

THE ATTITUDES OF ZULULAND UNIVERSITY ACADEMICS TOWARDS IMMIGRANTS

By

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ABSTRACT

South Africa has the most restrictive attitudes towards immigration and immigrants of any country that has been surveyed in the world (Mattes, McDonald, Poore Richmond 1999)). There are an estimated ten to fifteen million immigrants in South Africa (Buthelezi 1996). Immigrants are generally seen as a threat to jobs and houses and are often accused of committing crime. There were rumors of racism and xenophobia at the University of Zululand to which the Rector published a circular denouncing such attitudes.

To determine whether there was xenophobia at the University of Zululand, questionnaires were sent to South African Lectures, asking them about their attitudes towards immigrants. Twenty-two Lectures responded to the questionnaires. Total scores and mean scores were calculated. Scores falling below the mean indicated negative attitudes, while those falling above the mean indicated positive attitudes. Unlike studies by Mattes et al (1999), Smedley (1977) and Matshazi (1997), where South Africans were found to have negative attitudes towards immigrants, lecturers at the University of Zululand were generally found to have positive attitudes towards immigrants.

DECLARATION

I Matshazi Vusi declare that this dissertation is my own work. It is being submitted for the degree Master of Arts at the University of Zululand. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination at this or any other University.

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..... day of 2000

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CHAPTER ONE

1.1 MOTIVATION FOR THE STUDY

After the April 1994 elections in South Africa, the numbers of foreigners coming to South Africa noticeably increased. Some of the new arrivals came because of the deteriorating conditions in the rest of Africa, and as a result of the economic restrictions engendered by the various Structural Adjustment Programs imposed by the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (Minaar and Hough 1996).

Others fled civil wars and conflicts in countries like Angola, Liberia, Rwanda, Burundi, Sudan, Ethiopia, Somalia and Democratic Republic of Congo. Part of the increase was also attributed to the collapse of the Soviet Union civil wars in the Balkans. Increase in the number of Asians was seen as a result of uncertainty about the future of Hong Kong (Minaar and Hough 1996)

South Africa like America, Canada, Australia, England and France is a major country receiving immigrants. Immigrants range from street hawkers to skilled professionals who have come to South Africa because of low pay and lack of jobs in their own countries. The latest statistics in the media show that there are about 10 to 15 million immigrants in South Africa (legal and illegal) about a quarter of South Africa's population (Buthelezi 1996).

Many South Africans are becoming increasingly hostile and aggressive towards "African immigrants", behaviour which is foreign to our African culture and tradition which has always made a point of welcoming strangers.

One of the results of the influx of immigrants into South Africa has been the growth of the public expression of xenophobia. There has also been noticeable increase in letters to the editor in a number of newspaper in which the topic of immigrants has been raised. The majority of these letters have expressed anti-legal alien / foreigner sentiments (Minaar and Hough 1996). In the letters the most prominent issues were:

- Immigrants are involved in criminal activities.
- Immigrants are infiltrating the cities, suburbs, townships and squatter camps and taking away the available housing.
- Immigrants take away jobs from South Africans.
- Illegal are prepared to work for low wages and are thus destroying the workers' struggle for better pay and working conditions (Minaar and Hough 1996).

There has recently been a number of incidents where public anger against foreigners has boiled over into violence against them. In October 1994 tensions between Xhosa fisherman and Ovambos living in Imizamo Yethu Squatter camp at Hout Bay in the Cape flared up and resulted in violence. The Xhosas accused Ovambos of taking their jobs by accepting lower wages from fishing companies (Minaar and Hough 1996).

In clashes between Xhosa and Shangaan – speaking miners at the Rose Deep Hostel at Primrose gold mine in Germiston seven people were killed and 26 injured. Of the more than 1000 miners at this mine, 60% were from Mozambique (Minaar and Hough 1996).

In addition to illegal immigrants, there is one other category of migrants. These are unwelcome or unwanted foreigners, many of whom may actually have legal documents to reside in the country. Even though some economic migrants are here legally, a good deal of resentment has arisen towards them in terms of “them taking away our jobs”.

For instance, in 1995 there were numerous protests by staff members at the universities of Bophuthatswana and Transkei concerning the large percentage of immigrants appointed to academic posts. Resentment in these two cases was centred on the belief that those appointed, although black and from Africa, should not be categorized as affirmative action appointees (Minaar and Hough 1996). At that time, various branches of the Union of Democratic Staff Associations (UDSA) made strong protests that South Africa as part of an affirmative action drive rather than training and promoting black South African academics (Minaar and Hough 1996).

University of Zululand like most South African institutions employs immigrants to academic posts. In 1998 the Vice-Chancellor of the university of Zululand Professor C.R.M. Dlamini SC published a circular which stated among other things the following, that:

- “Allegations of racism have sometimes been made on campus. Pronouncements which are based on xenophobia are made and those who complain of racism are the ones who make statements based on xenophobia”
- “ The constitution contains a Bill of Rights which upholds the core democratic values of freedom, equality and human dignity. It also proscribes unfair discrimination based on race, colour, sex, gender, social and national origin. This means that the university will not tolerate any discrimination conduct or utterances that is based on racist tendencies or xenophobia”

- “Every member of the university community has an obligation to respect others and to treat them as colleagues. No person is supposed to be referred to as a “foreigner” or the like or made to feel that he or she is not a full member of staff of the university”.
- “The traditional concept of a university is that it is a community of scholars united in pursuit of knowledge and truth. There is therefore neither Jew nor Gentile, white nor black, citizen nor foreigner in that regard All members of staff are supposed to respect the credo of the university. Any person who makes disparaging remarks about others or who regards himself or herself as being above the law will have to be disciplined for that” (Dlamini 1998).

Such sentiments, as expressed by the media and by Professor Dlamini can be taken to be widespread and fairly representative of the feelings of the general public towards illegal aliens and foreigners. The question that one asks are: Is it media sensationalism or fact that South Africans are intolerant of immigrants? Are South Africans at the University of Zululand racists, intolerant and xenophobic as Professor Dlamini states or these are his own sentiments?

This study endeavours to collect empirical data to prove or disprove such sentiments. In a country where immigrants play such a large part in the economy and lives of the residents, the attitude of the resident population towards immigrants is important in the intergration of the immigrant group into the host society and to smooth functioning of society (Smedley 1978).

1.2 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

South African universities continually employ immigrants or aliens in teaching and management positions. What is the attitude of South African lecturers towards alien lecturers.

1.3 AIMS

- 3.1 To find out the nature of attitudes of South Africans towards immigrants.
- 3.2 To determine whether the nature of attitudes towards immigrants are associated with their role functions in this country.
- 3.3 To determine whether attitudes towards immigrants are associated with the following respondents' characteristics:
 - 3.3.1 age
 - 3.3.2 sex
 - 3.3.3 home language
 - 3.3.4 rank
- 3.4 To determine whether the nature of attitudes towards immigrants are associated with their role functions in this country.

1.4 HYPOTHESIS

South African lecturers at the University of Zululand are likely to have negative attitude towards immigrants.

1.4 DEFINITION OF TERMS

ATTITUDE – an attitude is a mental and neural state of readiness organized through experience, exerting a directive or dynamic influence upon the individuals' response to all objects and situations with which it is related (Brehm and Kassir 1996). An attitude toward any given object, idea or person is an enduring orientation with cognitive, affective and behavioral components.

Cognitive Component – consists of all thoughts the person has about a particular object, particular object the facts, knowledge and beliefs concerning the object.

Behavioural Component – consists of the person's readiness to respond or tendency to act regarding the object.

Affective Component – consists of all the person's affects or emotions towards the object, especially positive or negative evaluations (Sears, Peplan and Taylor 1992).

This study will concentrate on the affective component.

IMMIGRANTS OR ALIENS – non –South African Citizens working at the University of Zululand. Immigrants in South Africa can be divided into three categories, namely documented immigrants or aliens, undocumented aliens (illegal immigrants) and refugees.

This study is going to focus on documented immigrants or aliens. A documented immigrant is a person who enters South Africa on a temporary or permanent basis and who abides by the conditions of his or her permit (Minaar and Hough 1996).

1.5 VALUE OF STUDY

Correctional analysis, which will indicate differential applications of the respondents biographical variables to make recommendations for further research and intervention.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 INTRODUCTION

For many South Africans the distinction between refugees, illegal aliens and legal aliens is immaterial since foreigners were often perceived to be taking away jobs and houses from South Africans while bringing in crime and drugs to the country (Minaar and Hough). This chapter traced the history of immigration in South Africa were looked at. The frustration – aggression hypothesis was revisited including other important theories in attitude studies.

2.2 MIGRATION

The movement of people from one environment to another accelerated since the beginning of the century. Lee (1966) isolated four factors which forced people to migrate namely:

- Factors associated with the area of origin
- Factors associated with the area of destination
- Intervening obstacles
- Personal factors

In both the area of origin and the area of destination there were factors which attracted (positive factors) and factors which repelled (negative factors). Lee (1966) put forward an absorption theory of migration and attempted to ascertain the basic social and psychological components of each migratory movement.

According to Lee (1996), there were three main stages in every migration Movement namely:

- The motivation to migrate
- The social structure of the actual migratory process
- The absorption o immigrants within the cultural framework of the new society.

The stage most relevant to the present study was stage three. Studies of migration and immigration involve the process of physical movement and the consequences of the relationship between the host and migrant. Smedley (1977), Groenewald (1977), Reitzes (1995) and Mattes, Taylor, McDonald, Poore and Richmond (1999) concentrated on the adjustment problems of immigrants to the new surroundings, ignoring any impact the new comer had on the receiving society (Brehm and Kassim 1996). The present study concentrated on the "host" rather than the immigrant. An issue of crucial importance for social psychology in Africa, particularly in South Africa, was that of intergroup relations. In a society where divisions between groups dominate the reality of existence, it is essential that psychologists attempt to understand the forces underlying these conflicts.

2.3 ANIMAL AGGRESSION

Scott and Fredericson (1950) reviewed a number of studies of the causes of Fighting in mice and rats and many of their observations seem relevant to animal aggression generally. Scott and Fredericson (1950) established two main classes of instigations to hostility, depending upon whether there was obvious competition between animals or not. Aggression incited by competition clearly did not stem from a constantly operative instinctive drive to hostility. Aggression incited by competition was utilized as an attempt to achieve some goal, or as reaction to frustrations largely representing obstructions to the attainment of a goal.

2.3.1 DOMINANCE

Dominance is a type of competitive fighting, it is hostility instigated by striving for positions and dominance. Conflicts over food, mates or nesting sites were defined as being the service of biological aims. There is little doubt that dominance hierarchies existed in many different animal groups. A wide variety of species compete for the dominant status in any assemblage of any form (Berkowitz 1962). Chickens established "pecking orders" in which hens aggressed against other hens in their flock. In these "pecking orders", attacked chickens retaliated. The attacking hens never attacked other hens above them in "power hierarchy". This behavior in chickens was also found to pertain to the social behavior of many different birds and mammals and even lizards and fish (Scott 1958).

