UNIVERSITY OF ZULULAND

FACULTY OF COMMERCE, ADMINISTRATION AND LAW

For the degree of

Masters of Administration
In the field of

Public Administration

With the provisional title:
An Assessment of the Effects of Xenophobia on Social Integration in Isiphingo, KwaZulu-Natal Province

FACULTY OF COMMERCE, LAW, AND ADMINISTRATION

Candidate: Dlamini Nompumelelo Prudence
Student number: 201136303

Supervisor:

Dr. Toyin Cotties Adetiba

Date of submission:
October 2018

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my sons Alondwe, Oluhle, Sabelo Jr and Abongwe, Bandile, Sizwe, Wiseman II. For all those days you needed your mother around, but I was always at 'School', you couldn't understand this. Hopefully, this would make you understand that I carried you guys in my heart always.

Ngyanithanda Bo Sothondose

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

DECLARATION

I, **Nompumelelo Prudence Dlamini**, declare that the contents of this thesis represent my own unaided work, and the thesis has not previously been submitted for academic examinations towards any qualification. Moreover, it represents my own conclusions and not particularly those of the University of Zululand

_____   _____

Signed   Date

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CoRMSA	Consortium for Refugees and migrants in South Africa
DHA	Department of Home Affairs
DIR	Development Indicator Report
GCRO	Gauteng City- Region Observatory
HRF	Human Rights Foundation
HRW	Human Rights Watch
HSRC	Human Sciences Research Council
IDASA	Institute for Democracy in South Africa
ILO	International Labour Organisation
IOM	International Organization for Migration
IRA	Immigration Regulation Act
KZN	KwaZulu-Natal
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
RDP	Reconstruction Development Programme
SA	South Africa
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SAHRC	South African Human Rights Council
SAMP	South African Migration Project
SAPS	South African Police Services
Stats SA	Statistics South Africa
UN	United Nations
UNDESA	United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNRISD	United Nations Research Institute for Social Development
WSSD	World Summit on Sustainable Development

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

APPENDICES

ABSTRACT

Over two decades after South Africa's initial democratic 'baptism'; the country still struggles with social integration. With clear traces of its segregated, discriminatory past, the country continues to experience high levels of violence against foreign nationals; particularly African foreign nationals. Former President of South Africa, the late Nelson Mandela, proclaimed the country as a rainbow nation, one which will accommodate people of different nationalities and backgrounds. However, the world observed the occurrence of the much-publicized xenophobic attacks in 2008 and 2015. These attacks left many foreign nationals destitute, some dead and others displaced.

Historically during the apartheid era, South Africans found refuge in neighbouring African countries, mostly in the Southern African region. However, recent migration pattern reveals a reverse as other parts of the continent face political unrests and wars leading more Africans to seek refuge in South Africa and other parts of the continent and world. Sequel to the 2015 xenophobic violent outburst that first erupted in Isiphingo, the study assessed the effects of xenophobia on Social Integration in the society (Isiphingo). Prior to 2008 much publicized xenophobic violence it is a fact that Black foreign nationals are often attacked compared to other nationals. The study examined the role played by the South African government in enhancing social integration and eradicating xenophobia. The study argues that there are negative implications associated with the persistence of xenophobic violence towards foreign nationals, African foreign nationals in particular. This may hinder regional integration with other African countries in future.

 The study reveals that South Africa's previous experience of isolation from the international arena, government officials and the media are contributory factors which incite violence towards foreign nationals. Citizens lack proper understanding and knowledge in understanding the different categories of foreign nationals and the nature of their problems in their countries of origins. The results reveal that the South African government has been in denial of the existence of xenophobia in the country. Some expectations have been put on the government in correcting the mistakes of the past. However, at the realisation that change is not immediate South Africans retaliate and foreign nationals are used as scapegoats of these frustrations. There is no specific law that addresses xenophobic violence, and there has been a significant failure on the side of the government in addressing the root causes of xenophobia in South Africa. The study came with several recommendations, one being that the government of South Africa should not deny the existence of xenophobia in the country this will help in eradicating

it. There is a great need to come up with specific laws and policies that address the problem of xenophobia.

Keywords: Xenophobia, Isiphingo, Social integration, Southern Africa, Foreign nationals

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

CHAPTER FOUR: CASES OF XENOPHOBIA IN SOUTH AFRICA: TRENDS, CAUSES AND ACTORS

CHAPTER FIVE: DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

CHAPTER SIX: SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

<div align="center">

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

</div>

1.1 INTRODUCTION

In 1994, South Africa transited from the apartheid system to a democratic system, where the majority rules and everyone is constitutionally regarded as equal. For the first time in its long and turbulent history, South Africa had a truly representative and democratically elected government (Joubert 2008). After 1994, South Africa witnessed a number of refugees from around the world, Africans in particular who had fled their home countries due to ongoing wars, ethnic conflicts, and search for greater opportunities, personal safety and security found solace in South Africa. However, in the process of their integration, they have encountered numerous challenges due to the prevailing socio-economic problems and xenophobia in the former apartheid enclave. The present research study was initiated to assess the effects of xenophobia in social integration efforts particularly in Isiphingo, KwaZulu-Natal province. The reason for considering Isiphingo; an industrial area south of Durban, is due to the 2015 xenophobic violence which began from the area.

The first chapter looks at the background. It clearly outlines the research problem, pulls together the aim and objectives of the study, the key questions to be answered, the broader issues to be investigated as well as the underlying assumptions about xenophobia, it further considers the significance or the potential value of the study and provides an overview of the subsequent chapters.

1.2 BACKGROUND AND RATIONALE

It has been more than two decades since the 1994 elections which gave rise to the new South Africa. The country boasts of being one of the most diverse nations in the world and is thus fondly referred to as the 'rainbow nation' (Neocosmos, 2008). The English and Dutch colonised South Africa in the 17th century with the policy of consistent separation introduced in 1910 through a set of laws that further overlooked the rights of the black majority (Harris 2002). In 1948, apartheid laws were enacted and racial discrimination was institutionalized, with race laws that touched every aspect of social life. This meant that certain benefits were set aside for people of a certain race which excluded the black majority. This led to the problem of social integration on the part of the blacks in particular.

As stated above after series of mounting pressure from the home front by political organisations in South Africa and the international community, the country eventually transited from apartheid system following the election of democratically elected government. The democratic elections held in April 27th, 1994, was followed by the presidential inauguration of Nelson Mandela on May 10 signifying South Africa's emergence from apartheid isolation (Joubert 2008).

However, South Africa has since struggled with the impact of xenophobia and social integration, where thousands of foreign nationals have been displaced, harassed, attacked, killed and their properties looted in xenophobic violence which continues to occur in all parts of the country. A reviewed of literature reveals that xenophobia is a deeply embedded, evolving socio-economic/legal problem in South Africa, and has proven to be difficult to mitigate (Misago, Monson, Polzer and Landau 2010). Since the initial much publicised xenophobic attacks in 2008, numerous studies have been conducted. In May 2008, the country witnessed a wide range of human rights violation through forced displacements, physical attacks, killings aimed at foreign nationals. However, studies have proven that xenophobic violence had happened as early as December 1994 just after South Africa's first democratic elections (Crush and Ramachandran 2010).

Social integration is a very ambiguous and broad term, open to a number of different interpretations (UNRISD 1994). There are at least three ways of understanding the concept of social integration. For some, the term does not necessarily imply either a negative or positive state. It is simply a way of describing the established patterns of how humans relate in any given society. However, to others it is an inclusionary goal, implying equal rights and opportunities for all human beings meaning becoming more integrated, improving life chances within the society. To others however increased integration has a negative implication, conjuring up the image of an unwanted imposition of uniformity.

 Social integration is a complex idea as it means different things to different people (World Summit for Social Development, 1995). The main objective of social integration is the creation of an equal society for all. A process of building relations, values and institutions necessary to achieve the abovementioned society (UNRISD 1994). After the World Summit in 1995, the term social integration fell out of use, it easily conjured up images of reluctant minority groups and disaffected youth being forced into citizenships classes and dead-end employment schemes.

Ferguson (2008) argues that social integration can be viewed from different perspectives. The focus of research into disadvantaged is increasingly on the power relations, politics, institutions and values that enable the well-off and elites to maintain their exclusive position in the society. From this perspective, the disadvantaged are not simply excluded from the mainstream of the society but are included in communities, markets, and households on unequal terms. This is often through relations of abuse discrimination, exploitation, violence, among others.

Social integration is about making society more equal for everyone in it and it requires actions to redefine and renegotiate existing social contracts which define the responsibilities and rights of states, citizens and the private sector. Before to the World Summit for Social Development (WSSD) in 1995, social policy was primarily concerned with the provision of social protection and basic services (Moser 1992). The agenda was broadened by highlighting the importance of freedom from violence and the importance of employment. The WSSD identified the key principles that should be applied to all sectors in order to promote social integration. These principles can be identified /defined as the representation of political voice and recognition of cultural and social identities and the redistribution of socio-economic resources.

Concerning redistribution, the WSSD outlined the need for public action to address inequalities in wealth and income as well as other well-being outcomes. Governments have to be committed to supporting increased participation of people in all levels of decision making, as well as greater accountability and transparency in governance. The human rights framework acts as a basis for developing policies to promote social integration and in resolving some of the tensions between conflicting processes.

Before the WSSD development addressing social and economic needs of the society and development of policy on human rights and were generally seen as different domains, with the human rights framework providing tools for strengthening civil and political rights (UNDESA 2006). These two streams were brought together, recognizing that the human rights framework incorporated economic, social and cultural rights. In doing so, the obligations of government are acknowledged which include ensuring that the basic needs of all people are met and facilitated, promotion of the use of human rights norms, legislation, institutions and processes in social policy to enable citizens to voice their needs, mobilize and remain accountable to the people (Ferguson, 1998).

In developed countries, social integration grounds the goals of stable, productive decent employment and poverty elimination and has, therefore, influenced the welfare and labour

policies in meaningful ways. Ferguson (1998) defines social integration as a highly desirable outcome that reflects the existence of a strong institutional foundation, social cohesion, and culture.

After South Africa's first democratic elections that were held on the 27th April 1994 a new history was born, with the installation of the first democratic government as signatures of South Africa's emergence from apartheid isolation (Joubert, 2008). However, with more than two decades of post-apartheid governance, discrimination still exists in South Africa, owing to the huge gap between the rich and the poor. As the year progresses, the poor are getting poorer while the rich are still getting richer. Everyone being equal in the eyes of the law is still a question of theory or practice, hence the case of xenophobia.

Xenophobia can be described as the hatred or fear of foreigners; the term is used to denote a dislike of foreigners, characterized by a negative attitude towards foreigners. Xenophobia cannot be separated from violence and physical abuse (Harris 2002). According to the South African Humans Rights Commission, xenophobia is generally defined as the deep dislike of non-nationals by nationals of a recipient state. Xenophobia is the manifestation of racism. Xenophobia and racism support each other, and they share prejudiced discourses. They both operate on the same basis of profiling people and making a negative assumption. The profiling in the case of racism is on the basis of race and in the case of xenophobia profiling is from basis of nationality. Whenever the violent xenophobic attacks occurred in South Africa the victims were not only foreigners in the sense of a different nationality, but in fact everybody not belonging to the dominant ethnic groups in the main cities such as - Zulu, Xhosa among others were attacked; these include members of smaller ethnic groups like the Xitsonga and Venda speaking minorities (Sosibo 2015)

This study seeks to analyse the impacts of xenophobia on South Africa's efforts on social integration in Isiphingo area and how the residents of the area perceive xenophobia vis-à-vis its socio-development efforts.

1.3 PROBLEM STATEMENT

Numerous works have been done on both social integration and xenophobia since its outbreak that was much publicized in South Africa. Xenophobia is a highly contentious phenomenon which scholars tend to explore from different perspectives. Some studies such as Choane, Mthombeni, and Shulika (2011) and Winsor (2015) analysed the causes, effects, ramifications of xenophobia on South Africa, focusing on the victims of xenophobia after the attacks.

It should, however, be noted that there are victims of xenophobia that are not physically affected, scholars have come to agree that some were emotionally affected. These may likely include professionals like doctors, academia's, among others, who deal with locals on a daily basis. By interpretation, there is a need to add information to the already existing body of knowledge that directly looks at how such violent attacks impacts on South Africa's attempts on social integration. Thus this study seeks to assess how xenophobic attacks have affected South Africa's efforts in integrating the foreign nationals and the locals in Isiphingo, KwaZulu-Natal.

1.4 RESEARCH AIM, OBJECTIVES, QUESTIONS

The main aim of the study was to assess the effects of xenophobia on socio-economic development in Isiphingo

RESEARCH OBJECTIVES:

1. To examine the South African government's commitment to the integration of non-indigenes into the mainstream of socio-economic development

2. To assess ways the government has demonstrated its commitment to social integration in South Africa

3. To examine how domestic conditions like xenophobia pose a threat to the government's commitment to social integration, particularly in Isiphingo.

4. To suggest possible solutions that can be used to curtail xenophobia

RESEARCH QUESTIONS:

1. How committed is South African government to the integration of non-indigenes into the mainstream of socio-economic development?

