in South Africa. The statements that have been discussed above show that unions are against xenophobia, but they are not specific about xenophobia in the workplace.

4.2 Immigrants and crime

This theme shows that the view of who and what causes crime in South Africa is conflicted amongst the representatives of the unions that were interviewed. The members, even those from who are from the same union showed different views. Montisetsi (2017, NUM) explained that they think xenophobia comes from the fact that there are people who came here to seek economic security in South Africa. However, some of them have views like, people that have opened brothels all over and enslave South African girls to become prostitutes (Montisetsi, 2017, NUM). This shows that Montisetsi (2017, NUM) believed that there are immigrants who cause crime, he goes on to explain that the people who are practicing such crimes are inviting xenophobia. This kind of thinking is questionable, because Montisetsi (2017, NUM) makes this argument without showing any evidence of immigrants causing crime more than South Africans. On the contrary, Tafa (2017, NUM) explains how crime knows no borders and that anyone can be responsible for crime. Furthermore, Tafa (2017, NUM) believes that there are a lot of issues that can cause crime but the main issue he highlights is unemployment. This shows that Tafa (2017, NUM) sees crime as a concept that can be caused by socio-economic issues, but it cannot be associated with certain ethnic groups because anyone can be a criminal. Mathebane (2017, NUM) agrees with Tafa (2017, NUM) with the explanation that crime can be caused by living conditions such as poverty and this shows that, it does not mean that when you are an immigrant you are a criminal.

Hlubi (2017, NUMSA) argues that there is no proof that foreigners are criminals in the country, she suggests that the idea that foreigners are criminals stems from leaders like Herman Mashaba (mayor of Johannesburg), who have publicly suggested that crime is caused by the increase in the number of immigrants in the city of Johannesburg. Hlubi (2017, NUMSA) condemns the remarks that Mashaba has made and she suggests that they are remarks that provoke xenophobia. Hlubi (2017, NUMSA) finds that the statements that Herman Mashaba has made about immigrants have led to the xenophobia that happens, she argues that when people attack an immigrant in the city of Johannesburg, they do it because Mashaba said so.

Wayile (2017, NUMSA) who is the national educator of NUMSA is, brings points that agree with Hlubi (2017, NUMSA) where he questions whether there is any empirical evidence suggesting that immigrants cause crime. Wayile (2017, NUMSA) argues that it is inaccurate to assume that immigrants cause crime because out of fifty-six million South Africans, immigrants are only a small number. Wayile (2017, UMSA) also brings the argument that

crime is committed at different levels and by different people, he mentions that anyone can commit crime including local political leaders, such as Jacob Zuma who is the president in South Africa. This argument shows that the union members do not always believe that crime is caused by foreigners, they are not implying that immigrants can never commit crime, but they are questioning the idea that it is immigrants who bring crime to the country (Wayile, 2017, NUMSA). Olivier (2017, NUMSA) argues that there are some immigrants who are found to be doing criminal activities, but she also points out that the issue of high unemployment makes the crime rate higher. This shows that the trade union representatives know that crime is not caused by immigrants although they are not always on the same page about how much crime is committed by immigrants.

Both NUM and NUMSA leaders commented on the issue of crime, and between the two unions, there is a general view that crime is not only caused by immigrants (Tafa, NUM; Wayile, NUM & Hlubi, NUM). Having said this, there is a contradiction between the views of some members, even members from the same union. Tafa (2017, NUM) and Montietsi (2017, NUM) are from the same trade union, NUM, but they do not seem to have the same view on whether it is immigrants who cause crime or not. Whilst Tafa (2017, NUM) expresses that crime knows no borders, his colleague Montietsi (2017, NUM) believes that some immigrants come to South Africa to become criminals, to the extent where they have influenced South African girls to becoming prostitutes. This shows that the members do not necessarily have the same solid idea of what the presence of immigrants in South Africa, means, and what the immigrants have come to do. This shows that there is no guidance and structured plan that the NUM leaders follow, with regards to who is seen as a criminal. On a slight contrary, the NUMSA leaders seem to be on the same level of thinking when it comes to looking at who is a criminal, their answers show that they are on the idea that it is not possible to just point out a criminal, and boldly say that immigrants are criminals. Furthermore, Hlubi (2017, NUMSA) argues that the idea that immigrants are criminals in South Africa is enforced by the mayor of the Johannesburg, Herman Mashaba, who has been seen on the news a few times talking about eradicating poverty and crime in South Africa by dealing with the number of immigrants in country.