In many animal species, when a number of organisms strange to each other were grouped together, there was a period of active fighting that resulted in a dominating victor and subordinate loser. Peace emerged with structuring of relationships among organisms. In potential competitions the dominant animals exhibited aggressive behaviour while the subordinate displayed defensive behavior or attempted to escape (Storr 1958). There were real benefits obtained through winning superior status and aggression was the instrumental in pursuing these benefits. Dominant organisms according to Berkowitz (1962), generally had greater freedom of movement than those subordinate to them. Dominant animals had greater access to food, mates and desirable territory.

Storr (1958) found that thirsty rats struggled and fought with one another over a water fountain at which only one animal could drink but similar behavior was not observed when water was available for all thirsty rats to drink at the same time. Scott and Fredericson (1950) found that mice which were not hungry did not compete or fight for a piece of food introduced into the cage. On the other hand, mice which had been starved for 24 hours or longer struggled for a piece of food and occasionally bit or wrestled the opponent. This was observed as early as 29 days of age in mice. Efforts were directed toward the possession of food and attacks stopped as soon as food was gotten.

2.4 HUMAN AGGRESSION THEORIES

2.4.1 PSYCHOANALYTIC THEORY

Several of the most eminent minds of the 20th century sought the causes of war in human nature. Freud maintained that human behaviour was largely governed by the interplay of two main instincts, sexual and ego instincts. He believed neurotics were ill because of their repression of experiences associated with their sexual desires (Berkowitz 1962). This repression came about because of the anxieties motivated by the ego instincts serving the purpose of self preservation. The pleasure striving had to be altered, postponed or inhibited altogether because of the demands of the external world.

The ego instincts operated under the "reality principle". The ego was said to have encountered the "pleasure principle". At this time Freud did not conceive of aggression as a primary drive, rather he felt that aggressive impulses resulted mainly from frustrations (Berkowitz 1962). As time went by, Freud no longer believe that aggression was necessarily a product of frustration of the sexual impulses (Thompson 1957, Birkowitz 1962). His new theory was based upon the assumption of two opposing instincts, the fundamental contrast of life, (Eros) and death (Thanatos) drives, the former resulting in the continuation of life, the latter having death as its aim. Freud thought of all instincts as having an important property, they all sought the lessening of stimulation.

Libidinal striving brought relief from sexual tension and the death instinct the elimination of the tension of life itself (Berkowitz 1962).

Psychoanalytically oriented writers since Freud have taken three different positions regarding the nature of the aggressive drive. A few still hold to the original notion of a death instinct while others maintain that the impetus to hostility arises from frustration of one form or another (Berkowitz 1962). Once we can bring ourselves to abandon the pleasure principle, it is easy to accept the idea of obstacles and the mastery of the external world, for all of which aggression is necessary are as much innate human needs as sexuality and hunger (Storr 1958).

2.4.2 FRUSTRATION AND AGGRESSION

There can be little doubt that the social antecedent of aggression that received the greatest amount of attention from psychologists is frustration. Frustration is the blocking of an ongoing goal directed response (Baron 1977). It was assumed that the thwarting by one individual of another's goal directed behaviours was often a strong elicitor of aggressive reactions (Baron 1977). Aggression hypothesis in its initial form suggested that:

- Frustration always lead to some form of aggression.
- Aggression was always the result of frustration.

However, both portions of the hypothesis were now generally viewed as being far too sweeping in scope. Frustration does not always lead to aggression, and such behaviour frequently stemmed from other factors aside from thwarting. Rejection of these relatively extreme suggestions however, in no way necessitated rejection of the more moderate view that frustration was simple one of the several important determinants of aggression.

The modified version of the frustration -- aggression hypothesis gained popularity and was accepted by several investigators (Baron 1977). Berkowitz (1962), the most famous Proponent of the frustration aggression hypothesis, stated that "a frustration event increases the probability that the thwarted organisms will act out aggressively soon afterward ... under some conditions there is an increased likelihood of aggressive behaviour following a frustration ..." (Berkowitz 1969:23).

2.4.3 FRUSTRATION – AGGRESSION HYPOTHESIS

The frustration -aggression hypothesis postulated that when an action or desire was blocked, the energy which motivated behaviour did not simply dissipate but remained as a form of arousal. This arousal instigated aggression against the cause of the frustration or displaced it onto another object or person (Berkowitz 1962).

The notion that frustration enhanced aggression still enjoy widespread support. A well-known study conducted by Mallick and Candles (1966) supported the above hypothesis. In this experiment, children in one group (**the frustration condition**) were prevented by a confederate from completing a series of simple tasks and so obtaining monetary rewards. Those in the second group (**the no-frustration condition**) were not thwarted by the confederate. When later provided with an opportunity to aggress against the confederate, those who had been thwarted were indeed more aggressive than those who had been permitted to complete the tasks. Unfortunately, interpretation of these seemingly clear – cut results is clouded by one important fact, at the same time the confederate thwarted the subjects, he directed a number of sarcastic and potentially anger provoking comments. As a result it is difficult to determine whether aggression towards the confederate was primarily because of his thwarting actions, primarily because of his irritating comments, or as a result of both factors (Baron 1977).

During the past 15 years, a number of investigations conducted by many different researchers in several independent laboratories have reported that various forms of Frustration are often totally ineffective in enhancing overt aggression in research participants (Baron 1977).

An investigation conducted by Adorno (1950), supported the view that frustration did not always lead to aggression. In this study male subjects were asked to play the role of a teacher and instruct another individual (actually and accomplice) in certain activities. On each occasion when the learner made an error in mastering these activities, the subjects were instructed to administer electric shocks (at their discretion) which could vary from very mild to intense. The strength of their tendency to aggress against the victim was then assessed in terms of the magnitude of the shocks they chose to deliver.

In one experimental condition (**the know – how group**), the participants were told that if they did their job well, the learner would succeed in mastering the experimental material in 30 trials. In a second group (**the grades condition**) they were provided with the same information and were also informed that their performance as a teacher would be reported to their college instructor and could conceivably affect their course grades. Finally, in a third group, subjects were given no information regarding the number of trials generally required for mastery of the experimental materials and were told nothing about the possible impact of their performance on their grades. During the course of the study, the confederate followed a prearranged pattern of responses and failed to master the required items until the 70th trial. Since the subjects in the **know – how and grades group** expected him to complete his training within 30 trials, they were of necessity prevented from reaching the goal of serving as effective teachers. In short, they were frustrated by the confederate's actions. Group experienced frustration because they knew that their performance as teachers would affect their grades. In contrast participants in the control group, who had no specific expectations regarding the number of trials required to successful learning were not expected to experience frustration during the session as far as they knew, they were succeeding in their roles as teachers. If, as is often assumed, frustration enhanced overt aggression, it would have direct stronger shocks to the confederate than those in the control group.

Assuming that the stronger the frustration experienced the greater the level of aggression Produced, participants in the **grades – group** would have been expected to deliver stronger shocks than those in the **know – how condition**. Subjects in all experimental Conditions delivered essentially similar levels of shock to the confederate. Convincing as this study appear to be, it remains merely a suggestive instance in which frustration failed to enhance aggression (Baron 1977)

Hovland and Sears (1940) supports the view that frustration causes aggression. Hovland and Sears (1940) computed trend lines for the value of cotton between 1922 and 1930 including the trend lines for both the total lynchings and the number of lynchings of Negroes in America. Deviation from the general trend in cotton valued was found to be negatively related to deviations from the trend in the number of lynchings. This indicated that unexpected financial losses which produced severe and unanticipated interference with economic actions determined whether there were high numbers of lynchings in the southern states of America. There seemed to be relatively little doubt that unusual changes in the value of cotton bore something of inverse relationship to an unusual change in the number of Negro lynching. The data suggested hostility was endangered in Southern whites by their economic frustration or perhaps by unexpected frustrations. This hostility could have been directed against Negroes because they represented an increased threat to jobs and status superiority during the times of business depression in the South. It is important to note that, other factors during this period (Hovland and Sears 1940). Other factors that could have influenced attitudes are culture, social structure, personality and demography (Rogers 1973).

2.4.4 AGGRESSION AND CULTURE

Ideas, beliefs, and values of a society are principal influences upon the development and expression of the attitudes of its members. Attitudes are evaluations of a person and groups and such evaluation is generally provided by its culture (Rogers 1973). Since intergroup attitudes are shared, they are social phenomena and must be understood in relation to the social and cultural context in which they occur (Rogers 1973). It would be expected for people from one cultural group to have similar attitudes.

2.4.5 AGGRESSION AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE

Attitudes vary with the membership and position of individuals in various groups. People in government positions are expected to have different beliefs and feelings from people "on the streets". Parents are also expected to have different beliefs and feelings from unmarried and newly-wed people. Priests and ministers similarly possess a body of knowledge and fill roles which require attitudes different from laymen (Rogers 1973). This theory was supported by the study done by the Centre for International and Comparative Politics at Stellenbosch University in 1994. The study concentrated on political parties, the ANC, IFP, PAC, DP, FF and NP. To the question of whether illegal immigrants were the cause of unemployment the responses by political party affiliates was as follows:

FF – 97% agreed

NP – 83% agreed

IFP – 75% agreed 16.6% disagreed and 8.3% uncertain

DP – 63% agreed 21.3% disagreed and 15.5% uncertain

ANC- 46% agreed 34% disagreed and 15.9% uncertain

There were different opinions from different political affiliates. Social scientists generally agree that a family's position in the social stratification system has a considerable effect on the behaviour pattern, attitudes and values of the family members (Berkowitz 1962).

If social class was a restricted learning environment, people within any one social stratum would have more frequent contact with one another than they do with members of other social stratum. Many important learning experiences are shared by people from the same social class and not by people from the other strata. The child of a middle-class family greatly concerned with maintaining its social "respectability" would probably acquire aspirations, codes of conduct, and attitudes not possessed by children whose family are exceedingly wealthy and secure in their status or by children from the lowest social strata (Berkowitz 1962).

Sociology have suggested that children growing up in different social classes often also learned different attitudes towards aggression. Empirical evidence indicates that the influence of social class on aggressive behavior is somewhat complicated.

In order to assess the directness of the aggression customarily addressed by teenagers, a psychology administered a projective test in which teenage boys were to complete stories, all telling how a boy was frustrated by a older person he either feared or loved. The ending supplied by the youngster were coded for their directness of the aggression exhibited by the hero, presumably indicative of the strength of the story teller's own restraints against aggression. The results showed that there were no reliable between the middle-class and working -class boys in this sample. The working -class boys seemed as inhibited as their middle- class peer when all of the hostile incidents were taken into consideration.

Although social level was not significantly associated with aggression directness, parental discipline was reliably related to this measure. Parents favouring psychological disciplinary techniques such as; attempting to manipulate by expressing disappointment, appealing to the child's pride, or arousing guilt or shame, tendent to have children displaying predominantly inhibited, indirect hostility. In contrast the aggression in the story endings composed by physically punished youngsters was typically more direct and unrestrained. All in all, the type of parental discipline appears to be a stronger determinant of the directness with which the teenager express the aggression than does social class. This does not say that social class is unimportant. The lower-class may not of itself lead to habitually weak inhibitions against hostility.