2. In what ways has South Africa demonstrated its commitment to social integration in South Africa?

3. Given South Africa's commitment to social integration in the country, to what extent do domestic conditions like xenophobia pose a threat to that commitment, particularly in Isiphingo?

4. How can South Africa mitigate the negative implication of xenophobia?

1.5 UNDERLYING ASSUMPTIONS

The underlying assumptions of the study were as follow:

The apartheid regime shaped and engraved the current, hostile attitudes of South Africans towards foreign nationals.

Government departments, the media, and Public figures have played various roles in the manifestation of xenophobic violence in Isiphingo.

Participants are confronted with daily problems of coping with xenophobic sentiments. To many, xenophobia seems to be visible in all spheres of society in South Africa, thus making integration and adjusting to daily life difficult to the participants. Xenophobia has resulted in negative effects on the financial, emotional, physical and psychological well-being of the participants as well as on their family members.

The ability to cope with the aftermath of xenophobia varies across participants and solely depends on individual strength, educational level, origins, resources, social backgrounds, and profession.

1.6 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The study attempts to add a new perspective to established literature on the nexus of social integration and domestic conditions such as xenophobia. South Africa is a growing economy and a promising regional power, suggesting that there will be a continuous influx of foreign nationals into the country. The study, therefore, pursued to offer suggestions on policies that can be introduced to mitigate persistent xenophobic violence in South Africa through the development of new strategies to educate the people of South Africa on the importance of treating non-nationals with courtesy. The study is also significant in that the findings emanate useful to the government of South Africa in strengthening its social integration by finding a new way of solving domestic problems that may in the long run cause difficulties in its social integration and socio-development efforts. The study also attempts to act as some monitoring and evaluation tool in that the roles of the media, government department are closely investigated with findings aiming to be a reference in the curtailing of xenophobia and the promotion of social integration.

1.7 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

In recent years, xenophobia has been a hot topic in most scholarly writings; however most of the reference materials take the form of Non-Governmental Organisation (NGO) reports on their websites, policy documents and some in journal articles, only a limited number of books are available on xenophobia. The study relied mostly on journal articles, internet sources, newspaper articles, and also primary data (Fieldwork). The researcher faced many challenges during the data collection process, as particularly it was the first time doing fieldwork research. The study proposed a sample size of 100 participants (40 South Africans and 60 foreign nationals), but in the end, only 70 participants (40 South Africans and 30 foreign nationals) participated in the study. To enhance the validity of the study, the researcher intended on interviewing public officials from the department of home affairs. However, due to time and financial constraints, the researcher resorted to sending questionnaires to immigration officers at the department of home affairs head office in Pretoria and ended up generalising the questions asked about Isiphingo in particular to the questions asked about xenophobia in South Africa in general.

The initial data collection method proposed was questionnaires, but the researcher was put in a state to use different methods other than questionnaires. This was because of the complaints of some participants who considered questionnaires as being time-consuming. The study employed semi-structured interviews, focus groups and questionnaires. The conduct of this study was time consuming, emotionally, physically and mentally traumatising for the researcher as thirty participants pulled out of the study and refused to complete questionnaires as they demanded incentives for being participants. Nevertheless, this study was a great learning curve for the researcher in that in future if similar situations were to arise, the researcher is now fully equipped on how to handle such situations and ensure victory.

1.8 OUTLINE OF THE STUDY

*The dissertation comprises six chapters; **the first chapter** introduces the research problem, and it gives the background and rationale to the study. It highlights the research aim, objectives and outlines the research questions. It also explains the underlying assumptions, significance and limitations to the study.*

Chapter two *of the dissertation contains a review of the relevant literature on social integration and xenophobia. It unpacks xenophobia as a global issue, brings it down to Africa, and lastly looks at xenophobia in the South African context. This chapter looks critically at what other*

authors have said concerning the 2008, 2015 and also 2017 xenophobic violence in South Africa, it also explains the theories that acted as road maps during the study.

Chapter three *discusses the research design and methodology. It provides details of the chosen research methodology, design, the research site and the units of analysis. This chapter also explains the reason behind chosen data collection procedures, methods, and data analysis and present an explanation of how important issues related to the chosen methods ARE addressed in order to achieve objectives of the study. It also discusses the ethical considerations of the study.*

Chapter four *introduces the reader to the description of the study area and then later considers xenophobia in the global, African and South African context. In this chapter, the 2008 and 2015 xenophobic violence were critically compared. This chapter also discussed the role of government departments, media and also the role of agencies that fight against xenophobia; it also challenged the government's intervention systems and denialism of the existence of xenophobia.*

Chapter five *presents the analysis, the discussion of the findings of the study in relation to the findings of the literature reviewed, within the chosen conceptual framework. The chapter comprises the discussion of the findings, conclusion, and recommendations to the South African government and for future studies on xenophobia. The contribution that the study made in better understanding the effects of xenophobia on social integration in Isiphingo; how the people have taken the 2015 xenophobic violence as a learning curve of the summary and explanation of the contribution of the study to a better xenophobic-free, integrated community.*

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. INTRODUCTION

Several scholars have brought forward evidence that suggests xenophobia as a pathological phenomenon. According to Harris (2002), the high prevalence of xenophobia in South Africa can be attributed to a general hostile or unfavourable climate of violence which has succeeded notably since 1994. Xenophobia is both pathologically and socially located in South Africa. Two decades after the demise of Apartheid in South Africa the country is still faced with many irregularities on integration. The current debate on immigration in South Africa is mostly characterised by assertions that the increasing number of foreign nationals affects the society and economy negatively (Crush and McDonald 2002). However, many scholars have argued that the effect of immigrants in social activities and the economy is much valuable and visible. This chapter reviews literature on social integration and xenophobia globally and locally. This was to enhance better comprehension and the links between the two phenomena, as well as the theories employed in analysing the study.

2.2. SOCIAL INTEGRATION

South Africa has encountered many social engineering times to be specific colonization, politically-sanctioned racial segregation and majority rule. However the heritage of politically-sanctioned racial segregation is still very weighty on the country's integration mechanism. Conquering spatial and social structure in South Africa is ended up being a colossal test. Therefore, one cannot start the discourse of social or group incorporation without considering the historical backdrop of South Africa (Ferguson 2008).

According to Ferguson (2008), social and economic integration is very complex and requires careful analysis. Integration can be defined as the act of adding or combining different parts to make a unified whole (Ferguson 2008). Social integration should be seen primarily as a process that leads to the equitable participation of people in social activities. Watkins (2007), argues that integration signifies the bringing together of parts into a whole. Ferguson (2008) argues that integration cannot be achieved by having an official policy or law and its implementation alone. While the policy of the state attempts to accommodate migrants, social attitudes and behaviour towards migrants may be important in the process of their social and economic integration.

According to Watkins (2007), Lack of valid identity documents, inability to speak the language of the host country and the inability to offer proof of their skills are some of the problems confronting migrants and to be socially and economically integrated; these challenges are expected to be addressed. According to the United Nations for Human Rights (Fact sheet no.24 of the rights of migrant workers), social discrimination, inadequate housing and low incomes constitute some of the obstacles that migrants have to face in foreign countries.

South Africa was colonized by the English and Dutch in the seventeenth century with the arrangement of steady partition presented in 1910 through an arrangement of laws that further disregarded the privileges of the black majority (Harris 2002). In 1948, politically-sanctioned racial segregation laws were established and racial separation was standardized, with race laws that touched each part of social life. This implies that certain advantages were put aside for individuals of a specific race (white minority), which excluded the majority. This led to the problem of social integration on the part of black South Africans specifically.

Social integration is a largely desirable outcome that reflects the existence of a strong institutional culture of acceptance and social cohesion. Societies are better off if they promote equitable and sustainable development, social integration through inclusive policies that reduce poverty and economic inequality (Crisp 2000).

As indicated by Ferguson (2008), social integration involves making social integration more impartial, activities to reclassify, renegotiate existing social contracts which characterize the duties and privileges of states, natives and the private sector. Fraser (2005), characterizes social integration as the way toward advancing the organizations, relations and qualities that empowers all individuals to share in political, financial and social life given correspondence of rights and openings, pride and value. Also it is the depiction of the way toward building establishments that advance a society for all in the standards of social equity and justice (Moser 1992).

2.2.1 Importance of social integration

Social integration is advanced for both instrumental and fundamental reasons. Morally, the formation of an inclusive society where everyone is recognised within the public domain is an obvious objective in itself, the solid instrumental reasons that social integration depends on, irregular characteristics in view of gender, ethnicity, age, wealth and region lessens social adaptability. Watkins (2007) argues that this prompts the division in the society and accordingly negatively affects poverty reduction, democracy, conflict avoidance and all-round

development. Meanwhile, the World Bank indicates that horizontal and vertical imbalances are linked to the cultural underestimation of particular social groups. Therefore, social or culturally defined groups may transpire from self-identification, as a result of categorization from legislation (Stewart, 2002).

Social integration is an ambiguous and expansive term to characterize as it implies distinctive things to various individuals. There are at least three different ways of understanding social integration, for some people it is an inclusionary goal, implying equality for all human beings in terms of rights and opportunities, hence becoming more integrated entails improving life chances (UNRISD 1994). However, for some, increased integration has a negative implication, conjuring up the image of an unwanted imposition of uniformity, and to others still, the term does not particularly either a negative or positive state. It merely implies a way of explaining established patterns of human relations in any given society.

As indicated by the UNRISD (1994), when social integration is seen as an objective itself, certain issues will undoubtedly rise. It is politically convenient and intellectually simple that most or all problems associated with poverty and injustice can be reduced through the inclusion of people formerly excluded from certain benefits or activities. In the case of South Africa including International discussions of social development in all too many cases are also phrased in terms of integrating those with nothing into the mainstream of modernization, as if these groups with nothing survive on a virtual vacuum. Even the most disorganized and impoverished have their types of social organization. Global talks of social integration in very many cases is additionally expressed as far as incorporating those with nothing into the standard of modernization, as though these gatherings with nothing get by on a virtual vacuum. Indeed, even the most disordered and devastated have their own particular sorts of social association.

Social integration demonstrates the standards by which people who are subjects, actors, agents are bound to each other in the social settings, and it refers to relations amongst agents that is, how the actors (agents) accept social rules. Notwithstanding the direct meaning of integration as a word, it is not reputed that the interactions or relations are harmonious (Groom 2000). In a broader sense, the term integration is used to define developments that determine connections of related diverse elements into the social whole, community, system or another unit of integration which is a concept that is fundamental in functionalist theories and it defines a mode of relations of the units of a system. It has been argued that social integration will only work if

it is accepted by the host government, the local community and migrants themselves (Jacobsen 2001). Hence, the question of whether it is possible to achieve social integration within the South African context considering the country's current situation, where migrants are attacked just because they cannot speak local languages and are also accused of taking the jobs that are 'supposed' to be manned by South Africans.

2.2.2 Challenges of social integration

According to Ferguson (2008), the challenge that policymakers face in promoting the agenda of social integration is ensuring that there are a set of policies that are mutually compatible in terms of promoting the well-being, and equality for disadvantaged groups. Cultural practices and recognition of identities in practice do not always lead to increased income and greater access in labour markets. Targeting resources at disadvantaged groups can aggravate social discrimination as gaining political support does not always generate the necessary cross-group mobilization.

Prior to the World Summit on Sustainable Development, development and human rights policy were seen generally as belonging to separate domains with human rights providing tools for strengthening political and civil rights while development addressed social and economic needs. These two streams were brought together by the World Summit on Sustainable Development, recognizing that the human rights framework incorporated social, cultural and economic rights. It acknowledged the obligations of governments in ensuring that the basic needs of all people are being met and the use of human legislation, processes, norms, and institutions in social policy are being facilitated in order to enable citizens to voice out their needs, hold and mobilize governments to be accountable (Ferguson, 1999). Policy instruments that promote social integration are revised in the context of the nation-state. The phenomenon of globalization highlights the fact that issues of outcomes and fair process rely upon decisions taken by the government, transnational corporations, multilateral organizations and politics (Ferguson, 1999).

2.2.3 Government institutions as tools for social integration promotion

Countries that stand the advancement of social integration tend to embrace the approach of setting up government organizations after profound social and political changes. The presentation of new institutions, laws, and policies has been an integral part of the way toward renegotiating and revamping the nature of the social contract between citizens and states.

In the South African setting, the main attribute of the 1994 government of national unity's response to apartheid was the 1996 Constitution which embedded the Bill of rights, with a comprehensive list of political, economic, social, cultural and civil rights drawn from international human rights treaties. The constitution also established the South African human rights commission to monitor the respect and observant of human rights and to monitor progress in the realization of socio-economic rights. However, with more than two decades of post-apartheid governance, discrimination still exists in South Africa, owing to the huge gap between the rich and the poor, and as the year's progress the poor seems to be poorer, and the rich are getting richer. However, the issue of people being equal with regards to the law is still a question of theory or practice, hence the case of xenophobia (Harris 2002).