4.3 The government's involvement

In the interviews, the ties that the government and the trade unions have been highlighted on several occasions. It was mostly on the fact that government needs to take responsibility on issues that deal with immigration. On some accounts, it became visible that the trade unions were relying on the government to carry out certain tasks and it did not seem like they had intervention plans on certain issues. However, Maximoff (1953) argues the anarchist theory which explains that governments are not any better than private companies, because they aim to preserve their power and the state, which means that they would not do something that risks their power in the name of the people. This shows that relying on the government to take responsibility for xenophobia is not going to work, because often it is government officials, such as Herman Mashaba (mentioned above) who gain power by inciting violence through xenophobia and avoiding service delivery responsibilities. This is tactic is used by different political parties who want to hold power without being accountable.

Hlubi (2017, NUMSA) argues that the home affairs in its administration is an impediment to the process of helping immigrants settle into South Africa well. Hlubi (2017, NUMSA) explains situations where ordinary workers struggle to get documentation (permits) that would allow them to work freely in South Africa. This suggests that there is an expectation that home affairs should be more efficient in giving immigrants the documentation they require; this means that home affairs stand in the way of immigrants realizing the same benefits that South Africans have. Hlubi (2017, NUMSA) suggests that immigrants have to deal with the frustration of home affairs, because in order for the union to debit a member, and for the member to have a contract, the member must be a South African citizen. This means that there are administrative challenges that the union has to deal with and home affairs has to be involvement. In this case Hlubi (2017, NUMSA) is pointing out that the government structure such as the home affairs, can be an obstacle between the immigrant and the trade union, because the government does is not efficient in providing the immigrant with the documentation needed to take part in the trade union structure. Having said this, it is not clear what the trade union is doing about the lack of efficiency with the government, although they acknowledge that the government is a challenge. This shows that the trade union should believes that the government should be pulling some weight in assisting immigrants to realise the same benefits as South Africans. However, SAHO (2011, 1) describes nationalism as the

emphasis on the unity and the collective of a specific nation. This relates to South Africa's government because they have emphasised nationalism as part of their democracy, this means they emphasise bringing services to South Africans which makes it difficult to accommodate immigrants with their services, because the mindset is that they belong to South Africans. Di Paola (2012, 11) explains that emphasizing the meaning of otherness along nationality is linked with the mainstream political discourse, which emerged with democracy which resorts to nationalism as the foundation of society.

Olivier (2017, NUMSA) argues that whether an immigrant worker is legal or illegal he must be protected by the formal labour system. This means that the government must be able to step in and protect immigrants who work in South Africa. Olivier (2017, NUMSA) also argued that the reason that xenophobia keeps coming up is because people are competing for resources, people are unemployed, and the government is not delivering as they should. Olivier (2017, NUMSA) makes a point about the government should be delivering and that if they were giving citizens their basic needs, issues such as xenophobia would not happen because people would not feel the need to compete for resources. In agreement with this, Hlubi (2017, NUMSA) believes that the type of economy and government structure that the government has taken influences xenophobia. Hlubi (2017, NUMSA) argues that if the system of governance was not capitalistic, there would be more job creation and issues such as xenophobia would not happen as often as they do.

Olivier (2017, NUMSA) argues that trade unions need to interact with the government and probe the government to explain and investigate what is happening in those countries and why people are running away from their countries. The government is not sending a clear message about their opinion what is happening in other countries, they argue that what's happening in other countries is none of South Africa's concern because these are sovereign countries (Olivier, 2017, NUMSA). This shows that the argument from the union is depend on government interfering, the belief is that the issues of migration and xenophobia in the workplace would be better if the government did its job and got involved more (Olivier, 2017, NUMSA). Olivier (2017, NUMSA) again, argues that if the government interacted more with other countries to try and assist where they can assist, the problems and some of that are there would be solved. This shows that, the union envisions a scenario where things are made better through the governments involvement and by having a legitimate government and also

they believe there would be less immigrants because those countries would be fixed and their people would not feel the need to go elsewhere. Having said this, Hatting (2015b, 51) argues that it is no secret that South African private companies are found all over Africa, those companies have become sources of foreign direct investment. This means that the South African companies that all over Africa sell goods that are in competition with goods sold in those countries. This shows that South Africa as a state with its businesses have played a part in weakening other countries, which leads to the people of those countries looking for alternative ways of living, such as migrating South Africa. Although the South African government assists other countries, it also takes part in exploiting them.

NUMSA goes as far as to tell people to direct their fury to the ANC and the DA which are political opposing parties in South Africa (NUMSA, 2017a). NUMSA (2017a) argues, that the fault and the cause of issues around xenophobia are due to the governing party's (ANC) failing economic policies and the support it gets from the DA (opposition party). NUMSA (2017a) refers to an incident where Herman Mashaba claimed that illegal immigrants were criminals and then vowed to get rid of them. NUMSA (2017a) argues that some communities act under an illusion where they believe that getting rid of immigrants will solve their issues. However, NUMSA (2017) argues that it is capitalism that is the issue and capitalism is both the DA and ANC because they are responsible for all these social ills that lead to people having to compete for resources and seeing each other as enemies. NUMSA (2017) urges people to engage in a struggle that is focused on uprooting colonization of a special type in South Africa and the continent, where there is a system of imperialism and right-wing structural adjustment programs that are supported by the DA of Herman Mashaba and the ANC. This shows that NUMSA (2017) believes the government should be doing more and should be responsible of making sure that immigrants are documented and are treated with dignity but at the same time they also realize that the government and ruling party are the source of the problem and the enemy at times.