If working-class boys - exhibited more open and unrestrained aggression than do middle-class boys, such a difference could have resulted, at least in part, from differences in the differences in the disciplinary techniques generally favoured by working-class and middle parents (Berkowitz 1962).

2.4.6 AGGRESSIVENESS AND SEX

There is relatively doubt that a relation exists between aggressiveness and two other physically characteristics, sex and age. In most of the animal kingdom, males tend to be more aggressive than females. To cite but one investigation supporting such common place generalization, a study of thirty adult chimpanzees at the Yerkes laboratory in Florida (United States) demonstrated that males performed more acts of direct, open hostility than females (Berkowitz 1962).

As for human aggression, boys were more aggressive than girls in middle childhood and adolescence. Both learning and biological factors seemed to play a part in producing the differences. Castrated male animals are usually not as aggressive as their non-castrated peers (Berkowitz 1962). Any given obstruction to goal-directed activity may actually mean more of a deprivation to one gender than the other. For example, and experimenter's derogation of the leadership or intellectual capabilities of his college student subjects, intended to raise their ire, produced stronger aggressive responses from men than from women because the former typically have stronger ambitions to excel in leadership and intellectual ability (McClelland 1953).

Stronger drives are thwarted, producing more intense emotional reactions. Similarly, woman often have stronger needs for affiliation and social success than men. Men have stronger aggressive habits than women and generally make stronger hostile responses, while women often have stronger inhibitions against direct aggression than men (Berkowitz 1962). Similarly, the present study hoped to find differences in attitudes between men and women toward foreigners.

2.4.7 AGGRESSION AND AGE

Form and intensity of aggressive reactions to frustration vary with a person's age (Berkowitz 1962). Storrs' (1958) study of aggression in young children pointed to the development of internal controls with increasing age. Specific motor and language responses began to increase as the child grew older and indirect modes of aggression such as whining became more frequent. Older children were more likely to have learned alternative courses of action so that any one obstacle generally resulted in smaller degrees of interference and therefore producing weaker reactions.

2.4.8 AGGRESSION AND PERSONALITY

Most social scientist seem to agree that aggressive personalities are the product of many severe emotional thwartings (Berkowitz 1962). According to Berkowitz (1962) parental frustrations frequently do lead to strong aggressive tendencies in children. Conditions such as parental disharmony seem to be related to aggressiveness habits in children. Psychoanalytic conceptions and the frustration – aggression hypothesis maintain that frequent thwartings yield to a heightened instigation to aggression. We certainly cannot satisfactorily explain the development of every hostile boy merely by saying he has been frustrated (Bandura 1960). Frequent deprivations through childhood may lead to withdrawal reactions or apathy as well as to habitual aggression. However, there are other factors involved in the development of the hostile personality.

And attitude has been defined as a component of personality and a considerable number of experimental studies have demonstrated that attitudes are other traits and dimensions of personality. Adorno (1950) traced personality differences between subjects with high and low scores on tests of racial and religious prejudice. Briefly, Adorno found a strong relation between anti-Negro and anti-Catholic attitudes on one hand, and emotional instability on the other.

2.4.9 AGGRESSION AND HOME LANGUAGE

Home language also seems to play a significant role in determining attitudes individuals will have towards other people. This view is supported by a study done by Smedley (1977) on the attitudes of White South Africans towards the Chinese. In this study, respondents whose home language was Afrikaans were less in favour of the immigrants than respondents whose home language was English.

2.5 OTHER THEORIES

The flow of humans across national and cultural boundaries is more active than ever before. In a single year, millions around the world relocate from country to country. Among those who relocate are, diplomats, businessman, researchers, asylum seekers and refugees who are on the move across societal boundaries in search of freedom, security and economic betterment (Rajeki 1998).

Studies of immigrants have been conducted in most major receiving countries like the United States. Most of these studies concentrate on the adjustment problems of immigrants to their new surroundings, ignoring any impact the newcomers might have on the receiving society (Rajeki 1998). Research done in most countries reflects that people in most societies either have a positive or a negative attitude towards foreigners.

Newcomb, Turner and Converse (1975) found that there was a positive relationship between economic deprivation and prejudice. Prejudice is a negative attitude toward the outgroup. Newcomb et al (1975) found that the Chinese were welcomed during the period of gold rush in California because of labor shortage. The Americans didn't want to work on these low paying jobs. During the economic depression after the world war, the same Americans who had welcomed the Chinese, found themselves in competition with Chinese for jobs. Although the Chinese had been regarded with great respect when their services were needed, they were now the object of considerable resentment and ridicule. In contrast, towards the Southern States where industrialization was progressive and the economy in a positive direction, there was no prejudice towards the Chinese.

The **theory of realistic group conflict** argues that when two groups are in competition for scarce resources, they threaten each other. This creates hostility between them and thus produces mutually negative evaluations. So prejudice is an inevitable consequence of a reality conflict over resources both groups want (Sears et al 1991).

Another motivational theory focuses on the subjective feeling of being deprived as a source of intergroup antagonism. The feeling of being deprived relative to other people is called relative deprivation (Sears et al 1991). For example in a fast growing economy, but they usually improve more slowly for others. This would create feelings of relative deprivation among them. This in turn might lead to antagonism against the favoured group (Sears et al 1991).

There are two kinds of relative deprivation. One is more potent than the other. There is egoistic deprivation and fraternal deprivation. Egoistic deprivation is the feeling that we, ourselves, are deprived relative to other people with whom we compare. Fraternal deprivation on the other hand is a feeling that our group is deprived relative to other groups **regardless of whether or not we, ourselves are**. The threat is to "us" not to "me". In America, whites who were not affected by mixed student busses were upset about it even if they lived in towns with no blacks at all. The mixed busses signaled a displacement of whites by blacks (Sears et al 1991).

Categorization is an important factor in attitude against foreigners. In categorization, people are classified into groups based on skin colour, body type, clothing and accents which differentiates foreigners from natives (Sears et al 1991). With categorization, people are also classified into two groups: the ingroup and the outgroup.

The outgroup is seen as more homogenous than the ingroup in terms of traits and personality – “they are all alike and we are quite diverse”. The implications are that we tend to perceive members of an outgroup as alike rather than perceiving them as “diverse” (Sears et al 1991).

2.6 SOUTH AFRICAN ATTITUDES TOWARDS IMMIGRANTS : PRE ELECTIONS

South Africa is a country that has been founded on immigrants, the countries of Western Europe providing the principal settlers until 1867 when the discovery of diamond deposits in Kimberly, and of gold-bearing reefs some twenty year later led to a change in both the tempo and character of immigration (Gurzynski 1967). More than 900 000 people settled in South Africa in the period 1924 to 1975, of those +472 000 were from United Kingdom, +74 500 were from Germany +32 100 were from Italy, 56 900 were from Netherlands, +20 600 were from Greece, while +8 400 were from China (Smedley 1977).

The influx of immigrants to South Africa was solely the result of the machinery set up for the attraction and processing of foreign workers capable of alleviating the shortage of skilled manpower, skill being one of the main criteria for acceptability (Smedley 1977).

2.6.1 SOUTH AFRICAN ATTITUDES TOWARD THE CHINESE

The Chinese in South Africa are an ethnic group which is defined by race, religion and national origin (Gordon 1964). The first Chinese to enter South Africa did so in the early years of the nineteenth century when South African was short of skilled labor. In 1815, the Chinese responded to John Burrow's suggestion, that labor shortage might be alleviated by importing Chinese craftsmen. A number of Chinese craftsmen signed up an agreement to work in South Africa. Subsequent arrivals from China were mainly skilled artisans and merchants from Canton and Moi Yan. Many of the Chinese fled from Kimberley to the seaports during the Anglo Boer War. The immigration of Chinese miners to South Africa followed in the wake of the Anglo Boer War which had left as its aftermath, a country requiring structural rebuilding. Additional labor was being sought for the post-war reconstruction of industrial areas. The mine managers having set out to show that Bantu labor was untrustworthy, irregular and insufficient, antagonized the general public by insisting that the Chinese labor would be imported. Public opinion on the other hand, held that the Chinese would be a disruptive element (Smedley 1977).

The Chinese presence on the Witwatersrand did cause serious tension and the Chinese were quickly stereotyped as cruel, revengeful and emotional. On June 7 1905, the first White was killed in a riot against the Chinese. Accusation of blackmail, extortion, opium smoking and smuggling increased. The hostility expressed by the whites towards the Chinese would appear to have been a reaction to the circumstances surrounding the importation of mass unskilled labor specifically rather than the result of any deep-rooted antagonism towards the Chinese per se. In 1975, data on the attitudes of the white population group towards the Chinese minority in South Africa was collected by means of a multi-purpose survey.

The survey was conducted by the institute for Sociological Demographic and Criminological Research. Opinions and attitudes were sought from randomly selected men and women aged between twenty and fifty-nine years. The survey constituted 5 000 respondents.

The results showed that, although the attitudes of males and females did not differ markedly, males expressed attitudes which were slightly more tolerant towards the Chinese than those of the females. Sixty-five percent of the male respondents and 57,5 percent of the female respondents respectively felt that the Chinese community in South Africa had more or less attained the level of development of the whites. Sixty-nine percent of the respondents had no objection to living nearby the Chinese, while 77,6 percent did not object to Chinese being admitted to Cinemas for whites. Compared to 55.4 percent of the Afrikaans speaking respondents, 88.2 percent of the English speaking respondents had no objection to the Chinese living nearby. Over three times as many Afrikaans speaking males (26.4%) as English speaking males (7%) would object to Chinese participation in sport in the company of whites, while five times more Afrikaans speaking male whites (6.1%) objected to the Chinese being admitted to cinemas with whites. The differences between these two language groups were found to be even greater amongst the female respondents.

With regard to occupation, the highest percentages of intolerant attitudes were found amongst male respondents (Farmers and Fisherman) group. As a result of the fact that these occupations are undertaken in isolated conditions and demand a "traditional" lifestyle, they are perhaps understandably the occupations of most resistance. Similarly the highest percentages of intolerant attitudes for female respondents were found amongst the housewives. Toleration was found to increase with income amongst both male and female respondents with regard to the Chinese living nearby, participating in sport and being admitted to cinemas. With decreasing urbanization, attitudes towards the Chinese became less tolerant.

In 1975 the Institute for Sociological, Demographic and Criminological Research of the Human Sciences Research Council initiated a long-term research programme into immigration. Opinions on and attitudes towards immigrants in general and the British, German, Dutch, Portuguese, Italian and Greek immigrant groups in particular were sought from five thousand randomly selected men and women aged between 20-59 years.

Similar trends in attitudes toward immigrants were found as those found in attitudes towards the Chinese. For instance respondents whose home language was Afrikaans were less in favour of the immigration of the six immigrant groups to South Africa than respondents whose home language was English. Similarly in this study, more respondents in higher status occupations than in lower status occupations expressed favourable attitudes towards the immigration of members of the six immigrant groups to South Africa, as did more respondents with higher than with lower educational qualifications and more respondents with higher than with lower incomes.

It would appear that language plays an important role in determining attitudes towards immigrants, hence home language is part of the variables in the study to be conducted. The researcher expects to find differences in attitudes amongst Afrikaans, English, Xhosa, Zulu and Sotho respondents at the university of Zululand.