2.3 XENOPHOBIA: AN OVERVIEW

As the world becomes smaller through the advancement of technology, the frequency and number of people moving from one country to another, and continents as well have increased tremendously. It is statistically stated that one of fifty persons in the world is either a refugee, migrant worker, immigrant, or asylum seeker (International Labour Organisation 2001). The united nations estimated that 175 million people are not living in their country of birth, and this number is expected to rise to 250 million by the year 2050 (Muchiri, 2016).

This free movement of people has raised insecurities and anxieties among people from different countries locally. In South Africa; it has resulted in countless acts of xenophobic violence within communities. In Africa, South Africa is one of the most dominant immigrants receiving country, followed by Namibia and Botswana in the Southern African region (Nyamnjoh, 2006). Xenophobia is a contested and ambiguous term in common, despite its extensive usage. Xenophobia is derived from the Greek words 'xeno' meaning foreigner or stranger and phobia meaning fear (Bekker 2010). Scholars such as Muchiri (2016) and Tella and Ogunnubi (2014), consider it to be an intense fear, hatred or dislike of others perceived to be different or foreign from you. Nyamnjoh (2006) argues that it is sometimes recognized when it manifests itself as a visible hostility towards which is deemed foreign. Some describe xenophobia as discrimination towards strangers or foreigners. The South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC), describes xenophobia as the deep dislike of non-nationals by nationals of a host state (Bekker 2010). This is expressed to individuals who could be of the same colour as the local inhabitants. In the case of South Africa, xenophobic attitudes are geared towards Black African immigrants by black South Africans. From literature, Black South Africans are known

as previously oppressed majority. There are still on-going debates as to whether xenophobia originates at the collective or individual level. These methods are incorporated by a generalized recognition that xenophobia is a set of practices or an attitude surrounding people's origins. The exact locus of debate and work is highly contextualized and often generally unsurpassed (Crush 2009). Despite the different explanations given to xenophobia it is well understood as the violation of human rights and human dignity in keeping with Article 26 of 1998 of the United Nations (UN), which declares xenophobia, racism and racial discrimination as human rights violation (Bustamante, Fang, Garza, Carter-Pokras, Wallace, Rizzo and Ortega, 2012). It has been established that xenophobia is deeply rooted in many sectors of the South African society, including financial institutions, government, and media (Dodson and Oelofse, 2000).

Vale (2002) argues that political xenophobic attacks and arrogance towards foreign nationals are rooted and based in the politics that marked the apartheid and post-apartheid leadership and influenced public policy towards African foreigners that filtered in post-apartheid South Africa. Xenophobia has quite a number of definitions; it can also be defined as the 'morbid dislike of foreigners, hence not a new phenomenon in South Africa. The attacks of foreigners in South Africa first received high-level attention in 1998, when the South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC) and the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR), held a consultative conference and adopted the Braamfontein statement, which argues thus:

No one whether in the country legally or illegally should be deprived of his or her basic or fundamental rights and cannot be treated than a human.

The South African constitution states that South Africa seeks to create a society where "human dignity, the achievement of equality and the advancement of human rights and freedoms are permanent values. The bill of rights conveys certain rights to everyone. These are the rights to equality, human dignity, the right to life, freedom, and security of the person and the right not to be subject to slavery or forced labour. The demonstration of xenophobia is a violation of human rights (UNHCR, 2015). In 2008 for example, gangs of South Africans tried to evict perceived 'illegals' from Alexandra township in Johannesburg blaming them for increased crime, sexual attacks, and unemployment. The campaign that lasted several weeks was known as *'buyelekhaya'* (go back home). As early as 1995 there were reports from the Southern African bishop's conference which concluded that there is no doubt that there is a very high level of xenophobia in South Africa (Nord and Assubuji, 2008).

Characteristically, many people have been classified all together under the title of 'illegal immigrants,' and the whole situation of demonising immigrants is feeding the xenophobia phenomenon. Various scholars for an example Muchiri (2016), and Bekker (2015) have given different arguments regarding xenophobic sentiments being spontaneous as community members tend to use foreign nationals as scapegoats in voicing out their anger and frustrations intended for the government. However, there is nothing spontaneous about such attacks; it appears that these attacks are planned and organised to target foreigners living and having businesses in some communities in South Africa under the guise that they are involved in crimes and thefts.

Over the past decades, African immigrants have been exposed to severe manifestations of hostility and violence to their presence in South Africa. Job creation is a formidable challenge for the South African government. Despite its extraordinary efforts to reduce the unemployment rate which is estimated at 23% (Trading Economics 2018), many South Africans had to work for small business owners, while the government and other businesses in the private sector have not been able to create jobs. The presence of immigrants and its attendants has come with many implications in the job market as well as the problem of scarce resources in the country, thus raising controversial debates and comments on xenophobia.

One notion or assumption is that immigrants from North of the country's borders are taking South African's jobs. Nyamnjoh (2010) contrariwise, presents that they are actually the ones creating employment for themselves and sometimes for the unemployed South Africans. Xenophobia is described as the behaviours, prejudices, attitudes that exclude and belittle others because they are considered to be foreigners or outsiders to the community, society or national identity (Petros, Airhihenbuwa, Simbayi, Rawlangan and Brown, 2006). Sequel to the different definitions given to the phenomenon of xenophobia, one would agree that the term merely describes the general dislike or fear of the 'other'. However, in the South African context, the 'other' seems to be black African foreigners because violence is mainly aimed at them. This is based on the outcome of previous xenophobic attacks in the country. Hence, the question is whether South Africans are Afro-phobic? Muchiri (2016) has suggested that after more than two decades of post-apartheid governance the traces of the era are still visible among the people of South Africa. He boldly argues that the country might be democratic and 'free in theory' however the actions of South Africans suggest that they are still being colonized mentally/psychologically. It is important to state that as it is in the present day South Africa; it evidently that there is discrimination among the same racial group in South Africa. For

example, a Xhosa speaking South African residing in Isiphingo reiterates that *"already there is a problem of integrating South Africans although the government is trying to integrate every South African but the Zulu South African belief that they are superior to other black South African"*.

2.4 XENOPHOBIA: A GLOBAL PERSPECTIVE

Historically, the phenomenon of xenophobia did not start in South Africa. Britain, Japan, Australia, Europe, and North America among other countries have long histories of xenophobia (Moodley & Kleiman, 2018). In Rome, xenophobia violence manifested towards the Hungarians and Russians who were foreigners from neighbouring countries (Saideman and Ayres 2008).

 Buchanan (2009) argues that although Australia is a multicultural society, xenophobic sentiments were manifested toward immigrants, where foreigners were continuously seen as asylum seekers or criminals.

In France, xenophobia became widespread to the extent that French citizens began to blame foreign nationals for increased insecurity and unemployment. Thus, xenophobic attitudes were aimed at black French following their arrival; Muslims in particular (McLaren, 2003). This led to the French government tightening up immigration laws as foreign nationals were perceived as criminals due to the fear of contamination of their culture by foreign nationals coming from other continents such as the Caribbean, Africa and Asia. This led to the British and French establishing more rigorous immigration laws which restricted the inflow of foreign nationals from the above-mentioned continents (Jolly and DiGuisto, 2014).

Furthermore, in the USA, it is argued that xenophobic violence manifested in the form of anti-Hispanic hate crimes (Mantilla and Kimmich, 2011). Research reveals that in a historical perspective, xenophobia in the USA started as far back as the 19th century. Mikulich, Cassidy and Pfeil (2009) argue that xenophobic attitudes in the USA are based on the assumption that 'our country' should maintain and be defined by its dominant white European; its heritage is therefore rooted in the myth of the US as a nation of European immigrants. The mounting concerns with questions of belonging which abide within the discourses of nationality have been globally evident. After the Second World War patterns and policies of migration in the western world have dramatically changed. Prior to the above mentioned period. Western states prevented emigration and not immigration (Schuster, 2003). Thus immigration was not a political and social issue at that time. In recent years, restrictions on the mobility of people

have been tightened and states have become more exclusive with issues revolving around movements of foreign nationals. According to Schuster (2003), there are various factors that influence discrimination against immigrants and migrants. These factors include nationality, ethnicity, race, gender, and class. Asylum seekers, ethnic minorities and many black people are therefore targets of racism and xenophobia in Europe (Collins, 1997). Western states are not hostile to all immigrants, but preferences are made mainly as to who should be allowed to immigrate into these countries. These preferences are mainly related to the fulfillment of labour needs, highly skilled professionals and their families receive preferential treatment from governments of the host state to the disadvantage of less skilled labourers who are often of a darker skin complexion.

2.5 XENOPHOBIA IN AFRICA

Reference to globalisation and the politics of identity, sense of belonging and constant conflict between the 'insiders and outsiders', which is also peculiar to the continent of Africa; the dispute over boundaries often have unfavourable socio-political and economic implications for individuals who are legal citizens of a country. Geschiere, argued that in Cameroon, economic and political liberalization negatively influenced the rapid, intense struggle over belonging, the rise of violence among those who are defined as foreigners or strangers even when some were citizens of the same country (2004). As in the case elsewhere in the world questions of entitlement and citizenships are grounds of exclusion and are contested terrain in Africa. As far back as 1983, the Nigerian government ousted one and a half million illegal immigrants mostly the Ghanaians. Looking at xenophobia in Africa, Ghana and Nigeria have had a record of fear or hatred for foreign nationals. Xenophobic tendencies in Ghana erupted in 1969, where the Ghanaian government had to expel and evict a total number of 1.5 million foreign nationals mostly Nigerians. Soyombo (2008) states that in 1983, the Nigerian government also evicted 1.5 million Ghanaian nationals out of Nigeria. The basis for xenophobic attitudes in both countries were mainly economic difficulties that they experienced.

According to Harrison (2005), globalization is arguably responsible for xenophobia. For instance, different nationals of different countries move from their country of origin in search of better lives or greener pastures; in the end, they are faced with xenophobic assaults.

Campbell (2003) argues that the behaviour [attitudes to foreign nationals] of South Africa whom another country in SADC sees as a big brother has made these countries; to not only learn good things from South Africa but also learn about its negative reception of foreign

nationals. For instance, Botswana might be taken prompt xenophobic ideas from South Africa as they have always referred to foreign nationals (excluding South Africans), in as 'makwerekwere' a term widely used in South Africa while referring to non-nationals. Xenophobic attitudes towards foreigners in Botswana somewhat differs in that in Botswana, despite the Indian's huge economic investments in the country they are still perceived as deceitful and object of economic parasites. In 1994, sixty-seven prisoners accused of being illegal suffocated to death in an overcrowded cell in Libreville detention center and most of these prisoners were Nigerian and Ghanaian. Studies have identified that expressions of xenophobic violence in the Southern African region come with a lot of harsh anti-foreigners' sentiments and vary from country to country. In the Southern African region, South Africa, Namibia and Botswana are regarded as countries that have the harshest anti-immigration sentiments while Mozambique, Swaziland, and Zimbabwe are more accommodating to foreigners. (Gray, 1998, McDonald and Jacobs, 2005, Campbell, 2003).

According to Oucho (2007), applying tools developed by the World Values Survey that mainly focuses on the attitudes of nationals towards the entry of foreigners in their country, several scholars have suggested that South Africans have been amongst the most hostile and intolerant towards foreigners since the 1990s. Botswana and South Africa are arguably the major immigrant-receiving countries in the Southern African region. Oucho (2007) further explains that this is due to their expanding economies and historical patterns of migration, hence they may influence similar trends to that reported with regard to European states where violence sentiments are aimed at foreigners.

The alarming degree of xenophobic discrimination and violence in South Africa has led authors such as Bekker (2010), to conclude that immigration to South Africa is not viewed as a public policy that benefits the country and its citizens. In other countries, skills often serve as a 'guarantee' for inclusion and entry into host countries. However, in South Africa, it is often overlooked, and skilled professionals from other countries fall victims to racially motivated discriminations and stereotypes that influence sentiments of xenophobic violence. In the South African context, practices of exclusion seem to be primarily directed to particular racial groups and nationalities of immigrants who are largely black African immigrants (Crush & Dodson 2007, SAHRC .2010, and Williams & Crush. 2005).

2.6 XENOPHOBIA IN SOUTH AFRICA: AN OVERVIEW

Displays of xenophobic violence in South Africa became more pronounced in the post-apartheid era (Crush 2000). South Africa has a history of oppression, discrimination and exclusion as the state used religious and racial criteria to warrant migrants and immigrants access to South Africa (Crush & McDonald 2001). Since 1994, immigration patterns to a post-apartheid South Africa has changed considerably. In the racialized labour market, immigration policies addressed the needs for skilled and unskilled workers. The 1961 immigration regulation (IRA) enabled the state to channel and control immigration. Constraints were placed on black migration internally by a number of related acts (Peberdy & Crush 1998). Migration of Africans especially black Africans to South Africa has a long history; restrictions on the immigration of Black Africans were compared whites (Crush, 2000).