4.4 International solidarity

This theme shows how the union representatives think of how their relationship with other countries and people from other countries look like. It appears that both unions see themselves as international organizations that have relationships with organizations in other countries. The relationships they have also go as far as supporting other workers who are

from other countries. Cele (2017, NUMSA) who is the deputy president at NUMSA, explains that for NUMSA international solidarity means supporting other workers in other countries by demonstrating or protesting in South Africa. He makes an example of how as a person working for an international factory, if that factory would suddenly retrench workers in another country with the hopes of increasing production in South Africa, as South African workers and as a union they would stand against that (Cele, 2017: NUMSA). Cele (2017, NUMSA) also makes an example on international solidarity that takes place in events where workers in a factory from another country are protesting, as South African workers under NUMSA they vow to not produce in surplus to make up for the lost production that is taking place in the country where there is a protest. Cele (2017, NUMSA) explains that for NUMSA international solidarity is being able to support workers that are in another country by demonstrating in South Africa. Mathebane (2017, NUM) agrees with this point as he describes international solidarity as a vital part of NUM being a union because, NUM is vital at an international level, because of the belief that the struggle of the working class should be fought at an international level because companies are multinationals that operate globally. To these union members, international solidarity is being able to stand in support of workers who are in another country, going through a certain struggle.

Having said this, Tafa (2017, NUM) explains international solidarity as a situation where international companies are invited into the country to invest and create employment, but as a union they do not want to have any relationship with investors that might compromise the independence of the nation. This shows that to NUM international solidarity can include having foreign investors invest and employing South Africans, which would then build the nation, however the union does not support international relationships with companies that want to compromise the independence of South Africans (Tafa, 2017, NUM). However, Tafa (2017, NUM) did not be concerned about this when it came to South Africa being an investor in other countries and compromising the independence of other countries. Hatting (2012, 1) argues that it is known that South African companies, both private and state owned have a large presence across Africa. In some cases, these companies become the largest source of foreign direct investment in those countries, sometimes exceeding that of the United States (Hatting, 2012: 1). Furthermore, Hatting (2012, 1) explains that South Africa has projecting its power in the African continent, in how it dominates businesses and the independence of

other countries. It is therefore, interesting that Tafa (2017, NUM) responded to international solidarity in a way that protects the independence of South Africa, but does not question the role South African companies play in compromising the independence of other countries.

Hlubi (2017, NUMSA) explains the concept of nation building as a form of working class solidarity because, as long as there are still workers everyone is fighting the same battle. Hlubi (2017, NUMSA) continues and explains that as a union they are not only building a nation they care about protecting workers. NUMSA (2017 b) is a memorandum that explains how NUMSA is against how Zambia has deteriorated to an authoritarian regime after the 2016 elections. This is based on the knowledge that the elections in Zambia were no free and fair which has led to the erosion of democratic freedoms. This memorandum was written as a form of support to the working class of Zambia after NUMSA noticed that the freedom and democratic rights of the people are being pushed aside (NUMSA, 2017b). NUMSA (2017b) demanded that the African Union (AU) to be more relevant in Africa by setting up a credible task team to investigate the pre, during and post, election periods in Zambia with the aim of addressing the electoral crisis that is facing the country. NUMSA (2017b) urges the AU to form a task team that would investigate the violence and the allegations of the brutality and breach of ordinary Zambian constitution by the president Edgar Lungu. This is a way that NUMSA showed solidarity to the Zambian working class by applying soft force on the AU to take action and change things in Zambia (NUMSA, 2017b). This does show international solidarity, as one working class organization is demanding for the working class of another country to be treated better and be heard. However, this does show an element of the union constantly depending on the government or a government structure, to some extent it is a way of holding government structures accountable but it also does mean that the working-class movement depends a lot on government structures being proper and delivering on their promise, which is often not the case.