Level of Education, status of occupations seemed to play a significant role in determining attitudes towards the immigrants. Similarly in the study to be conducted level of seniority by the respondents is expected to play a major role in determining the attitudes of lecturers towards aliens. In the present study Senior lecturers would also be expected to have favourable attitudes as compared to junior lecturers. Similarly males and females are also expected to have different attitudes toward aliens.

2.6.2 ATTITUDES OF SOUTH AFRICANS TOWARD FOREIGNERS : POST-ELECTIONS

One of the results of the influx of illegal and legal aliens has been the growth of the public expression of xenophobia (the fear, hatred or distrust of strangers or foreigners). There has also been a noticeable increase in letters to the editor in a number of newspapers, the majority of these letters have expressed anti foreigner sentiments (Minaar and Hough 1996).

The growth of xenophobia was highlighted in a report by the Southern African Catholic Bishops Conference, released on 17 May 1995. This report, with the express aim of lobbying all persons concerned for a more human approach to the treatment of immigrants, refugees and displaced people, stated that:

There is no doubt that there is a very high level of xenophobia in our country The impression is given that illegal immigrants are flooding the country and the nation's social fabric is threatened by illegal fleeing economic, political and social upheavals in their countries. When the question of prostitution, money laundering, arms and drug trafficking are raised, more times than not they are linked to the question of immigrants ... One of the main problems is that a variety of different people have been lumped together under the title of illegal immigrants and the whole situation of demonizing immigrants is feeding the xenophobia phenomenon" (Minaar and Hough 1996:174).

Furthermore, this xenophobia, to a degree results from perceptions of the effect that aliens might have on the success of the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP). According to Minaar and Hough (1996), expectations of improved social and economic conditions have been created internally with the advent of a democratic government and the proposals contained in the RDP. If the state fails to respond rapidly, this will encourage a tendency to blame the outsider. South Africans can no longer blame an illegitimate apartheid state for their condition. The temptation will be to shift the blame somewhere else, the most likely scapegoat is the foreigner.

In early August 1994, speaking on SABC's CCV program *Newsline*, the minister of Home Affairs, Dr Buthelezi stated that the cabinet had identified the issue of aliens as a priority because "if we are to scramble for scarce resources with these people we might as well forget about the Reconstruction and Development Programme" (Minaar and Hough 1996:183). In interviews with members of the public, Minaar and Hough (1996) found that members of the public expressed a number of anti-alien sentiments such as "We don't want them here," "No one can find work and these people come to steal and sell dagga". Many complain that foreigners (not necessarily illegal aliens) overcrowd black townships, smuggle in weapons, deal in drugs or hire themselves out as thugs and gunmen to various political factions or taxi associations. Such comments are a combination of perceptions and the resentment by those who are unemployed and impoverished.

Despite efforts by various political leaders, union organisers and civics to defuse the high levels of anti-foreigner sentiments in townships, these perceptions persist regardless of whether they are correct or not. For those who are unemployed and struggling to survive, foreigners remain a scapegoat for the myriad of problems within South African society (Minaar and Hough 1996).

Septi Bakula of the Centre of Business Development at the university of Witwatersrand put it this way: It is natural for those who feel threatened by the new order to organise themselves to resist it and attempt as far as possible to entrench the status quo. In order to garner support and strengthen their cause, they will identify a "common enemy"... and use as targets for their anger ...(Minaar and Hough1996:177).

Resentment against foreigners in the townships was indicated by the people of Alexandra in 1994. In late December 1994 and January 1995 armed gangs of youth, claiming to be members of the local African National Congress, South African Communist Party (SACP) and South African National Civic Organization (SANCO) in Alexandra, carried out a concerted campaign of intimidation and terror against foreigners. The campaign was dubbed operation Buyelekhaya (**go back home**). They specifically targeted Shangaan speakers, Zimbabweans and other residents with 'dark complexions' by throwing them and their possessions out of their homes and flats. Some of those targeted had their homes burnt down and their possessions looted. Others were frogmarched to the local police station, where it was demanded they be removed immediately. The gangs claimed that the foreigners (some in the country legally) were 'taking jobs away from South Africans' (Minaar and Hough1996).

Perceptions of the impact of aliens on health and living conditions came very clearly to the foreigners during a report back meeting for research results (Health Survey of Thabong done by the HSRC in December 1994) in the Thabong township near Welkom. At this report back meeting, numerous participants expressed their resentment at the presence of many "illegals" in their township. The meeting participants complained about foreigners being illiterate, dirty, not feeding their babies properly, bringing diseases (particularly sexually transmitted diseases) and increasing squatting in the area (Minaar and Hough1996). These perceptions were confirmed by a survey in 1994 by the centre for Policy Studies in Johannesburg, which found that anti-foreign sentiments were growing in black communities were not limited to a few malcontents but rather widespread among members of the general public.

This survey found that locals blamed foreigners for a variety of social ills affecting townships. The primary objection was that unskilled people from poorer countries increase unemployment and undercut the wage claims of South Africans (Minaar and Hough 1996).

One of the organisations in the forefront of fanning resentments against foreigners has been the African Chamber of Hawkers and Independent Businessmen (ACHIB). Its president, Lawrence Mavundla, has publicly and vociferously objected to illegals saying they are ruining locals hawkers since they have an unfair advantage, using stolen goods or illegally importing goods for which no import dues were paid (Minaar and Hough, 1996). ACHIB expressed its concern about the influx of illegals saying that: "People who have no right to be in the country are robbing South Africans of opportunities in the marketplace" (Minaar and Hough 1996:188).

Clashes between South Africans and foreigners has not only happened in the streets and townships alone. Mines have also experienced clashes. In clashes between Xhosa and Shangaan speaking miners at the Rose Deep Hostel at Primrose Gold Mine in Germiston in 1995, seven people were killed and 26 injured. Of the more than 1000 miners employed at this mine, 60% were from Mozambique (Minaar and Hough 1996). On the surface, the fighting between the two groups appeared to have started after an intoxicated Xhosa miner assaulted a Shangaan speaker. However, after all the fighting, the Shangaan miners claimed that the Xhosa miners deliberately organised the "party" to lure the Shangaans to their death. A spokesperson for the Shangaans said that the Xhosa miners perceived the Shangaans as a threat to their jobs and wanted them to leave the mine. The Shangaans felt that they were no longer needed in South Africa.

For their part, the Xhosa miners accused the Shangaans of thwarting their efforts to secure higher wages by not engaging in strike activities and accepting low pay. The Xhosa miners also accused the mine management of dividing the workforce by saying that the Shangaans were hard working and were prepared to work for less. They claimed that mine management had threatened to fire all the Xhosa and Sotho miners and to replace them with Shangaans. It was perceptions like these that resulted in the fighting between the two groups (Minaar and Hough1996).

Soon after the Primrose Gold Mine clashes, further clashes occurred between two groups of miners, this time at the Vaal Reefs Gold Mine near Orkney in the Free State. On 8/9 April 1995, fighting between Xhosa and Sotho speaking miners from Lesotho left 14 dead and 56 injured (Minaar and Hough1996). The fighting was attributed to antagonism between Xhosa and Sotho speaking miners, with the Xhosa speakers being accused of being unwilling to accommodate workers from neighbouring African countries. Mine management also claimed that foreign migrant workers had become concerned about job security and feared that they would be the first to lose their jobs in the ongoing restructuring taking place on the mines. After the violence at Vaal Reefs, the hostels were effectively divided into two groups (Minaar and Hough1996).

The xenophobia tensions in places like Alexandra and on the mines led to a spillover in other areas. In May 1995 the following pamphlet circulated on sugar farms in the Empangeni area, where large numbers of Shangaans from Mozambique worked as cane cutters: "All the Shangaans that work on farms must leave the farms by 9 and 10 May [1995]. This operation has already been started in Johannesburg and Durban. Now we are here in Empangeni. There will be no sympathy for you [Shangaans]. We want the salaries to be high. (Minaar and Hough1996:193)".

In the late 1980's farmers in the area were given permission to employ Shangaans without having to register them, but this exemption was withdrawn in 1995. However, with the economic hard times and continuing retrenchments on the mines, migrant workers returning to the area who previously would have looked down on working on farms, were now far more prepared to take jobs on the farms. Consequently they viewed Shangaans on the farms as a threat to employment on farms (Minaar and Hough 1996).

According to Minaar and Hough (1996) since April 1994 elections increasing numbers of letters to the editor of various newspapers expressed anti-illegal sentiments. In the letters a number of issues were mentioned, the most prominent were:

- **Illegals /foreigners were involved in criminal activities** such as mugging, robberies, car hijacking, drug smuggling and smuggling of weapons and are responsible for the alarming increase in the crime rate.
- **Illegals /foreigners were infiltrating the cities, suburbs, townships and squatter camps taking away the available housing.**

According to some letters, areas like Berthams, Hillbrow, Berea and Jeppe were turning into ghettos populated largely by foreigners. It was felt that the government was ignoring the fact that there was currently a big housing shortage for South African citizens let alone for the increasing numbers of aliens.

- **The growing numbers of illegal aliens add to the decay of inner cities.**

It was felt by some correspondents that the growing numbers of illegals / foreigners were adding to the decay of the central business districts of South Africa's major cities and that the situation would become worse in future if the influx of illegals was not stopped.

- **Illegals / foreigners took away jobs from South Africans.**

It was felt that despite South Africa's high unemployment rate, foreigners were pouring into the country to seek employment. The feeling was widely expressed that all jobless South Africans should first be accommodated before foreigners are employed. This point can be summed aptly by Kaiser Nyatumba in the Star (1994) in Minaar and Hough (1996), he poses a question that: "In a country with such a high rate of unemployment, with men and woman are breadwinners roaming the streets of our townships and cities during the day, how can we still afford to give jobs and shelter to so many immigrants"?

- **Illegals / foreigners were prepared to work for very low wages and are thus destroying the workers struggle for better pay and working conditions.** Some stated that black South Africans had worked for years for very low wages and struggled to obtain better working conditions and higher wages. Therefore it was not fair that foreigners could come to the country and destroy everything that the workers had worked for in the past.

- **Illegals / foreigners were a threat to the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP)**

It was felt that South African taxpayer's money, which should be directed to the RDP was being used to accommodate the foreigners in terms of education, medical care and housing. It was strongly emphasised in some letters that South Africans were now entitled to a better life after their struggle during the apartheid years. However, it was felt that South African blacks were still suffering although they were responsible for the new government. Their lives had not changed while immigrants, whose loyalties lay elsewhere were getting all the advantages ('fruits') of the struggle.

- The perception was also expressed in some letters that since the illegals were responsible for the conditions in their countries, many South Africans were unsympathetic toward them. In other words, people from countries like Malawi and Nigeria, having allowed themselves to be ruled by dictators who ruined their economies, were victims of situations of their own creation, as opposed to South Africans, who had struggled against oppression.