According to Crush and Ramachandran (2009), black migration has increased due to South Africa's primary dependence on cheap migrant labour, especially for sectors such as urban services, agriculture, and mining. It is argued that the migration of black labour was organized through migration labour conventions which date back to 1909 (Crush and Ramachandran, 2009). These were bilateral agreements between states to supply cheap labour to mines in South Africa. The agreements were unfair and worked in favour of employers and governments at the expense of migrants and their dependents. The political transformation that took place in 1994 and the economic dominance of South Africa compared to other states in Africa placed the country as a favourable destination for immigrants (Maharaj 2009). To outsiders, South Africa was perceived as a country that can provide greater opportunities than that of their country of birth, thus attracting a greater number of foreigners into the country (Nyamjoh 2006). Beside Botswana and Namibia, South Africa was seen as the most attractive African country for skilled immigrants/migrants. A survey that was conducted by the South African Migration Project (SAMP) concluded that 87% South Africans were not happy as they felt too many foreigners were let into the country (Crush and Ramachandran, 2010).

The new racially inclusive South Africa excluded black African immigrants. Generally, studies such as the Bekker (2010) and Tella and Ogunnubi (2014), reveal that South Africans believe that black immigrants impact the country's economy negatively. Across all social, economic and racial groupings in the country there is a general consent that immigration is undesirable (Crush & Dodson 2007). Suffice to state that, xenophobic violence behaviour by black South

Africans towards their fellow African immigrants creates a logic that black South Africans are the most xenophobic racial group in the country.

Some scholars have argued that in the context of South Africa xenophobia is a wrong word to use when describing horrific attacks towards foreign nationals. This is because since the first much talked about violence towards foreign nationals in 2008 the targets were African foreign nationals (Muchiri, 2016). According to Tshaka (2016), "white" or Asian foreign nationals are not perceived as threats whereas African foreign nationals are seen as "intruders" or the "other". Building to the argument that what is taking place in South Africa is not xenophobia, however, has traces of Afro- phobia a term used to explain the fear of African foreign nationals. Tshaka (2016) argues that the hostile attacks of African foreign nationals have been largely triggered by a "nervous condition"-a concept originally used by Jean-Paul Sartre, a French philosopher in his preface to Frantz Fanon's book, *the wretched of the earth*, in describing the effects of colonization.

This notion of the "nervous condition" as Tshaka (2016) argues refers to the situation created among hegemonies in which the oppressed become willing participants in their oppression. Afro-phobia in present South Africa is a manifestation of envy and distrust towards African foreign nationals, with the perception that they are threats as they can "slip undetected" into local black communities and potentially stealing jobs and women that belong to the indigenous black South African men.

Some scholars have argued that in the context of xenophobism South Africa; xenophobia is a wrong word to use when describing the horrific attacks towards foreign nationals. Initially, there was much talk about violence towards foreign nationals in 2008 with African nationals as the target (Muchiri, 2016). According to Tshaka (2016), "white" or Asian foreign nationals are not perceived as threats whereas African foreign nationals are seen as "intruders" or the "other". Building to the argument that what is taking place in South Africa is not xenophobia, however, has traces of Afro- phobia a term used to explain the fear of African foreign nationals.

According to Tshaka (2016), this "nervous condition" refers to the situation created among hegemonies in which the oppressed become willing participants in their oppression. Afro-phobia in present South Africa is a manifestation of envy and distrust towards African foreign nationals, with the perception that they are threats as they are able to "slip undetected" into black local communities and potentially stealing jobs and women that belong to the indigenous black South African men.

The argument made by Tshaka is supported by the scapegoating theory of xenophobia which states that South Africans have been for so long frustrated at the government for failing to provide for their socio-economic ills. Failing to vent their disappointments to the government foreign nationals are used as scapegoats and are blamed for job stealing, among others. Disappointments in the post-apartheid government have been strongly implicated as a cause of the nervous condition among South Africans. The promise that democracy was going to provide blacks the privileges they have always dreamt of; and the realization that these promises remained unfulfilled to the majority has been a result of South Africans attacking foreign nationals' black foreign nationals in particular. One of the worrying elements of this kind of mentality is that it perpetuates the attitude that white (foreign nationals) are the benefactors and potential employers, while African foreign nationals are invariably the beneficiaries.

The competition theory used in the study to explain xenophobia locates in that it emphasizes the economic factors; having to compete for the already scarce resources with the 'other' in the context of South Africa foreign nationals. In the case of Isiphingo the study area, there is already a high competition for jobs and with firm beliefs that the 2015 xenophobic violence in Isiphingo was a result of a particular shop employing foreign nationals after its workers embarked on a strike. Having an influx of immigrants increased this competition and the perpetrators of violence, believe they have to protect their territory by all means even if it means resorting to violence towards those perceived as threats to their livelihoods.

2.7 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

According to Golafshani (2003), a theoretical framework refers to a summary or, a conceptual model that establishes a sense of structure that guides the entire research. It is developed through a review of previously tested knowledge of the variables involved. It helps to reduce bias and to consider other possible frameworks. This study seeks to use three theories namely the scapegoating theory of xenophobia, the biocultural theory of xenophobia and the social participation theory to guide the direction of the whole study. The reason behind using three theories is that the two chosen theories of xenophobia will assist the researcher in exploring more on the causes, ramifications, and consequences of xenophobia while integrating the two with the social integration theory to get more clarity and information on the topic at hand.

2.10.1 Scapegoating Theory of Xenophobia

Harris (2002) explains xenophobia in South Africa within the context of social transition and change; foreign nationals are blamed for all social and economic ills and are used as scapegoats for personal frustrations in democratic South Africa. In 1994, Mangosuthu Buthelezi the then minister of Home Affairs blamed the competition for the already scarce resources on the "millions of aliens that were pouring into SA" and accused them of disrupting the RDP programme that the government was implementing (Misago 2009 et al.).

Tella and Ogunnubi (2014) argue that this theory has immensely emerged through sociological theory. It locates xenophobia within the context of social transition and change. Hostility towards foreigners is explained in relation to limited resources, such as housing, education, healthcare, and employment, coupled with high expectations during a transition. In essence, when South Africa became a democratic state in 1994, there were too much expectations from the government to provide most service delivery; and prior to that there were many foreigners from Zimbabwe, and many other African and non-African states that were never attacked or seen as threats. However, after the Government failed to deliver on its mandate, people started seeing them as threats. It is suggested that in the post-apartheid era, while people's expectations have been heightened, a realisation that delivery is not immediate has meant that resentment and discontent were at their peak. People became more or are more conscious of their deprivation than ever before. This is the ideal situation for a phenomenon like xenophobia to take root and flourish as South Africa's political transition to democracy has exposed the unequal distribution of resources and wealth in the country.

People often create a "frustration scapegoat" they create a target to blame for on-going deprivation and poverty. Foreigners in the case of South Africa often become scapegoats (Bordeau, 2009). This is because they are perceived as a threat to education, health care, jobs, and housing. According to a development indicators report (2008); historical research indicates that if the majority is in a risky economic position, they are most likely to feel threatened by minorities especially if that minority are foreigners. Generally, scapegoating theory explains xenophobia in terms of broad social and economic factors. Xenophobia is hypothesized in terms of relative deprivation and frustration. Many foreigners in South Africa find shelter in informal urban settlements characterized by high levels of housing shortages and poverty. The competition for already limited resources is extreme. This could explain partly a tendency of black foreign nationals being used as a scapegoat for the increasing poverty and unemployment

in South Africa. Immigrants are seen as mere opportunists who are only in South Africa for economic benefits (HSRC 2008). The HSRC in their primary research carried out in 2008 referred to this situation as relative deprivation, which would explain the relationship between xenophobic violence and socioeconomic factors where inequality and poverty lead to feelings of deprivation

2.10.2 Bio-Cultural Theory of Xenophobia

This theory locates xenophobia at the level of the 'otherness' or the visible difference. Often, this is in terms of cultural, physical and biological factors displayed by African foreign nationals in South Africa. Studies have revealed that xenophobic sentiments towards foreigners are not equally directed, some foreigners are at a greater risk than others, in particular, the African foreign nationals. Light skinned or 'non-foreign-looking', undocumented foreigners go undetected, while darker-skinned 'foreign-looking South Africans have also been attacked and targeted (Harris 2001).

Black African foreigners are the ones who are scapegoats during xenophobic violence; the biocultural hypothesis of xenophobia explains that foreigners are main targets because they are easy to spot, meaning they are targeted on the grounds of observable traits as was the case during apartheid (Harris 2002). Nigerians and Congolese are targeted as they are easy to identify because of their bearing, physical features, language, clothing, hairstyles and their inability to speak a South African language (Morris 1998). These observable signifiers are central in explaining xenophobic indicators which enable perpetrators to target who is, and who is not foreign; they do not explain why it is mostly black Africans who are targets. Language, clothing, accent, and physical features also make Asian and white foreigners stand out as 'others' (Harris 2002). One can view xenophobia as a consequence of the apartheid regime that kept South Africans apart and away from contact with others, automatically if they see someone different from them especially black Africans, they rebel. It is, therefore, safe to assume that black South Africans might be living in a democratic South Africa, but are psychologically colonized? In the 2008 xenophobic violence, from the 62 people killed, 21 of them were South Africans.

In December 2013, an incident involving Tumelo Mboweni, the son of the former South African Reserve Bank governor and AngloGold Ashanthi chairman, was pulled out of a minibus in Sandton, Gauteng by police suspecting that he was a foreigner because of his dark-skinned complexion. He was threatened with deportation after his arrest and detention. This

is one of many incidents that support the relationship between bio-cultural hypothesis on skin-complexion profiling and xenophobia (News24, 2013). As with the abovementioned case, Nigerian, Congolese and Somali nationals living in South Africa are easily recognisable by their skin complexion, physical features. It is not a shock that the majority of harassment victims are made up of these nationalities in South Africa over the years (Tella and Ogunnubi, 2014).

2.10.3 Social Participation

This theory states that the aftermath of the successful adaption of social integration of the majority of the population of different ethnic groups is social participation in full. For full success of social integration social participation must be promoted regardless of ethnicity, race among others, in a given society (Groom, 2000). Social participation is a multi-dimensional concept that covers issues including civic and political participation, ethnically invisibility, and involvement in the cultural, political and economic life of society, representation at different levels of governance. Social participation theory also addresses the theme of participation in groups of fellow citizens among others, since participation is considered a process and a flexible concept, and can mean a number of things under different circumstances for different individuals, groups and institutions. When participating in social life, individuals get involved in social relations that comprise grounds for successful strategies and satisfaction. Participation in social life incorporates abilities and opportunities to recognise social reality and at the same time to be recognised by members of other social groups. In essence, this theory looks at everyone in society as being equal and their participation as equally important in the socio-economic development of the society. In essence, this theory posits that everyone within the society has an active role to play towards all-round development regardless of skin colour, ethnicity, etc.

2.10.4 The Competition Theory

Similar to other social phenomena, various interpretations have been given by numerous scholars, the key to confronting xenophobia in the South African context is by understanding the reasons behind its existence. The competition theory of xenophobia emphasizes economic factors; the idea of competing for scarce resources amongst the locals and immigrants as the root causes of frustrations which leads to xenophobic violence (Landau 2010). Resource scarcity is therefore not a sole source of xenophobia, but a real concern. As with the distribution of wealth; the competition theory of xenophobia denotes that conflict and competition increase

as a result of increased economic deterioration. Competition over scarce resources results in tensions; violence and intergroup conflict which is a function of intergroup competition. The competition theory has been used by many scholars to explain xenophobia, looking at government housing and jobs in particular. The hypothesis thus states that competition for either housing or jobs with African foreigners' increases xenophobia (Claasen, 2015).

According to Kingsbury (2015), scholars have come to agree that Xenophobia refers to the anti-immigrant sentiment exhibited by host societies towards immigrants from other countries with different socio-cultural and ethnic backgrounds. One of the prevalent elucidations of xenophobia in existing literature attributes hostility towards immigrants to the perceived competition for local social and economic resources. The existing literature calls it the competition hypothesis/theory (Rydgren, 2003; Gorodziesky, Glikman and Maskileyson, 2015).

Debatably, the fear of immigrants is most common among groups most vulnerable to the challenges of a globalised economy. Unskilled labour and lower-middle class workers, uneducated, underemployed and unemployed individuals are expected to express more anti-immigrant sentiment (Kingsbury, 2015) which is the case in South Africa and precisely Isiphingo community. The competitive threat from the influx of immigrant labour force has been found to increase anti-immigrant sentiments in South Africa significantly. Recent scholars like Gorodziesky, Glikman, and Maskileyson (2015) and Kingsbury (2015), extends the relevance of the competition hypothesis and argues that the negative attitude towards immigrants is significantly stronger in localities with low-income earners where it is possible for foreigners to easily establish spaza shops as a pedestal to a successful business endeavour.