In addition to this, Wayile (2017, NUMSA) explains that at an international level, NUMSA through COSATU and other federations nationally, have been fighting through the International Labour Organization (ILO) for decent work. The ILO is a United Nations agency that sets international labour standards and promotes social protection and work opportunities for all (ILO, 2019: 1). This makes NUMSA accountable at an international level, where they believe that they cannot ignore workers issues locally because they have already

taken it up internationally (Wayile, 2017: NUMSA). Wayile (2017, NUMSA) explains national building as a way of building a strong South Africa, but he recognizes that South Africa is not an island and building it also means being part of a world order that allows for growth and also building relationship with the rest of the world. He further explains about the Nkrumah political schools that NUMSA is part of, which takes three to four weeks, where comrades from Brazil, America and other parts of the African continent build bridges and share ideas about issues they are facing as organisations (Wayile, 2017, NUMSA). The above explanation shows how unions view the concept of international solidarity and how they approach it.

4.5 Benefits that immigrants should get

This theme brings out the conflicting views that both NUM and NUMSA members had about the kinds of benefits that immigrants should get in South Africa. The trade union representatives showed slight differences on how they view this point and their views will be discussed in the following discussion.

Montisetsi (2017, NUM) argues that unemployment is rife in South Africa, and it is because of this reason that he believes that the government should take care of its own people first, because there more unemployed people there are in the country, the bigger the risk of government being toppled from power. He refers to the fact that even in Botswana his country, there are a lot of people from Zimbabwe and DRC and the local people are not satisfied about that because they are not working (Montisetsi, 2017:NUM). Montisetsi (2017, NUM) believes that it is going to be difficult for the government to build housing for everybody who comes into the country, because everyone will leave their own countries with the hopes of being taken care of by the South African government. However, Montisetsi (2017, NUM) explains that the government is only obligated to take care of its own people, but there are laws that apply for everybody who comes into the country, such as labour policies. Montisetsi (2017, NUM) is an immigrant from Botswana, who tells the story of starting to work in the mines from his national country, Botswana. It is interesting to get this view from an immigrant, because it shows that, even as an immigrant his interest is to protect South Africa's "wellbeing". This also stems from his experience of Botswana people feel that they are being disadvantaged when there are immigrants in their countries, because as Botswana people they end up being unemployed. This is an interesting dynamic because he

is the deputy president of NUM, and he is an immigrant, who believes that immigrants should not get all social welfare benefits in a foreign country because it becomes heavy responsibility for that country, and in saying this he shares how Botswana people feel about the presence of immigrants in their countries.

Montisetsi (2017, NUM) argues that for benefits such as housing, the companies hiring immigrants should take of that issue, he further explains that if it is the mining companies that are building housing for workers, as a union don't discriminate. However, if it is the government that is going to build houses, they discriminate because the government should build houses for its own people (Montisetsi, 2017, NUM). Tafa (2017, NUM) agrees with the sentiments discussed above, he argues that there are certain services that you cannot deprive people of, such as health care because discriminating according to who gets healthcare and who does not would be against human life, and we must all have equal opportunities in terms of health. However, when it comes to the issue of RDP housing, South Africans need to get preference because there are already service delivery protests among South African citizens because South Africans believe that foreign nationals are taking over RDP houses (Tafa, 2017, NUM). In some cases, it is the South Africans who sell their houses to foreign nationals. This means there needs to be a comprehensive housing strategy in the country, rental houses (rental houses) that will be reserved for the foreign nationals to rent, and if the foreign national is documented then they can be given a house to rent; South Africans can then be given RDP houses which will get rid of the perception that foreign nationals are taking over RDP houses (Tafa, 2017, NUM). Having said this, Tafa (2017, NUM) argues that workers should be treated the same way in the workplace irrespective of where they come from, they should be given the same work benefits, because it would be unfair for workers to do the same work and work at the same place but have different benefits. Mammburu (2017, NUM) who is the spokesperson for NUM, argues that workers must be treated the same in the workplace irrespective of where they come from, he explains that as NUM they always visit the mining operations and they do not come across situations where South Africans and Zimbabweans are being treated differently in the workplace. This shows that the union does believe in equality of workers in the workplace, however, they do not believe that the same idea should apply to some public services that get offered by the government.

Olivier (2017, NUMSA) explains that it is difficult to say that everyone in South Africa should have the same benefits and equal resources in the country because there is already a scarcity of resources. Olivier (2017, NUMSA) argues that she does not necessarily agree with the mayor Herman Mashaba who says that he cannot look after immigrants because his budget does not allow it, and his responsibility is to look after South Africans. However, as much as people want to immediately condemn him for making such statements, the reality is that there are no resources (Olivier, 2017, NUMSA). Olivier (2017, NUMSA) explains that the country would love to look after every person who comes into the country, but in reality, this is not possible because South Africans have been living for years in backyards and squatter camps. Olivier (2017, NUMSA) then argues that it would be unfair to treat everyone equal when there is scarcity of resources. Furthermore, if the situation was different, where there more resources, then it would be okay to treat everyone equally, but unfortunately the situation is a bad situation where people cannot be treated equally. This is an interesting perspective on treating people, immigrants and South Africans based on resources available, meaning you give to people who are originally from South Africa first. It would be interesting to investigate how the country would know which person is exactly a South African, given the migration and immigration history of South Africa. On a slight contrary, Olivier (2017, NUMSA) believes that workers should be treated the same way in the workplace if they do the same work, and that they should get the same benefits. Furthermore, this is an idea that the union, NUMSA, believes in, the fact that workers deserve the same equal treatment, whether they are the immigrant workers or not (Olivier, 2017, NUMSA).