There were also some letters in favour of accommodating aliens in South Africa. In these letters the following reason for this were given:

- **Illegals / Foreigners were not as involved in crime as some people suggest.** The following questions in this regard were often posed: How many of the millions removed were arrested for offences other than illegal entry to the country? How many foreigners are actually linked to drug trade? In this connection it was felt that South Africans must first be sure that their facts are accurate before blaming foreigners for the increasing crime rate.
- **During the apartheid years South African exiles were accommodated in neighbouring countries.** The argument here was that now South Africa should repay these countries' hospitality and goodwill by accommodating citizens from these and other African countries.
- **Some of the illegals were no longer foreigners since they had been in the country for many years.** Here examples of the many foreigners recruited to work on the mines (contract migrant labour) who subsequently married South Africans or who had brought their families to live with them. These families had now been assimilated and absorbed (culturally, economically and politically) into South African society. In addition, Mozambican refugees had also been in the country for several years as a result of the war and subsequent economic collapse of Mozambique, in a war which the South African government played an important role with regard to support for rebel forces in Mozambique.

- **The immigration laws still serve the interests of whites as was the case in the past.**

In the apartheid years blacks were barred from entering the country while whites were allowed to easily come in and settle and obtain permanent residence. The perception in the letters was that this system still currently operated, since immigration was in control of the same white officials from the apartheid era.

- **Illegals from Africa had a right to be in the country.** Some people were of the opinion that their African brothers have a right to be in South Africa. The Pan African ideology that sought to do away with borders created by “foreigners” (colonialists) was also referred to here. Immigrants argued that South Africa was an integral part of Africa. However, there were people like Professor Vilakazi, a product of the University of Zululand who supported immigration. In his letter published on City Press (1998) he wrote: “Other countries, like Europe and the United States, grew powerful importing foreign skills and so should South Africa. We know that this country, especially under the last regime, encouraged whites from every corner of the world to come and settle in South Africa, mainly to add to the missing skills needed in our economy, as well as to fulfill the political aim of increasing the numbers of whites compared to Africans. We saw no articles in white newspapers about tensions and struggles between white South Africans and these white immigrants, and neither were there TV shows on the issue, simply because it was a non-issue. People from other regions of the world are invited into a country primarily for economic reasons, as well as for the political reason for building a nation.”

The white rulers of America and Europe forcefully brought Africans to America, the Caribbean, and South America, for economic reasons, as slaves, hence the African diaspora, amongst which we count African-Americans. The white rulers of the US did not envision Africans in their midst as material for the political aim for building up the US as a nation. Even the "Great Emancipator", himself, Abraham Lincoln, wondered aloud whether Africans, who helped build America with their sweat and blood during the days of slavery, might not be shipped back to Africa, for their own good as well as for the good of America. For, Lincoln felt, they could not be assimilated into the American nation as equals with whites. Other millions of people from Europe came as ordinary labourers, for the economic building of the country as well as for the political construction of a nation.

The US, in particular, craves for the educated, technological, and scientific skills of people from every corner of the world, especially if they are white, for the purpose of developing the American economy and society. In this way they maintained their powerful position in the world. To this end, the US made it easy, by law, for people with special skills, to come to America and enjoy instant success. After the last World War, the US raided defeated Germany for German scientists and engineers. A key name here was Werner von Braun, who with a team of many German scientists, based in Alabama, together with US scientists, helped create the US space industry.

The academic life of America was also enormously enriched by many immigrants, in the social sciences and humanities. The US has also raided the former Soviet Union for their excellent scientists and mathematicians. And they became a great nation, towering above other nations of the world, albeit containing within itself the unwanted African community, now called African-Americans, who carried the stigma of having once been slaves.

The rulers of Israel invite Jews from the rest of the world for the political aim of building a great nation, although Black Jews are not yet treated as the equals of White Jews. In the process Israel benefited enormously from the skills of the immigrants. The key point is development. Development creates wealth and with it less tension amongst the inhabitants of any country. Where there is no development space shrinks. By that I mean occupations and wealth becomes the preserve of only the few. With undevelopment comes conflict between locals and foreigners. The rulers of white nations have been wise enough to seek talent and skills from anywhere in the world. We Africans need to learn this lesson from the leaders of White nations but also to go one step further by creating wealth and occupation, i.e space, for everyone in society. That includes local and immigrant, white and black, so that tension, spite, hatred or conflict can be all but eliminated once and for all. A remarkable feature of development in India today is that a very large bulk of development investment and talent going into India is from the Indian diaspora distributed in the US and Europe. Likewise, the largest bulk of investment funds and talents going into developing Asian Tiger nations is from the Asian diaspora as well. What is even more striking is that China, in spite of her communist ideology, is also seeking out its own diaspora.

Why should the situation be different in Africa? Why should we not also work to mobilize the investment funds and talents available in the African diaspora for development purposes? Minister Nkosazana Zuma has been wise enough to garner the medical health and medical talent of Cuba to bolster medical services in South Africa so we should do the same regarding the material and intellectual wealth of the African-American community in the US. This then is the main principle we should all adopt. If we do so, we can all become winners" (Vilakazi 1998:17)

RESUME

This chapter focused on studies that have been done on attitudes against immigrants in South Africa. It is clear that there have always been people who support immigrants and those who do not. Previous research results have shown that variables like age, sex, income, personality, race and home language play an important role in determining ones' attitudes toward immigrants. The following chapter will focus on research design and methodology.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents research design methodology employed in collecting data.

The aim of this study is to identify and compare the attitudes of south African lectures at the university of Zululand towards the immigrants. In this chapter, the research instrument, sample, administration of the scale and rationale for research technology are discussed.

3.2 SAMPLING PROCEDURE

Sampling essentially consists of obtaining information from a portion of a larger group or universe. It aims at getting information, which can be regarded as representation of the whole. The representativeness implies possession of the essential characteristics of the whole. Random sampling is conventionally regarded as the most reliable sampling technique if every significant characteristic of the universe is to be represented in the sample. The research techniques for any scientific research project are determined by the nature of the project, it is not always possible for the researcher to follow convention in the choice of his methodological techniques and procedures.

Respondents in this study were all University of Zululand lecturers. Foreigners who were lecturers at the University of Zululand were excluded from the sample eighty questionnaires were sent to prospective respondents through postal boxes and hand deliveries to four faculties at the University of Zululand. Twenty-two lecturers replied while others did not. The sample of the present study is comprised of those lecturers who filled in their questionnaires from all four faculties at the University of Zululand. The response rate was approximately 30% from all four faculties namely Arts, Commerce, Education and Science.

With regard to home language, research has shown that language plays an important role in determining the attitudes of an individual towards others. For instance Smedley (1977) found that respondents whose home language was Afrikaans were less favorable to immigrants than respondents whose home language was English.

There is relatively little doubt that a relation exists between aggressiveness and two other physical characteristics sex and age. In most species of the animal Kingdom. Males tend to be more aggressive than their female counterparts. To cite but one investigation supporting such common place generalization a study of thirty adult chimpanzees at the Yerkes laboratory in Florida demonstrated that male chimpanzees performed more acts of direct open hostility than female chimpanzees (Berkowitz 1962).

Similarly in the present study males were expected to have unfavorable attitudes towards immigrants compared to females. Rank or level of seniority was included as one of the variables because attitudes vary with membership and position of individuals in various groups. In the present study negative attitudes towards immigrants are expected to decrease with higher rank and income. The above hypothesis is supported by a study done by Groenewald (1977) where the percentage of male and female respondents who felt that immigrants should not be allowed in South Africa decreased with increasing income.

3.3 THE RESEARCH INSTRUMENT

Smedley (1977), Mattes et al (1977), Groenewald (1977) and Reitzes (1995) concentrated on the attitudes of South Africans (general population) toward immigrants. The present study focused on the attitudes of South African lecturers toward immigrants.

Focus in this study was on lecturers rather than the general population. One of the earliest scales used in the measurement of attitudes has been the Borgardus Social distance scale (Groenewald 1977). Such a social distance scale lists a number of relationships to which members might be admitted and the relationships to which members of the ingroup are willing to admit members of the outgroup. Attitudes are measured by the closeness of the relationship that the ingroup is willing to accept.

The social distance scale used in this research whilst following the intrinsic idea put forward by Borgardus, has been modified and adapted to suit the purposes of the present study. Some of the items on the instrument were adapted from the anti-semitism, Jewish a and anti-Negro scales. Some items were constructed by the researcher to suit the needs of the present study hence their validity might be questionable. The instrument used by the researcher comprised 26 items to which subjects responded on a five – point likert continuum, from strongly agree to strongly disagree. The research instrument consisted two sections. The first section consisted of personal particulars while the second section contained 26 items, these items were used in measuring attitudes in this study. Respondents were notified of the confidentiality of data given.

3.4 PLANNING FOR ANALYSIS OF DATA

The instrument used comprised of 26 items. Subjects responded to each item on a five-point likert continuum. For positive items, the response alternatives were weighted from 5 (strongly agree) to 1 (strongly disagree). Weights for the negative alternatives were reversed. High scores reflected positive attitudes towards aliens while low scores reflected negative attitudes.

When collecting data, the following steps were followed:

- To determine the cut-off point for positive or negative attitudes the grade total was divided by the number of respondents.
- Average and above average were indicated by positive attitudes while below average was indicated negative attitudes.
- Frequencies for each cell were counted.
- Percentages for all variables were calculated.

3.5 RESUME

Data collected through process described in this chapter was analyzed and discussed in the following chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The main hypothesis of this research study was that most lecturers at the University of Zululand would be found to have negative attitudes towards immigrants. In this chapter the actual findings concerning the attitudes of the lecturers towards immigrants were summarized, discussed and interpreted. Results were also discussed and evaluated in relation to previous research findings in attitude studies.

4.2 ANALYSIS OF RESULTS

Results in table 1.1 were analyzed by adding all raw scores. Total scores were divided by the number of the respondents to determine the mean. The mean is the cut off point for negative and positive attitudes. Scores falling below the mean were negative while those falling above the mean were positive. Percentages for all variables were calculated.

Total scores = 1999

No. of respondents 22

Mean = 90.86

Total percentage below the mean = 36%

Total percentage above the mean = 64%

Table 1.1

RESPONDENT NO	SCORE
01	95
02	46
03	92
04	95
05	94
06	101
07	67
08	92
09	79
10	96
11	92
12	92
13	82
14	116
15	103
16	80
17	102
18	80
19	105
20	117
21	104
22	89
TOTAL	1999

Table 1.1 outlines total scores for each respondent. Detailed scores on each item of the scale in: Appendix A

Table 1.2

		ATTITUDES		
		POSITIVE	NEGATIVE	TOTAL
AGE	25 - 30	5 (71.42%)	2 (28.57%)	7
	30 - 35	5 (83.33%)	1 (16.66%)	6
	34 - 40	2 (50%)	2 (50%)	4
	40 & above	2 (40%)	3 (60%)	5
TOTAL		14	8	22

4.2.1 AGE AND ATTITUDES

Results in table 1.2 show that 71.42% of respondents in the youngest age group (25-30) had positive attitudes towards immigrants. On the other hand 28.57% of this age group had negative attitudes towards immigrants. The highest percentage of negative attitudes was found among the oldest age group (40 years old and above). In this age group (40 and above) 60% of respondents had negative attitudes towards immigrants while 40% had positive attitudes towards immigrants. The highest percentage of positive attitudes towards immigrants was found in 30 - 35 age group of respondents. In this age group 83.33% of respondents had positive attitudes towards immigrants while only 16.66% of respondents had negative attitudes towards immigrants. The age group 35 - 40 had equal number of respondents having positive attitudes and negative attitudes towards immigrants.