2.11 CONCLUSION

Looking at the different definitions of the phenomenon of xenophobia one can establish that xenophobia in the South African context is not merely a 'fear' of the other but an act of violence and hatred towards immigrants and African immigrants in particular. With South Africa's bloody history on discrimination, it is highly disturbing that two decades later the previously oppressed majority are presently oppressing their African counterparts. Is it then safe to assume that South Africans might be politically 'free' and living in a democratic, rainbow nation but are still somehow colonized psychologically not towards their previous colonizers but specifically on the African immigrants? Based on the reviewed literature, one can deduce that this violence and enormity enacted upon foreign nationals from other parts of the continent are

indeed not xenophobic, but Afro phobic as the patterns suggests that not everyone foreign is attacked, but the violence is aimed at a certain group these being African foreigners. Xenophobia poses a huge problem on Social integration and the efforts of integrating the people of South Africa with other African natives. In the post-apartheid South Africa, thousands of immigrants have been looted, attacked and even killed. Such violent attacks violate a number of fundamental rights of immigrants, including the right to life, the right to enjoy safe asylum and the right to own property. The next chapter clearly outlines the research design and methodology used in the study.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter provides a detailed analysis of the research methodology plan, design and the units of analysis. Data collection approaches, procedures, and analysis of data are discussed in detail. The chapter also provides details on the sampling method chosen for the study, the process involved in the sampling process, issues related to trustworthiness in qualitative research are addressed for the objectives of the study to be achieved. Ethical considerations of the study are also discussed

3.2 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The study employed a mixed method approach, which is described as an approach that employs both qualitative and quantitative research methods (Easterby-Smith, Thorpe and Lowe, 2002). According to Cassim (2015), the mixed method is based on the integration of both quantitative and qualitative data, taking cognisance of the agreements and disagreements between the set of data. This entails putting the data into a more inclusive explanatory framework thus taking the advantages of both methods in order to give validity to the study. Creswell and Plano Clarke (2011) argue that the definition for a mixed method should be about incorporating a number of diverse viewpoints, which in this sense rely on a definition of core characteristics of mixed method research. Mixed methods combine, a philosophy and a design orientation, which eventually seems to highlight the key components that go into designing conducting a mixed methods study (Creswell and Plano Clarke 2011).

The motive behind the adoption of the mixed approach is that it is a synergistic approach as it allows the advantages of both qualitative and quantitative research method to be employed comprehensively, thus a more in-depth analysis of the research problem (Gani 2004). The quantitative approach used allowed for the numerical assessment of the number of respondents that were part of the sample, as the study proposed that 100 participants to be in the sample population. The mixed method approach enhances the reliability of data obtained from the locals and foreign nationals of Isiphingo residents as it offered the advantage of being able to quantify the data in a mathematical manner by providing biographical information in the questionnaires that give the number of people who participated in the study, and also get more information regarding the people's perceptions. Thoughts, and attitude towards xenophobia and social integration thus enhancing the findings of the study.

The theoretical framework deployed for this study informed the methodology for the data collection and analysis. Choosing a mixed method in data collection was influenced by the scapegoating theory of xenophobia which views xenophobia as a consequence of South African's frustrations towards the government. However foreign nationals are used as scapegoats and are the victims of horrific violence. For this reason, it was important for the researcher to get an in-depth view of the participants' feelings, attitude on xenophobia and social integration in Isipingo, hence open-ended questions leading to more insight on the feelings, attitudes of participants about xenophobia and social integration.

Although mix method appears to be beneficial, it created added complexity to the study and made it more time consuming, given the practicalities and limitations (time and resource limitations), the researcher was faced with, it proved to be a challenge. However, using a mixed method increased internal validity of the study in that employing both methods permitted the researcher to detect discrepancies in data, hence act as a cross-check on each other.

3.3 RESEARCH DESIGN

The study employed the use of both primary and secondary data. According to Cassim (2015), Primary data is the information that the researcher directly gathers. In this study the researcher administered questionnaires that were used to find out how residents of Isiphingo felt about xenophobia. The participants were both from South Africa as well as foreign nationals. One of the advantages of collecting primary data is that the researcher is the one collecting the data, and she is aware of what has been done and why, and the results can be checked in order to detect errors.

The second method used in this study is secondary data which entails using data that has been collected by other researchers. Examples of secondary data were used in this study include findings or results on xenophobia that are published in academic journals, university repository, books, and newspaper articles.

3.3.1 SAMPLING

Cassim (2015), argues that it is often too resource-intensive to include all members of a target population, hence the use of sampling. A smaller group of members from a target population is called a sample (Laxton 2004). According to Taylor (2003), in order to ensure representativeness of the target population, the sample has to adequately reflect the latter's heterogeneity for instance in terms of biological, geographic, demographic and other variables.

The researcher employed a five-step model developed by Cant et al. (2008), in order to define the sample group of Isiphingo residents and the immigration officers of the Department of Home Affairs:

Step 1: Defining the target population

The target population in this study include all the residents of Isiphingo both South Africans and foreign nationals. Isiphingo, an industrial area, situated South of Durban, with promising business ventures and foreign nationals are mostly business owners in the area owning small businesses for an example, internet cafes, phone repair shops, restaurants, spaza shops and many more. To enhance the validity of the study three immigration officers from the department of Home Affairs Head Office, also completed questionnaires

Step 2: Determining the sample frame

A sample frame is a group within the sample that is drawn from the target population and needs to be representative of this larger population. The sample frame for this study thus included South Africans, foreign nationals, both male and female, working and living in Isiphingo. The demographic profile of the sampling frame, for an example in terms of age, race, gender, educational level, and socioeconomic status, should preferably represent the profile of the target population. This proved to be difficult to attain in practice, it was fairly difficult for the researcher to determine the socioeconomic status for an example of foreign nationals, who did not have their businesses but resided in the area, asking personal questions to others was perceived as offensive as one question in the questionnaire stated 'do you own a business'? One participant felt undermined as a result.

The sampling frame in this study included South Africans who worked in foreign national owned shops so when answering the questions bias answers were given as their employers were present during the data collection process. Another sample frame included the public officials from the department of home affairs in Prospection an area that is part of Isiphingo, where most locals and foreign nationals in and around Isiphingo go to in order to apply for and acquire their legal status documents. There were too many complications when it came to the date of scheduled times for the researcher to administer the questionnaires at the DHA. The researcher was given a run around with excuses like '*it is too busy today, we are short-staffed, come back tomorrow, come back next week*', which caused too much inconveniences for the researcher and resulted in the researcher resorting to other forms of action to help remedy the situation and acquire the much needed data. The researcher decided to interview three

immigration officers from the Department of Home Affairs head office who deal specifically with immigration issues, and that somehow gave the researcher a way forward.

Step 3: Selecting a sampling technique

According to Cant *et al*. (2008), there are different sampling methods which can be used to select a sample group. For example, probability and non-probability sampling methods, single-unit and cluster sampling, single stage and multi-stage methods, stratified and unstratified methods of sampling, and equal unit probability and unequal probability sampling. However, for this study, the researcher used a purposive sampling technique to select interviewed participants for the study. The sample size had to be in line with the researcher's objectives; hence when the sample was decided upon, the researcher intended to link this with the study objectives. However this changed when the data collection process began for the reason that the researcher depended on snowballing method as more participants (mostly foreign nationals) were reluctant of being part of the study. Also, language proved to be a huge barrier.

A participant upon completion of the questionnaire would refer the researcher to his/her friend whom they knew would not have a problem in participating in the study. The advantage of using the snowballing sample method was that the researcher did not encounter difficulties trying to convince the participant, because the person who referred the researcher to the potential participant had already explained. The disadvantage of this was that the answers of the friends seemed just a little too similar and too bias because most referral participants shared the same sentiments with the friends and was encouraged to hold back some important information and bias responses were sometimes given.

There are other sampling methods, (judgment sampling, stratified, cluster sampling, and quota sampling) but they were not selected for some reasons. Judgment sampling is mostly assumed to have a greater potential for subjectivity and selection bias on the part of the researcher, while stratified and cluster sampling (both probability methods), may not be applicable because the characteristics of the population, were not well known by the researcher, hence making it challenging to know the different clusters and strata of different residents of Isiphingo. Quota sampling, a non-probability method which speaks to the characteristics of the target population such as the age of the participants, investigating it would have taken a lot of time coupled with the problem of willingness on the side of the participant who may not be keen on participating (Cant et al. 2008).

The initial research sample was purposive sampling as the researcher had a certain purpose in mind on who to use as participants in the study. However, during data collection, it was difficult to get potential participants for the study; hence the researcher resorted to convenient and snowball sampling techniques. People who are easy to reach for research are known as convenience samples (Babbie and Mouton 2001). Residents of Isiphingo were reluctant to be part of the study, as others demanded payment. There was a perception that the researcher is a government representative. The process of accessing other participants was done using snowballing sampling which Brink (2001), describes as a technique that consists of the assistance of research participants in order to get other potential participants. The first two participants suggested other participants who were likely to agree to be part of the study. This assisted the researcher in saving time and costs by traveling to a place knowing that the participants will not have the problem of being part of the study and will not have outrageous demands that the researcher cannot meet. The data collected from the participants do not represent the whole Isiphingo community; however, it merely indicates the sentiments of the community. For the sake of clarity foreign nationals in Isiphingo are referred to as *amakwerekwere, osbali, abangare,* the origin of these names is still unclear (Broumels 2015). Below is a table of foreign national participants and their different nationalities who were part of the study:

Step 4: Determining an appropriate sample size

According to Laxon (2004), for the target population to be accurately represented in the sample, there has to be an appropriate size. The more the sample size is increased, the more enhanced the target population. Laxon (2004), states that there are factors that influence the choice of sample size. These are discussed below:

One factor is whether the population is finite or infinite. In this study, the target population can be regarded as finite as the residents of Isiphingo are also small business owners in the area. Resource constraints, for example, time and costs as the researcher, had approximately twenty days to collect all data. The number and complexity of characteristics or variables that have to be reflected on the sample, the sample were residents and business owners residing in Isiphingo, (women and men, foreign nationals and South Africans).

According to Cant, et al. (2008), the desire to have accuracy and precision of sample results also influences the choice of sample. Precision refers to the variability in responses within the sample groups, while accuracy is used to illustrate how closely sample responses reflect the

truth in target population. The larger the sample size, the higher the probability of attaining increased accuracy, and precision, thus enhancing data integrity.

In light of the abovementioned considerations, a sample size of 100 participants was chosen. A total number of hundred questionnaires thus had to be completed. However, only seventy participants became the sample and from that seventy only thirty agreed to complete the questionnaire the other thirty resorted to focus groups as they complained about questionnaires being long and tiring and the remaining ten agreed to participate in interviews, thus making the data collection to become very difficult and time consuming for the researcher.

Step 5: Carrying out the sampling process

During this stage data collection was performed by the researcher over four weeks instead of two weeks. At one site in Isiphingo a total number of thirty questionnaires were administered by the researcher, representing 43% of the sample, thirty participants were in a focus group representing another 43% of the sample, and ten participants representing 14% of the sample took part in semi-structured interviews using questions from the questionnaires. The study had proposed public officials from the department of home affairs in Isipngo but due to their unwillingness to participate in the study, the researcher resorted to giving the questionnaires to three immigration officers at the Department of Home Affairs National office in Pretoria who agreed to be part of the study.

Addressing the Issues of sampling bias and sampling error

Sampling bias refers to the tendency to choose certain individuals over others for inclusion in a sample group; thus the sample group is not reflective of the target population as some people may be under-represented or over-represented (Laxton 2004). An example of sampling bias in this study was when the researcher at the beginning of the data collection process approached female foreign national participants based on the assumption that they were more approachable. However, after an unfriendly incident and decline where a lady who is a hairdresser refused to be part of the sample based on the notion that the researcher refused to do a hairstyle in return, the researcher ended up approaching more males in other businesses. This bias occurred intentionally, and as a result of the researcher's prejudice, sampling bias has the potential of seriously undermining the integrity of collected data.

Sampling error occurs as a result of sampling bias. According to Laxon (2004), sampling error reflects the variance in data obtained from a sample group, with a high sampling error

indicating that there is a high intra-sample variability. The accuracy with which a sample represents that the target population can be decreased by the sampling error (Laxton 2004). The minimisation of sampling bias can be attained by designing a sampling method that attempts to consciously include as many different types of individuals of the target population in the sample group. Sampling error can be minimized by using a large sample, as sample size increases, the difference in data decreases.

The potential bias was addressed later in the second week of the data collection process at the realisation that the sample had more males than females. The researcher, therefore, approached as many different subgroups of participants as possible who are Isiphingo residents and of both genders, from different nationalities and age groups.

Addressing issues of non-sampling error

Non-sampling, or measurement, an error occurs from how data or responses are obtained and can also result in samples being unrepresentative of the target population (Cassim 2015). According to Laxton (2004), this error can occur from the following:

Biased observations, by the data measurement tools, used:

Biased communications, such as in the focus groups, participants providing incorrect responses to influence the researcher favourably. Biased information can also result from the perceived purpose of the study. For instance, when foreign nationals perceive that the study aimed at exposing some of them as illegal immigrants and knowing that making this known will possibly result to xenophobic violence towards them or their deportation, they may be less willing to be truthful in their responses.

The potential for non-sampling error in the study was addressed by the researcher spending a few minutes explaining the purpose of the study to potential participants before handing out the questionnaires for completion; this was done in order to minimize biased communication. Respondents were made aware that their responses and identities were purely confidential and anonymous.