Hlubi (2017, NUMSA) expresses a different argument from the one that Olivier (2017, NUMSA) argues when it comes to the issue of immigrants having access to the same benefits as South Africans. Hlubi (2017, NUMSA) explains that NUMSA it is about the workers, so regardless of where workers come from in the world, the standard of living of a person should not stop because they have crossed the border. This indicates that a person should be treated like other people in that country and their standard of being a human being should not drop because they are immigrants. Furthermore, Hlubi (2017, NUMSA) argues that it is capitalists who will talk about lack of resources when commenting on this issue, although it is capitalists who have a created a system where there is not enough for everyone. Hlubi (2017, NUMSA)

argues, if the country was a socialist country and had socialist values, then there would be enough for everyone, just like the benefits people get when they visit Denmark.

Wayile (2017, NUMSA), explains that some of the issues that are being addressed and questioned are the unintended consequences of a particular crisis. The crisis is the crisis of imperialism, the crisis of good governance, it is a crisis of dictatorship in Africa and civil wars that are imperialist sponsored (Wayile, 2017, NUMSA). This means that Wayile (2017, NUMSA) agrees with Hlubi (2017, NUMSA) in that some of the issues that are happening would not be happening if the system of governance was better than it is now. Having said this, they do not seem to question the role of imperialism that South Africa has played in countries such as the DRC (Hatting, 2015: 2). Additionally, Wayile (2017, NUMSA) explains that there is a bill of rights in South Africa and the South African constitution guarantees life to all, so those who are fellow Africans and people who come from other countries, they deserve access to good quality services and this comes from a humanitarian point of view. Furthermore, immigrants deserve to be part and to be integrated into the mainstream communities, because they are not animals but are people from the same continent (Wayile, 2017, NUMSA). Although there are some contradicting views on what services and benefits immigrants should get and who should give the benefits, there is an underlying concern of how people are treated and what it means to be treated as a human being. Overall, NUMSA seems to have a clearer stance than NUM, which is ironic because NUM has historically had a lot more immigrant members than NUMSA, given the character and structure of the mining industry and how labour was formed.

4.6 Commitment to the struggle

This theme comes from the strong views that South Africa and South Africans should be able to help immigrants from the rest of Africa because of the help South Africans had received during apartheid. The union representatives touched on this issue several times and highlighted importance to aiding other Africans because of the aid they had given to South Africans during the apartheid struggle.

Cele (2017, NUMSA) explains that it would be difficult for the trade union to support a law that restricts immigrants from entering South Africa, because most immigrants come to South Africa to seek refuge because they are running from different things that happen in their own

countries. Furthermore, Cele (2017, NUMSA) believes that South Africans cannot be the ones that say people must not run to South Africa after we have been freed from the struggle of apartheid. Cele (2017, NUMSA) refers to a situation where members of liberation parties such as the ANC fled to other countries when they were banned from being in South Africa during the apartheid years. This shows a situation where people are allowed into South Africa because of the aid South Africans received during the struggle. Hlubi (2017, NUMSA) gives an example of Zambia and the role Zambia played in the liberation movement, and how the Zambian government stuck its neck out to protect members of the liberation movement from South Africa. Once again this shows that, South Africans are discouraged from being xenophobic and are encouraged to help immigrants because of the role that other African countries played to protect South Africans from the system of apartheid.

Olivier (2017, NUMSA) explains that NUMSA condemns xenophobia and that they always educate their members about xenophobia, and in situations where members are xenophobic those members are dealt with accordingly, because NUMSA stands against xenophobia. Olivier (2017, NUMSA) explains that as a union they educate members about xenophobia and also remind them about where South Africa is coming from, and how other countries played a big role under the apartheid government. Workers are then urged to be more tolerant and work with the immigrant workers because the situation in their countries is difficult (Olivier, 2017, NUMSA). Wayile (2017, NUMSA) agrees with this point, as he explains how, historically in terms of the South African economy during the discovery of gold, it was workers from other countries who built this particular country in Johannesburg, for years. Wayile (2017, NUMSA) explains how a train was used to take people across the length and breadth of the continent to dig up gold in South Africa, and how Johannesburg was built through the sweat and toil of workers who came from outside South Africa. This shows that immigrants had an input in the building of the country, and it is because of this reason that South Africans should be welcoming to immigrants who are now in need to refuge.