Table 1.3

		ATTITUDES		
		POSITIVE	NEGATIVE	TOTAL
SEX	MALE	9	3	12
	FEMALE	5	5	10
TOTAL		14	8	22

4.2.2 SEX AND ATTITUDES

Results in table 1.2 show that 75% of males had positive attitudes towards immigrants while 25% of males had negative attitudes towards immigrants. Female respondents had equal number of respondents having negative and positive attitudes towards immigrants.

Table 1.4

		ATTITUDES		
		POSITIVE	NEGATIVE	TOTAL
RACE	BLACKS	8 (61.43%)	5 (38.46%)	13
	INDIANS	1	0	1
	WHITES	6 (75%)	2 (25%)	8
TOTAL		15	7	22

4.2.3 RACE AND ATTITUDES

Only three race groups formed part of the study. Results in table 1.4 above reflect that most blacks (61.53%) had positive attitudes towards immigrants while 38.46% of blacks had negative attitudes towards immigrants, 75% white respondents had positive attitudes towards immigrants while only 25% had negative attitudes towards immigrants.

Table 1.5

		ATTITUDES		
		POSITIVE	NEGATIVE	TOTAL
HOME LANGUAGE	AFRIKAANS	4 (80%)	1 (20%)	5
	ENGLISH	2 (66%)	1 (34%)	3
	ZULU	6 (54.54%)	5 (45.45%)	11
	OTHER	3	0	3
TOTAL		15	7	22

4.2.4 HOME LANGUAGE AND ATTITUDES

Results in table 1.5 show that 80% of Afrikaans speakers had positive attitudes towards immigrants while few (20%) Afrikaans speakers had negative attitudes towards immigrants. Most English speakers (66%) had positive attitudes towards immigrants while 34% of them had negative attitudes towards immigrants. Zulu speakers comprised the largest group of respondents, 54.54% of Zulu speakers had positive attitudes towards immigrants while 45.45% of Zulu respondents had negative attitudes towards immigrants.

DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

Since the 1994 national elections the issue of immigration had become increasingly topical and controversial in South Africa. Official reactions over the past few years had been based on the assumption that immigration was primarily a non-military issue and that immigrants had a negative social and economic impact (Reitzes 1995). Many South African citizens and elected representatives, most notably Minister of Home Affairs Mangosuthu Buthelezi perceived immigrants as threats to successful implementation of the Reconstruction Development Program. Immigrants were said to exacerbate Already high levels of unemployment and were said to be involved in crime (Reitzes 1998).

South Africa had the most restrictive attitudes towards immigration of all countries surveyed in the world. (Mattes, Taylor, McDonald, Poore, Richmond 1999). Table 1.7 illustrates the view that South Africa had the most restrictive attitudes towards immigration compared to most countries with comparable data in the world.

According to a study done by the South African Migration Project (Samp) entitled "Still Waiting for the Barbarians", South Africans had restrictive attitudes toward immigrants since 1995. Mattes et al (1999) found that 25% of South Africans thought the government should deport all foreigners regardless of their status. The study by Samp influenced the researcher to think that most lecturers at the University of Zululand would be found to have negative attitudes towards Immigrants.

TABLE 2: South African attitudes to immigration in international perspective

	Let anyone in who wants to enter (%)	Let people come as long as there are jobs available (%)	Place strict limits on the numbers of foreigners who can come here (%)	Prohibit people coming here from other countries (%)	Don't know (%)
South Africa (1997)	6	17	45	25	7
South Africa (1995)	6	29	49	16	0
Russia (1995)	6	48	28	18	2
Philippines (1995)	9	16	63	12	0
Peru (1995)	8	39	40	12	4
China (1995)	7	33	40	11	9
Argentina (1995)	8	49	31	9	3
United States (1995)	5	32	53	8	0
Finland (1995)	8	30	51	8	3
Taiwan (1995)	2	16	30	7	45
Japan (1995)	4	41	40	6	8
Chile (1995)	10	50	31	7	1
Nigeria (1995)	18	37	40	6	3
Spain (1995)	14	55	23	4	3
Zimbabwe (1997)	16	30	48	4	0
Australia (1995)	5	52	39	3	2
Southern Mozambique (1997)	12	61	23	2	0
Sweden (1995)	8	32	55	1	3
Lesotho (1997)	61	23	12	3	1

Source: SAMP Three Nations Migratory Study

On the attitudes of whites towards the Chinese in South Africa Smedley (1977) found that most whites expressed hostility towards the Chinese. Hostility towards the Chinese was a reaction to the circumstances surrounding the importation of mass skilled and unskilled labor rather than the result of any deep rooted antagonism towards the Chinese. Reitzes (1995) found most South Africans to have anti-immigrant sentiments resulting from the stated concern that foreigners represented unfair competition for scarce economic opportunities and resources. Minaar and Hough (1996) also found that letters to the editor in a number of newspapers expressed anti-foreigner sentiments. The people of Alexandra indicated resentment against foreigners in the townships in 1994. in a campaign dubbed operation Buyelekhaya (go back home) foreigners were targeted especially those with dark complexions (Minaar and Hough 1996). Minaar and Hough (1996) also found that clashes between South Africans and foreign miners occurred. The Vice Chancellor and Rector of the University of Zululand published a one-page circular in 1998 denouncing racism and xenophobia.

Contrary to studies by Reitzes (1998), Minaar and Hough (1996), Smedley (1977), Mattes et al (1999), South African lecturers at University of Zululand were found have positive attitudes towards immigrants in the present study. Results clearly show that 64% of lecturers at the University of Zululand have positive attitudes towards immigrants while 36% have negative attitudes. Results of the present study could have been influenced by the status of immigrants at the University of Zululand. All immigrants at the University of Zululand were presumed to be "legal" in South Africa and well educated. Immigrants could have been seen as bringing in skills needed by South Africans at the University of Zululand.

Professor Vilakazi (1998) stated that other countries like the United States grew powerfully importing foreign skills and that the academic life of America was enormously enriched by immigrants in the social sciences and humanities. This supports the view that immigrants with skills could be perceived differently. It is common knowledge that there was little outcry over the importation of Cuban doctors because South Africa has a shortage of medical doctors. If Cuban teachers were imported instead of doctors there could have been a huge outcry among South Africans because there are so many unemployed teachers in South Africa. However this view remains highly speculative until further research. The Constitutional court of South Africa applied the equality provision of the constitution to foreign citizens prohibiting them from being permanently employed as teachers in state schools (Mattes et al 1999). This law was probably instated to protect South Africans from competing with foreigners for scarce jobs and resources.

Mattes et al (1999) focused on attitudes towards immigration policy, attitudes towards deportation, attitudes towards legalizing the status of undocumented migrants and attitudes towards rights for non-citizens. Mattes et al (1999) found that attitudes were positive towards preferential treatment for certain immigrants with 61% of respondents saying people with skills should be given preferential treatment. *Table 1.8.* Illustrates the view that people with skills were perceived differently from those without skills.

Table 1.8

TABLE 5: Attitudes towards preferential treatment for certain immigrants					
With regard to letting people into SA and returning them to their own country, should the government give any special preferences to: _____?	Total	African	White	Colored	Asian
	(% who said "yes")				
Those with needed skills	61	54	33	37	39
Those with contacts to work on the mines	49	54	33	37	39
Refugees who are escaping war and famine in other countries	33	36	15	39	23
Europeans / North Americans	30	34	24	18	15
Southern African	27	33	9	17	14
Other Africans	22	27	8	11	12
N=3,500					

According to Minaar and Hough (1996), South Africans generally did not make a distinction between an illegal immigrant and a legal immigrant. Immigrants in South Africa were known to be involved in criminal activities and in "taking away" jobs and housing meant for South Africans. According to Crutchfield and Ballachey (1962), the way foreigners were treated was determined by the hosts' beliefs, feelings, and their dispositions to respond to foreigners. These feelings, thoughts and action tendencies were interrelated to form a system. Once entrenched these attitudes were hard to change.

If Smedley (1977), Reitzes (1995), Minaar et al (1999), Minaar and Hough (1996) found anti-immigrant sentiments and if attitudes towards immigrants were hard to change why is it that positive attitudes towards immigrants were found in the present study? The reasons could be that Smedley (1977), Reitzes (1995), Mattes et al (1999), Minaar and Hough (1996) concentrated on the general population while the present study focused on lecturers at the University of Zululand. General attitude studies have shown that people in different social strata have different attitudes. The attitude of a child of a middle-class family greatly concerned with maintaining its social "respectability" would probably acquire aspirations, codes of conduct and attitudes not possessed by children whose families were exceedingly wealthy or by that children from the lowest strata (Berkowitz 1962). Sociologists have suggested that children growing up in different social classes often also learned different attitudes towards other people. In a study on aggression, Berkowitz (1962) found that working-class boys exhibited more open and unrestrained aggression than middle-class boys and such a difference was in part, a result of difference in the disciplinary techniques generally favored by working-class and middle-class parents.

In studies where the general population was surveyed unemployed people formed part of the sample. It would appear that unemployed people saw themselves in direct competition for jobs with immigrants, and had negative attitudes towards them. According to realistic conflict theory, prejudice was likely to be found among people who fear that the quality of their lives was being threatened by the outgroup (Brehm and Kassim 1996). The simplest explanation for this conflict was competition. Direct competition for valuable but limited resources breeds hostility. Sherif (1961) illustrated how eleven year olds (all white) in a camp related in *competitive environments*.

Sheriff (1961) separated two groups of boys and each of group created its own culture. They called each other "Rattlers" and "Eagles". They competed against each other in football, treasure hunt, tug-of-war and other events. The winning team of each event was awarded points while the tournament winner was promised a trophy and medals. Almost overnight the groups turned into hostile antagonists. The rivalry escalated into a full-scale war. Group flags were burned, cabins were ransacked and a food fight that resembled a riot exploded in the mess hall. This "recipe" is not limited to boys at a summer camp. Intense animosity was also aroused among a thousand corporate executives who were placed in competing groups as part of a management training program (Blake and Mouton 1984 in Brehm and Kassin 1996).

Mattes et al (1999) found that 37% of respondents felt that immigrants were a threat to jobs and the economy. If realistic conflict theory were correct prejudice was likely to be found only among people who feared that the quality of their lives was being threatened by an outgroup. Other motivational theories focus on the subjective feeling of being deprived as a source of intergroup antagonism. According to fraternal deprivation theory the key discontent was that "our group" was deprived relative to "other groups" regardless of whether or not "we" ourselves were. The threat were to "us" not to "me" (Sears et al 1992).

If fraternal deprivation were true most lecturers at the University of Zululand were then expected to have negative attitudes towards immigrants even though they were not "competing" for jobs with immigrants. Brehm and Kassin (1996) found that white Americans who were not affected by desegregated schools and low-income housing were just as prejudiced against blacks as those whites who were personally touched by these policies. Fraternal deprivation theory did not seem to be applicable among the majority of lecturers at the University of Zululand.