Enhancing the reliability of data

According to Guler (2004), if data is consistent and without bias, it is reliable. Hence data reliability is improved if sampling errors are minimised. It is essential to note that though reliability contributes to data integrity, it does not necessarily lead to validity and accuracy as

data may be highly accurate and consistently reflect a certain response, but it may be inaccurate, possibly because the design of the data-gathering tool has been incorrect (Guler 2004). In order to enhance the reliability of the data collected, a considerable sample size of 100 participants given the resource constraint of the researcher, while in the end 70 participants participate in the study.

Enhancing the validity of the data

According to Guler (2004), validity refers to the reflection of the accuracy of data obtained from a sample, and can be categorized into two types namely:

Internal validity, referring to the accuracy of a specific study's findings and the clear illustration of cause-and-effect relationships. Concerns related to internal validity could include whether each participant had only completed one questionnaire, whether any questionnaires was spoilt, and whether the focus groups and interviews done were conducted in a manner that did not anticipate or influence respondents to provide certain responses. According to Laxton (2004), certain factors may undermine internal validity:

Testing effects such as the palliative effect in which a particular psychological response, that may be indefensible are elicited.

Participants who dropped out of the study, or not completing a questionnaire. For example, this study envisaged using one hundred participants but a number of 30 participants did not complete the questionnaire and chose not to be part of the sample as they believed that somehow the researcher would reveal their names to government officials and they will be deported back to their country of origins. Also, the department of home affairs had initially agreed to avail their staff, but after a few visits of being given excuses due to lack of resources and time wasted on traveling to the offices the researcher eventually gave up and explored other available options.

Bias in the selection of the sample group:

Environmental changes occurring after the study has begun, an example of this in the current study could be in the media how foreign nationals are painted as 'criminals'. Withdrawal of some participants who mistook the researcher to be a media officer and for fear of being exposed, others were reluctant to respond to the interview questions; they withheld some relevant information.

External validity reflects the extent to which the findings of the study can be applied to other situations. External validity can be undermined by the time period, place at which the study is conducted and also the nature of study participants which all have the potential to make data acquired unrepresentative of the target population (Laxon 2004).

The validity of the current study was enhanced by:

Educating prospective participants about the nature and purpose of the study. This was done in order to encourage the respondents to take part in the study and/or complete the questionnaire. In the questionnaire, 'foreign national' is used instead of 'foreigner' which in most cases is perceived to be offensive. The language used in the questionnaire is simple that participants can easily understand and relate with it.

On one occasion, the researcher had an encounter with a woman who refused to be part of the study after she asked for an incentive that the researcher could not offer. After that episode the researcher avoided asking women to participate in the study, rather she resorted to approaching more men. At the realisation that biased actions had been taken by the researcher on the second week of the four weeks of data collection. The researcher made attempts to minimise bias in sampling selection by including as many different individuals as possible, including more women.

According to Guler (2004), the validity of a study can be achieved by improving the questionnaires' content validity, or the ability of the research instrument to assess the area that it aims to investigate comprehensively. Content validity has to do with whether the questionnaire holistically covers various aspects of social integration and xenophobia.

3.3.2 DATA COLLECTION METHODS

According to Cassim (2015), data collection methods are the tools that the researcher chooses to use in the process of gathering data. These include interviews, surveys, questionnaire, and focus groups, among others. In this study, the researcher initially had proposed questionnaires for all participants, but due to hiccups during the data collection process, where most participants did not want to compete for the content of the questionnaires, others complaining that it is very time-consuming. The researcher had no option than to listen to potential participants as to get the needed data for the study. Thirty participants (South Africans), preferred focus groups and thirty participants (foreign nationals) preferred interviews rather than completing questionnaires and only ten from the sample used the questionnaires while

another thirty decided to opt out from the sample by taking administered questionnaires away without completing them.

Additionally, semi-structured interviews were to be held with the public officials from the department of home affairs in Durban (Prospection branch). This was done to in order to get an understanding of the side of government officials on the role they play or might play in mitigating the menace of xenophobia and enhancing social integration and also to find out what procedures or initiatives the government have in place in fighting against what has been labelled as a national crisis. After being given the run around at Home Affairs for three weeks, the researcher had to find other means in order to enhance the study by sending electronic questionnaires to three immigration officers at the Department of Home Affairs national office.

3.3.2.1 Interviews

According to Cassim (2015), there are mainly three types of interviews, structured, semi-structured and unstructured interviews. For this study, semi-structured interview was chosen. Cassim (2015), argues that unstructured interviews are when the researcher does not have a pre-determined list of questions for interviewees, there is no standardization as the interviewees may be asked different questions. Thus internal validity is undermined. In the case of structured interviews, the researcher asked the same questions, so there is standardisation. According to Cassim (2015), the disadvantage of using structured interviews is that the researcher does not deviate from the set of questions; important issues may be missed.

Hence the researcher chose semi-structured interviews firstly because interviews were not part of the initial plan; they were done to remedy the situation in order to acquire the much-needed information. With semi-structured interviews the researcher has a core list of questions that each interviewee is asked, an example with the current study the researcher took the questions on the questionnaires but had flexibility and made sure that the interview was led by the questions but could take any direction for the gaining of more information. There was the flexibility to have followed up questions with additional questions or discussions, depending on what the interviewee has said. This allowed the researcher to probe and find out more information that may not have been covered in the core list of questions.

3.3.2.2 Questionnaires

According to Laxton (2004), questionnaires are advantageous in that they can be completed within a short period (depending on the number of questions to be answered), from a large

number of people in a relatively cost-effective way. Although some participants may find completing questionnaires time consuming on their part, they are very much convenient, in the current study a population of 30 participants considered completing questionnaires as a complete waste of their time but if they can be interviewed while working they can participate in the study. However, this was more time consuming and inconveniencing for the researcher but it was the only option to get the data needed. Its validity and reliability does not necessarily rely on who administered questionnaires, can be analysed more 'scientifically' and objectively than other forms of research

As there are advantages, there are also disadvantages of using questionnaires. Some of the disadvantages concerning this study include its difficulty to convince respondents to complete questionnaires. For instance, in this study, some respondents complained that it was tiring and takes a lot of their business time. Hence, it was difficult for the researcher to convince them. Also, not all of those targeted filled out the questionnaires which became a challenge for the researcher as there was a low response rate to questionnaires: thirty of the participants ended up not completing questionnaires given to them.

3.3.2.3 Focus groups

According to Laxon (2004), a focus group is where the researcher brings together a group of 8-10 people and ask them questions on a particular topic of interest. It is not advisable to have more than this number as it tends to be difficult for the facilitator to control. An advantage of holding focus group discussion is that the researcher can save time, compared to having 8-10 one-on-one interviews. Thus the researcher can access a larger sample size. However, there are also several disadvantages of focus group discussions. Individuals may not be comfortable in disclosing sensitive or personal information as with the case with residents of Isiphingo. In this study, some residents of Isiphingo felt that disclosing their true feelings on the subject of xenophobia and foreign nationals living in the area might implicate them for their role(s) in the 2015 xenophobic violence in the area. Louder individuals tend to dominate the discussion, which was the case in this study, so the researcher had to intervene at times and gave others a platform to speak and these required effective facilitator skills that the researcher had to master at that instant moment.

South Africans residing in Isiphingo preferred to be in a focus group rather than filling out the questionnaire as most of them complained that they cannot express themselves by writing and had too many commitments. The focus group was not the choice of the researcher, but the

choice of the participants. The focus group took approximately three hours with 8-10 people per session for two weeks; it was eye-opening as both the researcher and the participants were not weary of the time because the session kept flowing in the right direction. The participants got very comfortable in speaking on the subject of xenophobia to the researcher, thus helping the researcher get an in-depth of the situation of Isiphingo.

3.4 ETHICAL PRINCIPLES AND CONSIDERATIONS

This research was designed and conducted in accordance with the University of Zululand's Policy on Research Ethics, in particular, section 6.2 ("Guidelines for research involving human participants") (University of Zululand 2016). Participant's privacy was protected by making the questionnaires confidential and anonymous, and participants were informed about this at the outset. As stated earlier, participants were informed on the purpose and nature of the study and were told it was towards the researcher's master's degree at the Public Administration Department at the University of Zululand. The following considerations were also considered in the study:

Voluntary participation: Participants were told that participating in the study is completely voluntary and at no point did the researcher use coercion, bribe any inducement to potential participants in order to participate in the study.

Informed consent: Prospective participants in this study were fully informed about the procedures involved in research and in compliance with the University of Zululand's policy on research ethics, participants were provided with written information providing further details of the research problem. Prior to the participants filling out questionnaires and participating in the focus groups and interview sessions, they were required to give their consent to participate. By completing the informed consent form, they submitted their choice to refrain from being part of the sample at any time. Hence, there was also contact details of the researcher and supervisor in case participants felt the need to withdraw from being part of the study or contact either the researcher or supervisor at any time.

Risk of harm: The participants, especially the foreign nationals were not put at any risk of harm both physical and psychological as a result of their participation in this study. Xenophobia is a very sensitive subject, and most of them were affected by it and being part of the study might have triggered some bad memories. Hence the researcher had a psychology student on site and participants were also comfortable as there was another foreign national student who accompanied the researcher during the data collection process. Participants were also reminded

that they could withdraw from participating if it got too much to handle, it was also important to emphasize to the participant that the study was not intended to cause harm to them

Confidentiality: Participants were assured that identifying information was not to be made available to anyone who is not directly involved in the study. Moreover, anonymity was assured.

3.5 DATA ANALYSIS

Interview, notes, and focus group notes containing primary data collected were typed and saved in full immediately after each session. The data was subjected to content analysis, a method used to analyse qualitative data. The steps used to analyse the data were that of Charlestown (2002):

In each question that participants answered, keywords were highlighted, the researcher did not have a pre-determined list of themes or words and relied on participants' responses as this would have introduced some bias and for the researcher to miss important details brought up by the participants if they were not on the researcher's list. The responses of the participants were used as the starting point and keywords were extracted from these. Different individuals' responses were highlighted in different colours in order to allow the researcher to keep track of participants' responses as names were mentioned in order to maintain participant' anonymity

Using Microsoft word, the researcher created a table in which all keywords by all participants for each question were placed in different cells, several keywords of a similar theme or nature were then gathered together, leading to a number of different subgroups. Each subgroup was given a name based on its theme; these names were regarded as codes. These codes were developed from the response of participants' listed. Codes which covered similar issues were put together making a broader code, thus making the analysis easier. Categories were defined for each code, in which data could be assigned easily.

Charlestown (2002) argues that this step in the analysis is particularly time-consuming. He further states that if it is properly done it allows a greater yield of information to be obtained from the data. The researcher had to carefully go through all the data from all participants' again with data assigned to the appropriate category and code. Each piece of data was allocated to only one category.

Lastly, a coding frame was constructed, in which the different categories were listed as well as the frequency with which the data fell into each category. According to Robson (1993), there

are several limitations of using content analysis and coding. For instance, an important piece of data may only have occurred once and could be diluted if the emphasis was placed on comparing the frequency with which data fell into each defined category, bias and other weaknesses in the identification of defined category. Robinson (1993) further states that codes could undermine the validity and accuracy of a study and research findings. Hence it was significant for the researcher not to predetermine what the codes should be, rather use participant's responses as key determinants for the codes. This approach enhanced the validity of the chosen research method.

3.6 CONCLUSION

In this chapter, the research methodology was explained inclusive of the research design, the data collection tools that were used in collecting data. Sampling and research methods were outlined. The research process used to achieve the aims and objectives of the study were laid out and explained. The research ethics considered by the researcher in conducting this study was also presented as well as the data analysis methods. Thus giving the reader a clear understanding of what steps were taken and what method was used in this study.

The next chapter will provide a brief description of the study area, the profile of the xenophobes and present some cases of xenophobia in South Africa, the trends, a comparative analysis of the 2008 and 2015 xenophobic violence.

<center>**CHAPTER FOUR**</center>

<center>**CASES OF XENOPHOBIA IN SOUTH AFRICA: TRENDS, CAUSES AND ACTORS**</center>

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter discusses the profile and description of the study area. The main components of the chapter describe Isiphingo as the study focus area under the EThekwini Metropolitan municipality, how it is structured, the population, etc. It also gives an insight on the historical causes of xenophobia, cases of xenophobia in South Africa, the profile of the victims of xenophobia, (the main targets), it gives a brief comparative analysis of the 2008 and 2015 xenophobic violence in South Africa. It discusses the causes and actors of xenophobia in South Africa.

4.2 PROFILE OF ISIPHINGO

Figure 4. 1: below is the map of Isiphingo, KwaZulu-Natal Province.

Source Map data, Google

KwaZulu-Natal province consists of ten districts municipalities and one Metropolitan Municipality which is EThekwini. A large percentage of migrants choose the city of Durban because business and job opportunities prospects are perceived to be better than anywhere else in the country (Maharaj and Moodley 2009). A number of foreign nationals consider life in Durban as one that is peaceful and less crime-ridden than Johannesburg, and other cities in South Africa opines Hunter and Skinner (2002). According to Maharaj and Moodley (2009), there are not many languages spoken in Durban that one needs to learn in order to live there.

The prominent languages spoken in Durban are either English or IsiZulu. This makes Durban a haven for foreign nationals.