Mathebane (2017, NUM), argues that as NUM, they believe that people have the right to be in South Africa, more so because the people who are now immigrants accommodated South Africans in their countries during apartheid years. Tafa (2017, NUM) argues that the government should not put restrictions on immigrants who are coming from Southern African countries. This is because Southern African region played a major role in assisting South Africa

to be where it is today (Tafa, 2017, NUM). Tafa (2017, NUM) explains that immigrant workers from the Southern African region used to come and work in the mines and they are the people who assisted in building the South African economy and now that we see ourselves as a bigger brother within the region, it would be wrong to isolate the Southern African counterparts. This shows a sense of commitment that some union leaders have to the countries that assisted South Africa during apartheid, it is also important to investigate what this means for immigrants who come from countries that might not have been involved in assisting South African liberation leaders during the struggle. Where do immigrants who need assistance go if their countries are not known as the countries that assisted South Africa?

4.7 The issue of scarce skills

The theme about skills is one that comes up several times from the interviews. Most trade union representatives notice the importance of having immigrants come with to South Africa to use their skills and also teach South Africans the skills.

Mammburu (2017, NUM) argues that it would be difficult to support a situation where the government places more restrictions on immigrants that are coming to South Africa because some immigrants are highly qualified and they can make a difference in South Africa. The skilled immigrants cannot be stopped, because they are coming to make a difference in South Africa and they are needed to make a difference (Mammburu, 2017, NUM). However, the immigrants who are in South Africa to commit crime and other negative things, should not be allowed to enter the country (Mammburu, 2017, NUM). There are a lot of immigrants who play a big difference in South Africa in terms of employing and making a difference in the South African economy; NUM will always welcome the immigrants who have skills because as South Africans, we lack skills and we need immigrants to impart their skills to the local people, which will grow the economy (Mammburu, 2017, NUM). Countries that have big economies like USA and Britain, their economies have grown because of immigrants (Mammburu, 2017, NUM). Mathebane (2017, NUM) explains that most of the immigrants he has seen are people with skills and are self-employed; they have the kind of skills that South Africans need to gather. These views do not mention anything about immigrants who are unskilled, this is interesting because it could imply that it is only important to migrate when you have skills and can contribute to the country you are going to. However, this perspective then leaves an immigrant who is not low skilled or has skills that are not “important”, in a

vulnerable space, because they are not seen as important enough to claim a living in South Africa.

Olivier (2017, NUMSA) explains that as NUMSA they have discussed ways to check the skills of some of the foreign nationals have and the union wants to look at ways they can transfer the skills to South Africans. This is because of recognizing that the foreign nationals have creativity and they are highly skilled workers and many of them are very good with business, which also leads to xenophobic attacks, because South Africans feel that immigrants come and put up shops that are cheaper than the shops owned by locals (Oliveir, 2017, NUMSA). It does seem as though an immigrant that has a certain skill gets to earn their keep according to the arguments above, this then brings the discussion of how unions can respond to the question of immigrants who do not have a particular skill but come into South Africa.

4.8 Xenophobia is Afrophobia and black on black violence?

This theme highlights the underlying views that appeared during the interviews on how xenophobia is black on black violence. This view could also suggest that at this moment, the union representatives are looking at the issue of xenophobia from a specific dimension. It can be challenging to try and have a bigger picture about issues of discrimination, where there are immigrants who might not be African or black but are also vulnerable in a worker's solidarity.

Cele (2017, NUMSA) explains that members are told to not be xenophobic because they are all Africans and it does not matter which country one comes from, but all workers are one as they are all Africans. Mammburu (2017, NUM) also describes how as a union they do not like it when there is xenophobic violence because it is black on black violence; the union hates xenophobia with passion because some of the members of NUM are immigrants and even the deputy president of NUM is an immigrant. This view fails to look at immigrants from nations that some from outside Africa as people who can be on the receiving end of xenophobia, this is a limited view because South Africa has people who come from different continents.

4.9 South Africa as big brother?

South Africa's imperialist nature is mentioned briefly by some trade union representatives, where in passing they highlight the fact that South Africa is stronger than other countries in Africa and it has better influence. However, when they refer to South Africa as a big brother it does not seem like they view it as imperialism, but rather a country that helps grow other countries. This means that the phrase "big brother" could be viewed as a positive thing, although this cannot be confirmed, as it has other implications such as imperialism.