Although the majority of lecturers (61%) were found to have positive attitudes towards immigrants at the University of Zululand, their response on three items which indicated "competition" was not positive. The three items were"

Item 12 "immigrants should be employed only in those occupations where black South Africans are not found or available".

Item 12 "immigrants should not be considered for leadership positions in our Universities".

Item 26 "one way of improving our education system is to put an end to black Alien (expatriate) appointments".

In response to item 19 "immigrants should only be employed in those positions where South Africans are not available", 95% of respondents agreed with this principle. Clearly South Africans were not against any appointment of immigrants. They simply preferred South Africans to be considered first for any appointment. If no South African was found for those positions and immigrant could then be employed, as is the case with Cuban doctors. Human beings are not hostile by nature. In competitive situations human beings feel threatened and protective (Brehm and Kassir 1996).

The question raised was, if there were jobs available for everyone who needed them and economy was growing at a rate which created more jobs than people who needed them would people have negative attitudes towards outgroups or immigrants? Newcomb et al (1975) found that the Chinese were welcomed in California during the period of gold rush when there was labor shortage. The same Americans who had welcomed the Chinese found themselves in competition with the Chinese for jobs during the periods of economic recession.

Although the Chinese immigrants had been regarded with the great respect when their services were needed they became objects of considerable resentment and prejudice during periods of economic recession. Contrary to California tensions, towards the South America where industrialization was progressive and the economy in the positive direction, there was no prejudice towards the Chinese (Newcomb et al 1975). Hovland and Sears (1940) also found a correlation between cotton prices and the number lynchings. The higher the prices of cotton the less the number of lynching that were recorded while the lower the cotton prices the higher the number of lynchings that were recorded. It is important to take into consideration that cotton prices alone were not responsible for lynchings, other factors could have influenced the lynchings.

If South Africa was not in a prime financial position, inflation was high, there was a high rate of unemployment and crime, why is it that lecturers at the University of Zululand were found to have positive attitudes towards immigrants even though the University was presumed to be in a bad financial state? According to Newcomb et al (1975) and Hovland and Sears (1940) lecturers at the University of Zululand were supposed to have had negative attitudes towards immigrants because of the bad economic position of the country and the university. Results of the present study could have been influenced by personalities of respondents, knowledge respondents had about immigrants and contact that respondents had with immigrants. If South Africans stereotyped immigrants as people who take away jobs from South Africans, as threats to the Reconstruction and Development Program, as being involved in criminal activities and as bringing in diseases to South Africa, these stereotypes would have influenced perceptions about immigrants. If most lecturers at the University of Zululand viewed immigrants in such a stereotypic way then results of the present study would have been negative rather than positive.

Prejudice is the evaluation of a group or of a single individual based mainly on the persons group membership. Usually it is a negative evaluation (Sears et al 1992). Could it be that lecturers at the University of Zululand are not prejudicial? Item 19 clearly illustrates that South Africans should first be considered for positions before immigrants are employed. Mattes et al (1999) found that most South Africans are against granting equal rights to immigrants as citizens. Large percentages of respondents in his survey oppose offering African immigrants the same access to a house as a South African (54%), the right to citizenship (44%) and the same access to education (39%). The results of this survey are illustrated by Table 1.9 below.

Table 1.9

Attitudes towards rights for immigrants					
What about government policy towards people from other African countries who are in South Africa? Would you support or oppose giving them.....?	Total African White Coloured Asian (% Opposed)				
The same access to medical service As South Africans	3 9	3 4	6 1	4 1	3 8
The same access to a house as South Africans	5 4	5 0	6 9	5 9	7 5
The same access to education as South Africans	3 9	3 6	5 7	3 8	4 4
The right to vote as South Africans	5 3	4 9	7 4	5 8	5 3
The right to become a citizen of South Africa	4 4	4 4	5 1	3 4	4 7

Results by Mattes et al (1999) also indicated the tendency to favor the ingroup compared to the outgroup. Negative attitudes towards immigrants as a result of competition have also been recorded in other countries. Diamond (1998) found that in the United States one frequently made argument for restricting immigration was that such reform was necessary in order to protect and especially vulnerable segment of the African-American community from competing with newly arrived immigrants.

Booker T. Washington gave his famous speech in Atlanta to an audience of businessmen in the United States. According to Diamond (1998) Booker T. Washington told of a ship lost at sea, its crew dying of thirst, approaching another ship. When asked for water, the captain of the second vessel called out "cast down your buckets where you are" Washington then drew the parallel "to those of the white race who look to the incoming of foreign birth and strange tongue and habits for the prosperity of the South ... Cast down your buckets where you are. Cast it down among the eight...." (Washington 1886 : 220 in Diamond 1998:455). Between 1850 and 1882 more than 320 000 Chinese laborers came to the United States. They worked on railroads, ranches, plantations and mines. A number of blacks publicly condemned the recruitment of immigrants (Diamond 1998). During this period there were instances of tolerance and cooperation between blacks and Chinese but the general tenor of black opinion was unfavorable. According to one black Californian the Chinese face "... is expressive of nothing but stupidity ... there is no room for the disease breeding, miserly, clannish and heathen" (Diamond 1998:453).

Hostility among competitors has not been seen exclusively among human beings, animals have known to be aggressive against their competitors. The behavior of wild animals is often supposed to be violently and destructively aggressive. We often use the word "jungle" when describing sections of human society which are especially ruthless and rapacious. This picture of cruel behavior is actually distorted. Whilst it is of course true that animals destroy each other, killing is only habitual when the relationship between animals is that of predator to prey (Storr 1958). In fact, animals of dissimilar species usually take little notice of one another, unless one happens to prey upon the other or unless both species eat the same kind of food and were therefore competitors in the struggle for survival (Storr 1958). It is obvious that if an animal was competing with another for food it would need to be aggressive. Since by far the majority of animal competitors were members of the same species, it is not surprising to discover that, in nature, aggressive behavior was predominantly intra-specific rather than interspecific.

The real threat to an animal comes from the neighbor of the same kind who wants the same food rather than an alien creature whose needs are quite dissimilar (Storr 1958). The present study did not intend to compare animals with human beings but tried to draw a parallel of what happened when there was competition among these two species. Like human beings, animals fight for their space. For territorial animals a territory is an area of space, whether of water, earth or air, which an animal preserve. Territoriality has the effect of spacing out the habitat between individuals so that each can secure an adequate share of the available food supply. This view elucidates that South Africans may not be hostile by nature but might be reacting to a situation they perceive as threatening.

Reitzes (1998) stated that anti-immigrant sentiments resulted largely from the stated concern that foreigners represented possible contamination of a national identity and South African way of life. Contrary to the present results, Johnson (1997) found that Americans believed that immigration of people of Asian and Hispanic background made it hard to maintain American traditions and the American way of life. Reitzes (1998) found that 1% of South Africans believed immigrants should not be allowed into the country because of cultural differences. Results by Reitzes (1998) might indicate that most South Africans were worried about job security compared to South African traditions or South African "ways of life".

In response to Item 26 "one way of improving our education system is to put and end to black immigrants (alien) appointments", 40% of the respondents thought it was a good idea while 60% thought it was a bad idea. On the Item 26 and Item 20 "it is a good thing to have black immigrants in our departments they increase black representation", the researcher deliberately stated black immigrants because there had been rumors at the university of Zululand and protests at the University of North West and University of Transkei where it was alleged that black immigrants were taken as affirmative action appointees instead of black south Africans. Mattes et al (1999) found that there were marked differences between black and white respondents on attitudes towards immigrants. He found that black South Africans were much more willing than other South Africans to make exceptions for miners and those with needed skills. Mattes et al 1999 also found that white respondents clearly distinguished between non-citizens on the basis of where they came from. Whites were much less willing to countenance a policy that favored African immigrants over those from Europe or North America. What is perhaps more surprising is that black South Africans also favored immigrants from Europe and North America over those from Southern Africa and the rest of Africa.

Reasons for this were unclear but might relate to the perception that African immigrants were a drain on the country and competed directly for scarce resources with black South Africans while white immigrants were viewed as bringing in investments and in the process creating jobs for South Africans.

Results of the present study indicate that male respondents (75%) had positive attitudes towards immigrants at the University of Zululand. On the other hand only 50% of female respondents were found to have positive attitudes towards immigrants at the University of Zululand. Conventional wisdom would have expected more females than males to have positive attitudes towards immigrants.

There is relatively little doubt that a relation exists between aggressiveness and sex. In most species of the animal kingdom males tend to be more aggressive than females. A study of thirty chimpanzees at the Yerkes laboratory in Florida demonstrated that male chimpanzees (Berkowitz 1962). In human beings, boys are said to be more aggressive than girls in middle childhood and adolescence. Learning and biological factors seem to play a significant role in producing the differences. When boys grow up they are taught to be tough, while girls are taught to be sensitive and caring. Maclelland (1953) found that men produced stronger aggressive responses than woman, who had stronger needs for affiliation and social success than men. Berkowitz (1962) found that men had stronger aggressiveness habits than females and that females generally inhibit direct aggression more than men. Smedley (1977) found that although attitudes which were slightly more tolerant towards the Chinese in South Africa than females. Smedley (1977) also found that 65% of the male respondents and 57,5% of the female respondents respectively felt that Chinese community in South Africa had more or less attained the same the level of development as whites.

The high percentage of woman with negative attitudes towards immigrants could be explained by the fact that female respondents in the present study were educated, independent thinkers and probably feminists fighting against traditional roles defined by men.

Over 50% of respondents in four age groups were found to have positive attitudes towards immigrants. Positive attitudes did not increase with increasing age nor decrease with increasing age and vice-versa but randomly increased or decreased in different age groups. Age in this study clearly did not play a significant role determining attitudes of respondents. Results of the present study were in contrast to results found by Storr (1958). In a study of aggression in young children, Storr (1958) found that older children were more likely to have learned alternate courses of action to aggression than young children.

Smedley (1977) found that respondents whose home language was Afrikaans were less in favor of immigrants compared to respondents whose home language was English. A smaller percentage of Afrikaans speakers preferred British immigrants as neighbors while most English speakers did not prefer Germans as neighbors and least preferred Greek and Portuguese neighbors. Contrary to Smedley (1977) the highest percentage of positive attitudes towards immigrants was found among Afrikaans speakers in the present study. Zulu speakers were found to have the lowest percentage of positive attitudes towards immigrants. Generally all language speakers were found to have non-restrictive attitudes towards immigrants.

According to the South African Migration Project, South Africa had the most restrictive attitudes towards immigration of any country that had been surveyed in the world (Mattes et al 1999). If South Africa had the most restrictive attitudes towards immigrants why were results in the present study so positive? The answer might lie on the phrasing of some items on the scale. Most items were extremely hostile and prejudicial hence most lecturers would have responded negatively towards them. The following were some of the hostile and prejudicial items on the scale:

Item 2 "black immigrants cannot be trusted"

Item 3 "immigrants should be deported"

Item 5 "I can never live in the same neighborhood with an immigrant"

Item 6 "immigrants are disease breeding people"

Item 10 " my child will marry an immigrant over my dead body"

Item 11 "there should be separate toilets for immigrants and South Africans in our departments".