The study focuses on Isiphingo an area situated 19 kilometers south of Durban. During the apartheid-era, Isiphingo was a 'white only' area, later classified as an Indian area after the whites were forced to sell their homes and move out. It was claimed 'fair' by the apartheid government, as it wished to justify why millions of non-whites were forced from their homes around South Africa (Moodley 1997). Isiphingo forms part of the EThekwini Municipal area and is built on the high ridge of sand at the mouth of Isiphingo River (Moodley 1997). Isiphingo is named after the river, and the name is derived from the intertwined cat-thorn shrubs present in the area. The town comprises Isiphingo hills, Isiphingo rail, Isiphingo beach, Lotus Park, 'Orient hills and Malukazi.

From the statistics of 2011, approximately 30,193 people are living in Isiphingo. Below is a table which shows the statistical percentage of different races in Isiphingo.

Table 4.1: The percentage of different race groups in Isiphingo

RACE	PERCENTAGE
Black African	40.6%
Coloured	1.5%
Indian	56.9%
White	0.25%
Other	0.7%

Scholars have argued that South Africans generally demonstrate negative sentiments towards foreign nationals, regardless of their economic status, whether they are employed, unemployed, rich, or poor, male context is an evolving and on-going phenomenon, deeply rooted in the country. The findings emphasized that foreign nationals are still the soft targets unless a solution is found; this will remain in the foreseeable future (SAMP 2013).

In South Africa, education appears to make little difference to persistent xenophobic, sentiments; in a report by The Gauteng City-Region Observatory Report, 73% of those with tertiary education believes that foreigners were benefiting from what rightfully belongs to them. Frighteningly, even those less educated expressed similar attitudes as 75% of those with no education shared the same sentiments, suggest that female, black, white, conservative, liberal all share a remarkably similar xenophobic attitude (Polzer and Takabvirwa 2010). South Africa is nowhere close to addressing or curbing the problem of xenophobia. According to a

2013 South African Migration Project (SAMP) survey, the findings highlighted that little or nothing had been done in combating xenophobic attitudes countrywide since the 2008 major xenophobic violence which resulted in killing scores of foreign nationals (GCRO 2009). Crush (2008) argues that persistent deep, negative feelings and attitudes against foreign nationals exceed gender, class or race.

4.3 FOREIGN NATIONALS TARGETED

Foreign nationals from the SADC region in particular from countries like Lesotho, Swaziland and Botswana have appeared to be more welcomed and favourable in South Africa than other African foreign nationals (Adjai and Lazaridis 2013). From a global standpoint, migrants from North America and Europe, particularly white by race are more welcomed in South Africa, whereas migrants from the rest of Africa are perceived negatively in particular foreign nationals from Nigeria, Congo, Angola, Somali, among others, are an important element of xenophobia. The level of xenophobic attitudes, exhibited by South Africans towards foreign nationals, particularly towards African migrants seem to be one that is intolerant. In Isiphingo there are numerous shops owned by foreign nationals; white, coloured and black inclusive. However, during the 2015 xenophobic outbreak, only shops owned by African foreign nationals were looted and African migrants brutally attacked?

Experts have referred to the incidents of xenophobic violence in South Africa as 'new-racism or 'afro-phobia' (Muchiri 2016). There are quite a few underlying causes and manifestations of these xenophobic sentiments. There is complex mix of cultural, social, economic, legal and political factors. For this reason, it is crucial that xenophobia is understood within political, historical, economic and cultural contexts.

4.4 THE EXPERIENCE OF XENOPHOBIA IN SOUTH AFRICA: 2008 OUTBREAK

In 2008 when the South African xenophobic attacks on African immigrants broke out, the reaction of the public was one of horror and shock. The Los Angeles Times stated that 'Migrants were burnt in South Africa'. Thabo Mbeki who was the then president of South Africa called for an end to these criminal and shameful attacks. Signs of xenophobia that emerged in the young South African democracy left commentators stunned. Many victims of xenophobia in South Africa had initially fled their countries of origin as refugees from persecution and violence. Genocidal violations of human rights had appeared in some Sub-Saharan African countries; the new Democratic South Africa stood as a guiding light of democracy and respect for human dignity that is embodied in its Bill of Rights (Tella and

Ogunnubi 2014). The recognition of xenophobia as a social problem go beyond the much-publicized May 2008 violent outbreak by more than a decade. There is a diverse range of literature on xenophobia in South Africa many of which assess the perceptions of the people of South Africa and immigrants rather than looking at the underlying causes of such hatred (Neocosmos 2008). Little agreement exists on how xenophobia could be addressed and how to prevent future occurrence. However numerous competing explanations have been given in the literature of xenophobia in post-apartheid South Africa.

Studies have constantly acknowledged strong, undesirable hostility towards foreign nationals amongst the government bureaucrats and the general public in South Africa (Dodson 2010, Joubert 2008, HSRC 2008, Crush 2008 and Nyamnjoh 2006). There are cases of positivity regarding the treatment of non-nationals, tolerance, and hospitality by South Africans. However, there is still convincing evidence that generally South Africans are still uncomfortable with the presence of non-nationals particularly Black African foreigners (Misago, Landau and Monson 2009). This is visible in numerous literature statistics both at national and local levels. According to Dodson (2002), it was found that 87% South Africans felt that there were just too many foreigners being let into the country in a survey conducted by the South African Migration project in 1998. Another study asserted that 20% of South Africans felt that everyone from other neighbouring countries living in South Africa be it legally or not should be sent home, another 25% of South Africans favour the total banning on immigration and migration, this is considerably more than that in other countries in the region (Groom 2000).

The findings of a survey conducted by the Institute for Democracy in South Africa (IDASA) in 2011, proved that there are persistent negative attitudes towards foreign nationals, particularly black African migrants. South Africans who are opposed to immigrants demonstrate various forms of xenophobic attitudes alluding that immigrants threaten the health of the nation and weaken the society (IDASA 2011). Similarly, findings from a survey conducted by the Gauteng City-Region Observatory (GCRO) in 2014, it was concluded that in Gauteng the levels of xenophobia and intolerance is increasing rapidly, as 35% of all respondents said all foreigners should be sent home now (Bekker, 2015).

There are more than 43 500 refugees and 227 000 asylum seekers that currently reside in South Africa; the majority of immigrants accorded refugee status from Burundi, Somalia, and Democratic Republic of Congo (Scalabrini Institute for Human Mobility in Africa, 2016).

There are also thousands of undocumented immigrants being hosted by South Africa. One of the upsetting and unique features of the xenophobic violence in South Africa was that the perpetrators were disadvantaged. There were too many post-apartheid expectations on the South African government to correct all the unfairness of the apartheid government towards the majority of black South Africans in particular. The realization by citizens that these expectations cannot be achieved the rate the people expected led to anger on the side of South Africans who felt that they have to compete with limited resources, such as health care, housing, inadequate public services, competition for employment and business, the frequency of illegal immigration, bribery and perceived threats to relationships with South African women.

The rise of xenophobic violence in post-apartheid South Africa has raised several competing explanations in various literature. The most dominant focus on material or economic conditions common to areas affected by xenophobic violence. According to Misago, Landau, and Manson (2009), poor South Africans, mostly black consider foreign nationals as threats and/or competitors to existing limited resources. The 2008 xenophobic attacks occurred in the informal settlements and townships that are "marginalized" areas marked by high unemployment, exposed to crime and violence, poor living conditions, which strengthen economic explanations of xenophobia. Early accounts of the 2008 xenophobic violence found that deprivation and poverty were the root causes of such violent behaviours. Xenophobia is mostly attributed to violence against the poor and destitute. Hence, Neocosmos (2008) raised a question that if xenophobia is a problem of the destitute and poor, why are poor foreigners attacked and not the elite whites? There is little relationship between the locations of the attacks and poverty. While it is assumed that xenophobic violence erupted in South Africa's poorer urban communities, the areas with the highest levels of poverty were not the most violent; many such places were peaceful (Sharp, 2008).

Statistical surveys that have been conducted to examine South Africans opinion of foreigners, particularly African foreigners show that South Africans across class, gender, race, and political leanings are extremely intolerant (Dodson, 2010; Crush et al. 2008). There is no "typical xenophobe profile", these findings challenge the notion that certain social groups, the poor and vulnerable in particular are more likely to be xenophobic than others (Crush & Ramachandran 2009). Often looked in the analysis of the May 2008 violence is that a third of the people killed were South Africans perhaps mistaken for foreigners due to their appearance or accent (Landau 2008). Popular anger also turned against other South Africans from ethnic

minorities and peripheral areas such as Shangaan of the Mpumalanga lowveld and Pedi from Northern Limpopo living in urban townships (Everatt 2011). Xenophobic violence was not only targeted to non-nationals but those considered outsiders in particular urban areas.

Various authors have suggested that since the transition to democracy in 1994 South Africa's redefinition of the boundaries of the citizenship has entailed the creation of a new citizen (Nyamnjoh 2010). It has been argued that neoliberal state policy was a critical factor in igniting the May 2008 xenophobic violence in South Africa, because the state was considered to have privileged the interests of the rising selected few black and the long-established white elite by favouring isolationist policies that limit the burden immigrants place on the society with its development imperatives. However, while overt violent is not condoned, the government has used tactics that enabled and legitimized the spread of xenophobia in several ways (Desai 2008).

State agencies like the Department of Home Affairs (DHA) and the South African Police Services (SAPS) have been given licenses to systematically abuse foreigners though the government seems to deny this (Mosselson 2010). Officials have used exaggerated estimates of legal immigrants in public statements. Senior government officials and ministers have used figures to support claims of overwhelming overflows of immigrants entering the country when covering the slow delivery of RDP housing, social services, and development (Neocosmos 2006). The political explanation of xenophobic attitudes within civil society, such as the need to preserve the benefits and rights of citizens against perceived threats of intrusion from non-citizens (Crush et al. 2008, Everatt 2011)

State officials have blamed immigrants for a number of problems the country is facing like rising unemployment, crime and the spread of HIV/AIDS and other diseases (Human Rights Watch, 1998). Terms like "illegal alien" which through policy is institutionally sanctioned thus adds to the frequent mix of immigration and illegality in the public scope (Mosselson, 2010). The media also plays a huge role in the linking of foreigners with illegality, along with stereotyping of foreigners, black foreigners in particular as dangerous criminals. This view omits evidence that African immigrants are far more likely to be victims than perpetrators of criminal activity (Danso & McDonald, 2001).

The violence began on May 11 2008, in Alexandra Township outside Johannesburg when a mob invaded a disused factory that was inhabited by Zimbabweans. Inhabitants were chased away into the township, shacks set alight, shops looted and people killed in the process.

The police responded to the violence by making arrests; the army was brought in to stabilise the situation. President of South Africa at that time Thabo Mbeki was immensely criticised for his initial reluctance to comment on the violence, two weeks later he broke the silence and condemned it. Jacob Zuma who was the president of the ruling African National Congress (ANC) also condemned violence towards black foreign nationals. There were allegations that the Zulu king was behind the 2015 xenophobic violence towards migrants. The SAHRC later cleared the king saying although his comments were harmful and hurtful, there was no causal link between his words and the xenophobia attacks which left seven people dead. Moreover, it is important that the government, the people in power are aware of the implications and also the role they play in integrating the locals as well the migrants (Eye Witness News 2016).

Integration occurs at several levels of the society (local, national, regional and international) and takes social, economic, political form. Its success or failure is determined by the interaction of enabling and inhibiting variables. The merits of integration are somewhat obvious; from a global perspective, African states are not strong enough to survive on the global markets alone. In order to increase their clout and to ensure their security, African countries have to belong to a regional group (Ferguson 1999). There is a general recognition, and the real question is not whether there should be co-operation rather identify that combination of coordination, co-operation, and integration, that is realistic and feasible under prevailing conditions, and that could thus best advance the goals of contributing to development and growth both socially and economically are promoted (Mkhondo 2015).