Montisetsi (2017, NUM) describes South Africa as a country that is economically "big brother" in terms of economy in Africa, and South Africa has invested a lot in Africa, such as companies like MTN and Shoprite which are in other African countries. The intention that South Africa has is to grow the economy of Africa, although it is part of imperialism, but it is also part of developing Africa so that people do not flock to South Africa (Montisetsi, 2017, NUM). Tafa (2017, NUM) argues that South Africa cannot turn their backs on the rest of Southern Africa because they were assisted by the fellow Southern African countries to get to a point of being a "bigger brother" within the Southern African region. Hatting explains how private companies from South Africa have dominated in other countries, whilst the union sees this as an investment into those countries, it is not always an investment because it weakens local businesses of those African countries, which can create wakening of the local economy and business structure and a dependence on the South African businesses.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

The above discussion describes a story of how during apartheid there were violent ethnic conflicts which were fuelled by the intervention of the apartheid government (Di Paola, 2012: 26). This means that workers were divided, and the capitalistic nature of employers saw a gap in this and used it a way to divide and rule the workers. As Callinicos (1993) describes, racism only benefits capitalism, and this is based on Marx's theory about workers uniting regardless of their differences because focusing on their differences would give capitalism power over them. The example above shows an example and situation at the mines where workers were divided into ethnic groups. However, the unions worked at bridging that gap and solving the conflicts between the workers (Tafa, 2017: NUM). This shows that the trade union officials understand the core of how workers who have any kind of discrimination become weak when facing employers. (Tafira, 2011: 114-115) discusses how xenophobia is a form of discrimination, xenophobia is a toxic and violent as racism and it can divide workers and cause a fatal divide on the working class movement. In environments where there is xenophobia and discrimination. In some interviews, some mentioning of exploitation came up and it seems like trade unions are aware of the effects of xenophobia. Having said this, xenophobia and the issue of migration does not seem like it is an issue that unions have invested time and looked into. This can be understandable because xenophobia is not always a visible issue, there are outbreaks of it, but after these outbreaks it is almost as if there were no outbreaks and conflicts, and no one would know about it. NUMSA (2016, 256) argues that South African employers are exploiting foreign workers, especially in the hospitality and agricultural sector, and as NUMSA they believe that migrants workers, regardless of their status, must enjoy equal treatment under labour legislation and full respect of their fundamental rights at work.

Currently, both NUM and NUMSA do not seem to have continuous programmes that stand against the mistreatment of immigrant workers, and immigration in the workplace, in fact some of the trade union members had conflicting views about the topic. Both NUM and NUMSA officials state that as the unions they believe in workers uniting and do not support xenophobia. Their views conflicted with each other and they also contradicted themselves. In terms of policy, NUMSA has a clear resolution about immigration and on issues of immigration. This shows that there is consideration and conversation around the wellbeing of immigrant workers and also it shows that the trade union stands against the exploitation,

violence and xenophobia that happens to immigrant workers. However, there is a need for a more powerful and visible stand from trade unions against xenophobia in the workplace.

As trade unions issues that affect immigrant workers, particularly xenophobia, have an impact on the workers' movement. It is in the trade unions' interest to look into the issues surrounding immigrant workers and xenophobia in the workplace. This is not just for the wellbeing immigrant workers, but it is for the wellbeing of the working class at large. Working on being more inclusive and going an extra mile for workers in general will unite the working class. Eliminating divisions and discrimination would unite the workers and make the working class movement stronger than it currently is (Callinicos, 1993: 45).

In this research, it is shown that there is a gap that the trade unions could explore and do more in. The results above show that trade unions do recognise that having immigrant workers in South Africa is complicated. The trade unions officials that were interviewed do recognise that immigrants are people who need refuge and people who need to make a living (Olivier, 2017: NUMSA). Although the trade union officials recognise that, they have also pointed out that South Africans are also in competition for resources, and that it is warranted that some trade union officials get concerned about the wellbeing of South Africans, if more people then depend on the same resources that they are relying on as well. However, preventing immigrants from working in South Africa and entering the country will not help improve the conditions that are facing the working class in South Africa; additionally, it will not grow international solidarity and how far it can reach and help the working class. Both NUM and NUMSA officials showed that they believed in the Marxist theory, and it would be encouraged that radically use it to push the agenda of having zero tolerance to discrimination in the workplace and in South Africa, as this slows down and weakens the workers movement.

Not including foreigners in the South African working-class movement creates a vulnerable group of workers who have higher chances of being exploited and targeted as cheap labour. Weather the immigrants are documented or not, in a situation where they are not part of the formal structure of labour in South Africa, they will fall victim to being treated differently in the workplaces. This situation extends more to immigrants who are in South Africa and are not formerly documented because they are seen by people as illegal immigrants, and society has termed them illegal, which is a term that adds onto the immigrants being treated as if they are not human enough and should not be allowed basic human rights. The term illegal

marginalises immigrants more because it criminalises their characters and makes it appear they are not fit to be protected and treated like other people. This term, illegal strips an immigrant of the basic human rights, that according to the South African constitutions, should extend to all people who live in South Africa.