More than 90% of the respondents disagreed with all of the above items. Mattes et al (1999) asked similar questions in a nation wide survey and found the following results illustrated in table 2.2 clearly indicate that South Africans wanted strict limitations to immigration.

Table 2.1

Likelihood of taking action against foreigners					
How likely is it that you would take part in action to prevent people who come to SA from other countries in Southern Africa from doing the following activities?	Total	African	White	Coloured	Asian
(% who said 'likely' or 'very likely')					
Moving into your neighborhood	34	36	32	27	25
Operating a business in your area	34	35	32	26	23
Sitting in class with your child	31	34	27	22	17
Becoming one of your co-workers	32	35	27	24	18

Table 2.2

South African attitudes to immigration					
How about people from other countries coming to South Africa? Which one of the following do you think the government should do? (%)	Total	African	White	Coloured	Asian
Let anyone in who wants to enter	6	7	2	3	3
Let people come as long as there are jobs available	17	15	26	21	9
Place strict limits on the number of foreigners who can come	45	42	49	57	46
Prohibit people coming from other countries	25	28	8	9	33
Don't know	7	8	6	11	9

Positive results in the present study could have been as a result of the publication of the Rectors' circular which denounced racism and xenophobia at the University of Zululand. The circular was published in 1998 during the same time that data for the present study was being collected.

The Rectors' comments could have prevented some lecturers from being honest about their feelings. Professor Dlamini (1998) clearly stated that there were allegations of racism and xenophobia on campus and that the constitution contained a bill of rights that proscribed unfair discrimination based on race, color, sex, gender, social and national origin. This meant that the University was not going to tolerate any discriminatory conduct or utterances, based on racist tendencies or xenophobia. According to the circular, members of staff were supposed to respect the credo of the University and any person who made disparaging remarks about others was going to be disciplined. These strong sentiments from the Rector could have prevented respondents from giving their "natural" answers. The results of the present study might also indicate that most lecturers at the University of Zululand were not prejudiced against immigrants. Such a high percentage of positive results among University of Zululand lecturers could be explained by looking at some of the items on the scale. Some respondents felt offended by specific items on the scale hence could have strongly disagreed with those items. For instance most lecturers disagreed with calling immigrants "aliens" because they were not from Mars. Suggestions were made to the researcher by some respondents. The following are some of the suggestions made by the respondents:

"instead of paying low wages to immigrants they should rather be heavily taxed"

"those immigrants without South African interests at heart should not be employed"

"South Africans should get first preference"

"some immigrants are pleasant people while others aren't like any other group of people"

The fact that 10% of lecturers believed that all immigrants should be deported irrespective of their status is a cause for concern. South Africa is said to have the most restrictive attitudes towards immigration and immigrants. To what extent might opposition to immigration turn into actual anti-immigrant actions? Are intolerant attitudes going to lead to anti-social behavior? Mattes et al (1999) asked respondents how likely was it that they would take part in action to prevent people to come to South Africa. One third of respondents said it was likely, 34% said they would try to prevent a foreign national from moving into their neighborhood and 32% said it was likely that they would try to prevent foreign nationals from sitting in a class with their child. It is important to remember that attitudes do not always translate into action and that the responses represent pre-dispositions to act in a certain way, not intentions. The fact that the respondent said he or she would act does not mean they would actually do it when the time came or when they had met the actual person because the abstract concept of "foreigner" might be concretized into an actual and perhaps likable person. Secondly people may never be in the position to act on these attitudes (Mattes et al 1999).

Rank or level of seniority did not influence the nature of attitudes of South African lecturers at the University of Zululand. Whether senior or junior the majority of lecturers had different attitudes towards immigrants. Results of the present study differ from those by Smedley (1977) where respondents in higher status occupations, with higher educational qualifications, higher incomes and resident in cities were found to have positive attitudes towards immigrants while those in lower status occupations and lower incomes were found to have negative attitudes towards immigrants. The sample obviously comprises intelligent people who are not swayed by rumors or public opinion but by their own thinking of the matter.

4.4

RESUME

The main hypothesis stated that most South African lecturers at the University of Zululand would be found to have negative attitudes towards immigrants. This hypothesis has been nullified by the findings of the present study, because most South African lecturers at the University of Zululand were found to have positive attitudes towards immigrants, irrespective of them being male or female, young or old. Results of the present study differ from those by Matshazi (1997), who found that lecturers at the University of the North were prejudiced against immigrants. Matshazi (1997) found that most lecturers had negative attitudes towards "African" immigrants. Mattes et al (1999) also found that black South Africans favored immigrants from Europe and North America over those from Southern Africa and the rest of Africa. Whites were also less willing to countenance a policy that favored immigrants over those from Europe or North America.

University of Zululand's lecturers appeared to be less prejudiced against immigrants compared to the University of the North's lecturers and the general population in South Africa. The outcome of results was an indication of acceptance of other people as "human beings" regardless of where they came from. Results could also be a reflection of hospitality "ubuntu" by Zululand's lecturers as was experienced by the researcher. During the time that research was conducted, the researcher was well received even though he came from another province.

CHAPTER FIVE

5.1 INTRODUCTION

In the previous chapter it was found that most South African lecturers do not have negative attitudes toward immigrants. In this chapter summaries of the findings, recommendations and limitations are presented.

5.2 FINDINGS

The following were the findings of the present study:

- 64% of lecturers at the University of Zululand had positive attitudes toward immigrants.
- 36% of lecturers at the University of Zululand had negative attitudes toward immigrants.
- 75% of male lecturers at the University of Zululand had positive attitudes toward immigrants while 25% of male lecturers at the University of Zululand had negative attitudes toward immigrants.
- 50% of female lecturers at the University of Zululand had positive attitudes toward immigrants while the other 50% of female lecturers at the University of Zululand had negative attitudes toward immigrants.
- 80% of Afrikaans speaking lecturers at the University of Zululand had positive attitudes toward immigrants while 20% of Afrikaans speaking lecturers had negative attitudes toward immigrants.
- 66% of English speaking lecturers at the University of Zululand had positive attitudes toward the immigrants while 34% of English speaking lecturers had negative attitudes toward immigrants.

- 54% of Zulu speaking lecturers at the University of Zululand had positive attitudes toward immigrants while 46% of Zulu speaking lecturers had negative attitudes toward immigrants at the University of Zululand.
- 61% of Black lecturers at the University of Zululand had positive attitudes toward immigrants while 39% of Black lecturers had negative attitudes toward immigrants.
- 75% of White lecturers had positive attitudes toward immigrants at the University of Zululand while 25% of South African lecturers and the University of Zululand had negative attitudes toward immigrants.

5.2.1 LIMITATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The present study was about the attitudes of South African lecturers toward immigrants. Interviews were solely done with South African academics, excluding immigrants themselves. Immigrants would have been at a better position to explain whether they experienced any negative attitudes against them or not. If immigrants were included in the sample the results would have been more representative. One of the weakest forms of sampling was used and it could have impacted on the outcome of the results.

Respondents were too sophisticated for some items on the scale. Only racist, illiterate and prejudiced people would have answered negatively on these items. It is recommended that future researchers consider including immigrants as part of the sample if a similar study was conducted. It would also be recommended that some items on the scale be revised to suit the sample and that a larger sample be used for future research.

$0 \pm$ [illegible]

Dear Prof/Dr/Sir/Mrs/Ms

All of us are busier these days than we should be and most of us have a hard time keeping abreast of those obligations which are essential and required. I know how little extras sometimes receive our best intentions, but we also know that in reality none of us have the time we would desire to fulfill those intentions.

Submitted to you is a copy of the questionnaire, I hope you will try and find fifteen minutes somewhere in your busy schedule to check and complete its several items. Please submit it to Prof. Sibaya or his postal box (Department of Educational Psychology).

The information collected will be used in my Dissertation (MA. Clinical Psychology).

I shall appreciate your kindness.

Yours sincerely

V. Matshazi

To the respondent: You are not obliged to fill in your name but all other information is essential.

☞ NB! All information obtained regarding personal detail will be kept strictly confidential.

NAME (OPTIONAL)	
AGE	
FACULTY	
DEPARTMENT	
SEX	
RANK (PROF/SENIOR OR JUNIOR LECTURER)	
RACE	

INTRODUCTION

1. Make a cross X in one of the five spaces next to each statement to indicate the degree of your agreement or disagreement.
2. The letters in spaces stand for:

<u>SA</u>	:	Strongly agree	<u>A</u>	:	Agree
<u>U</u>	:	Undecided	<u>D</u>	:	Disagree
<u>SD</u>	:	Strongly Disagree			

PROPOSED QUESTIONS

1. Immigrants are just as good as black South Africans.
SA____ A____ U____ D____ SD____
2. Immigrants cannot be trusted.
SA____ A____ U____ D____ SD____
3. Immigrants should all be deported.
SA____ A____ U____ D____ SD____
4. Immigrants are very pleasant people to live with.
SA____ A____ U____ D____ SD____
5. I can never live in the same neighbourhood with an immigrant.
SA____ A____ U____ D____ SD____
6. Immigrants are disease breeding people.
SA____ A____ U____ D____ SD____
7. Immigrants should be paid less wages than their South African counterparts.
SA____ A____ U____ D____ SD____

8. I can marry an immigrant.

SA____ A____ U____ D____ SD____

9. Immigrants use "muti" (black magic) to get employed.

SA____ A____ U____ D____ SD____

10. My child will marry an immigrant over my dead body.

SA____ A____ U____ D____ SD____

11. There should be separate toilets for immigrants and South Africans in our Departments.

SA____ A____ U____ D____ SD____

12. Black immigrants should never be considered for leadership positions in our universities in South Africa.

SA____ A____ U____ D____ SD____

13. I do not mind working under an immigrant.

SA____ A____ U____ D____ SD____

14. I like immigrants as long as if they are not members of the university council.

SA____ A____ U____ D____ SD____

15. I would resign if an immigrant was appointed head of or dean in my faculty.

SA____ A____ U____ D____ SD____

16. I have no problem with immigrants as long as their children do not play with mine.

SA____ A____ U____ D____ SD____

17. It's a good thing for South Africans and immigrants to intermarry.

SA____ A____ U____ D____ SD____

18. Black immigrants should be employed only in those occupations where black South Africans are not available.

SA____ A____ U____ D____ SD____

19. It's a good thing to have black immigrants in our Departments, they increase black representations.

SA____ A____ U____ D____ SD____

20. Immigrants should live in isolated residential areas with 24-hour patrol.

SA____ A____ U____ D____ SD____

21. I shall disown my child who dates an immigrant.

SA____ A____ U____ D____ SD____

22. I will move out of my neighbourhood if an immigrant were to buy property there.

SA____ A____ U____ D____ SD____

23. Nor wonder there is so much corruption in this university, it's because there are too many immigrants.

SA____ A____ U____ D____ SD____

24. I like working immigrants.

SA____ A____ U____ D____ SD____

25. One way of improving our education system is to put an end to immigrant appointments.

SA____ A____ U____ D____ SD____

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