This creates a weakness in the working class society because, the marginalised people become the oppressed and they are not able to fully take part in day-to-day activities like an average person who has been given access to human rights. Having said this, the immigrants who do live in South Africa become workers, in some way or other and they try to make a living. Aside from starting businesses, some seek for any kind of job that they can find. This is when they easily fall victim to exploitation and oppression from employers who are taking advantage of the fact that the immigrants cannot fight for themselves, because of being marginalised in society. Although it is not easily noticed, the working class gets affected by this and it becomes weak. The solution then is not to have a country without immigrants and an immigration system, however, it is to create an environment which is inclusive of immigrants and this is vital for trade unions because they are integral organisations when it comes to the liberation of the working class. There have been cases where South African workers blame immigrants for taking their jobs, this shows a situation where South Africans feel uncomfortable by the presence of immigrants in the South Africa workplaces, and it also shows that there is a level of not trusting the immigrant workers, as they are seen as stealing jobs from South Africans.

It is therefore important that trade unions encourage their workers to look beyond this as it is not the main problem attacking the working class and workers. They need to understand the lines of conflict within the working class, which take forms like racism and xenophobia, as well as gender and so on, are generated by capitalism and the state, by conflicts in the labour market, discrimination and bourgeois media (Callinicos, 1993), and by the way in which the state generates and entrenches divisions, including through processes of conflict and war (Maximoff, 1953). Therefore, we need to move the discussion from simply looking at how to create unity in the present, to looking at how to cure the problem for once and for all. This means thinking seriously about a new type of society.

This is not to dismiss the fact that South Africans may feel insecurities by the presence of immigrants in the workplaces, but to understand how the ruling class fosters such

insecurities; they are not an irrational “phobia. Immigrants do sometimes get jobs over South Africans since they can be cheap labour, and they are not awarded the same rights as South Africans. This shows that a system that does not include immigrants as equals or treat them as people who can partake in the human rights of the country, does not rob only immigrants of a fair system of work, but it also robs South African citizens of being treated fairly. Having a system that gives one group of people more rights than another group, creates a situation where certain people can be exploited while other people are not considered for positions because they are costly and are protected.

It would be recommended that trade unions consider more about these issues and act more upon them, because by being inclusive, trade unions would be fighting against the exploitation of workers and xenophobia that can arise in the workplaces (Callinicos, 1993: 36), and creating potential for a new society from below (Maximoff, 1953; van der Walt, 2016). It can be acknowledged that trade unions have commitments to international solidarity. They represent a structure that stands up for the poor and the working class, and they believe in human rights and the wellbeing of people.

In Callinicos (1993) the Marxist theory is described as a theory that is against discrimination based on differences, which include xenophobia, the Marxist theory is clear on the stance that this would weaken the working-class movement and no employees would benefit from being treated better than another employee. Likewise, the anarchists stress that the “fatherland of the working class is the International” workers’ movement (Maximoff, 1953).

This research argues that unions can expand, be more inclusive and be more inclusive, and be able to stand up for all workers’ rights. As organisations that be involved in the workplace, and the workplace has become a place where workers compete because unemployment is high, and people are trying to make a living. Therefore, workplaces are sites where different kinds of discrimination, including xenophobia could manifest themselves. This can be related to competition that is released to the opportunity of accessing employment. In the current South African situation, there will be clashes at work between South Africans and foreigners. It has also been mentioned above, that workers have been thought to not be xenophobic, since they are privileged because they have access to resources (Di Paola, 2012: 12). It would be recommended that trade unions stay away from this way of thinking, because it can lead

to a situation where trade unions are complacent to xenophobia based on the assumption that it is not there, and it does not exist in South African workplaces.

It is in the best interest of both the trade unions and immigrants to work together. This is because of the history that exists between immigrants and South Africa. During the colonialism period, leading to, and during apartheid, workers from other countries worked in South Africa and contributed to the South African economy. This means that the labour movement is stronger when all workers are united. Both NUM and NUMSA still need to be clear in their actions against xenophobia in the workplace and in society. More work needs to be done by the unions, without passing the baton to the government. Since this research has uncovered truth in the Marxist theory and Anarchist theory, it will be suggested that the unions become more radical strategic in having ways that break the system of discrimination in any form in the workplace, through being more visible and creating stronger relationships with all workers regardless of who they are and whether they are documented or not. Taking a strategy to support immigrant workers and South African workers without relying on the government would assist the workers, as the Anarchist theory argues, the state is interested at preserving its power and it may not be a strategy to look to the state in regulating the exploitation that immigrants face in South African workplaces. If they unions could make it their mandate to protect immigrants even against the state, and state officials who have been described to incite xenophobia, they would be moving towards the united working class that is strong.

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