The history of refugees and asylum seekers in South Africa dates back to the 1980s when the country was home to a number of Mozambican refugees estimated to 350 000 of whom approximately 205 000 have since returned home, South Africa did not recognise refugees until 1993 when it became signatory to the United Nations and Organisation of African Unity conventions on refugees in 1994. The number of refugees and asylum seekers in South Africa has since increased in the past years. The issue regarding the number of undocumented immigrants in the country has proved to be uncontroversial in South Africa. Central to this debate is the unquantifiable nature of this group of immigrants, together with a number of credible myths widely accepted as s reality in South African society (Biekpe, 2008)

South Africa is one of the most industrialized developing countries in Africa, and it attracts thousands of foreign nationals every year seeking refuge from poverty, economic crises, war and government persecution in their home countries. This movement is attributed to the cause

of xenophobia in the nation. For instance, a series of violent short attacks took place in numerous South African cities and towns, during the second half of May 2008 through to the first week of June (Sosibo 2015). Civilians who were largely poor, black, young and middle-aged South African men, inflicted on foreign-owned property and businesses. These outbursts took place in predominantly urban informal settlements, hostels and townships where many foreign nationals live; Gauteng was the first province to experience these, a week after the first serious event spread to other areas of the country such as Cape Town and the Western Cape in particular. In the initial beginning of these episodes the reaction of the government was evasive and that of denial, regarding the scope and seriousness of the violence. Subsequently, as these events spread across the country, the state was woken from the denial state and sought explanations in a mob and criminal behaviour. The geographic spread of outbursts was accompanied by wide coverage in the mass media- radio, television, and newspapers, which mostly focused on the possible causes of such events (Bekker 2010)

In a similar vein the Development Indicators Report (2008), points out that in order to counter the effects of a turbulent global political and economic system and especially to arrest marginalisation; developing states need to integrate their national political and economic systems. However, with more than two decades of a democratic South Africa, the country still has a long way to go while trying to curb racial discrimination. Only in theory, the country is free from segregation among its citizens (both white and black South Africans) but in practice it is far from ending this discrimination which led to another form of discrimination against people who are non-South Africans otherwise known as xenophobia (Campbell, 2016)

Kollapan (1999) argues that xenophobia as a term must be reframed to incorporate practice as it is not only an attitude but an activity. It is not just the dislike or fear of foreigners but has escalated to being violent practices that result in bodily harm damage. More particularly, the violent practice that comprises violence must be further refined to include its specific target because in South Africa not all foreigners are uniformly victimised. There have been a number of reports that highlighted various issues contributing to xenophobia some of which include poor service delivery and competition for the limited resources. There has also been speculation that the type of leadership within the communities might have an impact on whether or not the xenophobic attacks occur in certain communities, which addresses the issue of governance. The issue is not only about foreign nationals and their rights, but also the safety of all those who live in South Africa. Most of these violent attacks have been carried out by black South African (Zuma, 2009).

On the 11th of May 2008 in Alexandra Johannesburg what others called a disaster, a crisis of national shame and an emergency took place. This initial outbreak of violence aimed at foreigners took place and was rapidly followed by others within Northern Johannesburg spreading to settlements in Ekurhuleni (Eastern Johannesburg), then to central Johannesburg on to western Johannesburg and Randfontein (western Johannesburg). Attacks on foreigners spread to Durban, KZN on the 17th of May 2008 resulting in displacements of some 2000 foreign nationals (Mthombothi 2015). As the violence in Gauteng and KZN subsided, attacks against foreigners commenced in the Western Cape on May 22, 2008. Violence (or threats thereof), caused foreign nationals to flee from various communities in Cape Town and further afield in the province including from townships like Knynsa, Mossell bay, Somerset West, Strand, Hermanus and Paarl (Choane, Shulika, & Mthombeni, 2015).

According to Bekker (2010), on the 26th May 2008 the safety and security minister Charles Nqakula declared that xenophobic violence had been brought under control. The key characteristics of the May violence were the threat or attack on non-nationals living in townships and informal settlements in the main urban settlements of Gauteng and the Western Cape. In some instances, some South Africans who were perceived to be foreigners or South African spouses of non-nationals were attacked. Looting and widespread robbery of foreign-owned businesses, and personal property took place, either from premises still occupied by foreigners or from those premises that were temporarily left vacant as foreign owners decided to flee for safety purposes (Patel & Essa, 2015). In Gauteng in particular attacks were very violent; these attacks usually took place during the night. Among victims were people from Kenya, Malawi, Nigeria, Pakistan, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Somalia, Burundi, DRC, as well as Tshivenda and Xitsonga speaking South Africans (Konanani & Odeku, 2013).

The motivation for displacement varied between the Western Cape and Gauteng. Attacks were noted to be of high levels of violence. Sixty-two deaths were reported of which one-third of those killed, were South African citizens. In Cape Town no death was officially acknowledged resulting from the attack. Although reports variously claimed that 2 or 4 people died because of these attacks (during the height of the crisis). Displacement in the Western Cape was predominantly of a pre-emptive nature as foreign nationals sought protection in anticipation of violence. In many instances, they were directly threatened and told to leave the communities in which they resided (Neocosmos, 2008). Some temporary shelters were established mainly in Gauteng, and Cape Town as the reactions of many victims was mainly fear and panic, most fled their residential places. More than 20 000 refugees were accommodated in these shelters,

and a wide number of African foreign nationals were reported to have fled South Africa. After a specified period, the government urged those refugees who remained in shelters to return back to their places of residence, which they had left since the outbursts were believed to have calmed down (Bekker 2010).

It was reported that in May alone 62 people were killed and approximately 670 were left wounded because of xenophobic attacks in 2008. These attacks broke out in the poor neighbourhood of Alexandra in Johannesburg, and police managed to arrest 1433 people whom most were South Africans. The South African government acknowledged an urgent need to step up to fight against poverty and unemployment as they saw this as part of the causes of xenophobia (Sharp, 2008).

4.5 THE 2015 XENOPHOBIC VIOLENCE

There have been numerous violent outbursts in recent years, but these have not been intense and closely knit as the two episodes of May 2008 and April 2015 (Bekker 2015).

Despite the fact that it was not greatly publicized in the media the 2015 xenophobic violence initially happened in Limpopo region on 5 March 2015. Dissenting villagers on the outskirts of Polokwane threatened to burn and loot foreign nationals alive. Foreign shop owners were compelled to vacate their shops, dreading for their lives. The viciousness started in Ga-Sekgopo area after a foreign shop owner was found in possession of a cell phone belonging to a man who was murdered. The villagers requested answers from the shop owner regarding how it happened that he had owned a cell phone that belonged to a local man who was killed. However, it was not clear if the phone was sold or was brought to the shop owner to be fixed (South African History Online, 2015).

Much emphasis was given to the xenophobic violence that erupted in Durban, Kwa-Zulu Natal in April 2015, occurring in Isiphingo a residential and industrial area in the EThekwini Metro municipality, south of Durban's CBD. Rumour has it that local businesses were hiring foreign nationals in pursuit of replacing local workers involved in wage and industrial disputes, hence the outbursts of the locals against foreign nationals.

After its initial outbreak, a series of other violent incidents were reported in other parts of the metro, the Northern township of KwaMashu and the inner-city residential area of Verulam. More particularly informal residential neighbourhoods where foreign-owned shops were situated were burnt and looted. This assail continued for two weeks. It led to locals marching

on a number of occasions with an apparent purpose of driving migrants out of Durban. Local foreign migrants responded by organising a demonstration in the metro's CBD during which clashes took place between the demonstrators and the South African police (News24 2015).

According to Sosibo (2015), Soweto (Johannesburg's largest township) indulged in what was reported as a 'looting-frenzy' of foreign-owned shops and later spread to other townships in Gauteng. Six people were pronounced dead and a large number of Somalis, Bengalis, Pakistanis and Ethiopians were left destitute. According to the Gauteng provincial politicians, the catalyst of such events was categorized to economic reasons. These attacks were described as the act of frustrations on the side of local business owners as they felt demoralised and that they could not develop and thrive as business owners in their own communities because of the competition from the foreign nationals. Sosibo (2015) however added that one cannot deny the fact that locals are being squeezed out of business by foreign shop owners as they sell to the people at reasonably low prices.

Bekker (2010) opines that violence does not occur in isolation; there are always underlying factors and also it derives intellectual stimulus from events that are comparable elsewhere. Two weeks before the Durban xenophobic attacks began, a public announcement was made by the Zulu King Zwelithini, asking foreigners to pack their bags and leave. While addressing the locals in Pongola in IsiZulu during a moral regeneration event, the King accused the government of failing to protect the South African people to what he referred to as the 'influx' of foreign nationals into the country. The king alluded in saying that leaders in government are not vocal on such matters as they are afraid to lose votes. He went on to say being led by leaders with no views cannot be tolerated (Ndou 2015). The king later denied inciting xenophobic violence, the media reproduced verbatim the king's words after careful translation, and he later blamed the media for misinterpreting and taking his words out of context (Mhlongo 2015). According to News24 (2015), it was already too late as the damage was already done, and the violence against African migrants caused huge havoc from the other African states and the responses were outrageous.

There were a number of wide-range and deeply critical reactions in response to these violent episodes by a number of sub-Saharan African governments; some were threatening retaliation through the deportation of South Africans as well as their businesses from their territory.

Political leaders from Mozambique, Zimbabwe, and Malawi publicly condemned the attacks with both Zimbabwe and Malawi sending buses to take their people back home following the

violent outbursts. According to Visser (2015), the Nigerian government summoned its acting high commissioner in South Africa and its consul-general back home for briefing in Nigerian parliament concerning the welfare of Nigerian citizens residing in South Africa. Mozambican workers at South African gas stations downed their tools in protest following what was referred to as "the anti-immigrant violence" in Durban and Johannesburg. Malawi stopped South African vehicles from entering the country, Kenya offered to evacuate its people from South Africa before the situation deteriorated, Mozambique responded by throwing stones on South African vehicles and Nigeria threatened to cut all bilateral ties and to close down all South African businesses.

Other foreign African governments have to a large extent blamed the South Africa government for being visibly unapologetic about the 2015 violence, unlike with the case of the 2008 violence. On the contrary, the Nigerian government was condemned by the South African government for withdrawing its envoys and establishing a special body to search out criminals (both South African and foreign), for prosecution and extradition.

A week after the 2015 episodes were terminated, a national government programme aimed at relieving the country of illegal drug dens, prostitution rings, illegal weapons, and other illegal activities was established. It was initially carried out by the South African national defence force, it was named operation fiela-reclaim and was launched by the national inter-ministerial committee on migration. It was reported that 256 suspects were arrested, during its first week of operation and were charged with 150 cases of public violence countrywide. Approximately 1507 documented foreign nationals who were awaiting repatriation were sent home, and another 1997 undocumented foreign nationals from both KwaZulu-Natal and Gauteng were given temporary shelter (Hunter 2015).

4.6 THE 2017 XENOPHOBIA

The causes of the recent xenophobic violence vary from the resentment of growing microenterprise competition and anger towards the government. Khaas and Motsohi (2017), argue that the reasons for the eruptions of these conflicts are based on various elements including lack of proper border control and management, lack of job opportunities in the country, weak police presence, law enforcement, and also a lack of clear foreign policy guidelines. South Africa currently has 278 municipalities and almost in all black communities there is a shop owned by a foreign national, a number of these businesses are owned by foreign nationals from Nigeria, Somalia, Ethiopia, Bangladesh and Pakistan, and have been very

successful. It is alleged that a large number of these traders are undocumented and are trading illegally (Khaas and Motsohi, 2017).

According to Capazorio (2017**)**, attacks on foreigners in South Africa have had a significant impact on the number of tourists from other countries and the rest of Africa particularly wanting to visit the country. Meanwhile, Australians are being influenced by the negative attitudes and safety fears of South African expats residing there. Xolisile Xasa, the minister of tourism in South Arica has had to account to parliament on the status of the tourist influxes in the country following parliamentary questions posed by the opposition party. The tourism industry of South Africa has experienced a decrease in the number of tourists coming into the country particularly from Australia and Nigeria yet a lot has been invested on advertising and rebranding South Africa as a brand or tourist attraction destination. Because Nigerians perceive South Africans as a nation that does not have a welcoming attitude to West Africans. This perception was influenced by the recent attacks on foreigners; meanwhile, the reason behind the low brand positivity in Australia was due to safety and security concerns as well as negative sentiments by expats. However, tourists from the USA had increased by 9%. This was because of enhanced perceptions of safety in that country and the fact that the Dollar/Rand exchange made South Africa a good value for money destination

4.7 UNDERLYING HISTORICAL CAUSES OF XENOPHOBIA IN SOUTH AFRICA

During the apartheid era, the apartheid government imposed strict laws that regulated the movement of black majority within the country. This limited the ability of South Africans to accommodate one another, mix or even tolerate differences between themselves and foreigners, coupled with the restrictions on immigration on Africans entering South Africa, as a result, the number of Africans who entered South Africa was equally limited (Morris 1998).

In Post-apartheid South Africa, there has been a substantial increase in legal and illegal migration in South Africa by Africans. The relation between unknown foreigners and previously isolated South Africans has since created a space for xenophobia and hostility to occur (Muchiri 2016). It has been argued that for people who have been isolated in the international arena and have no history of integrating with strangers in its community, experiencing an influx of migrants, may be difficult to comprehend and welcome. Thus South Africans find the "foreign-ness" of foreigners very dangerous and threatening (Muchiri 2016).

Reaffirming this assertion, McKnight (2008) argues that much of this current hostility and hatred towards foreigners have been linked to the apartheid era when strict racial discrimination

and pass laws were imposed on black South Africans. After 1994, a new era of democracy came with the annulment of pass laws and everyone could move and travel freely in the country regardless of their race and gender. With the new freedom, African migrants were at a disadvantage as legal visa restrictions and immigration controls were imposed on them. The exclusion of certain racial groups in the past is believed to be the basis of the foundation of xenophobia and thus gave it a platform to flourish gracefully. Crush (2008) argues that xenophobia in South Africa is being practiced by primarily black South Africans and African immigrants from other African countries are mostly targeted. The new way of excluding "others" is no longer on the basis of skin colour but nationality. According to Neocosmos (2009), xenophobic sentiments in South Africa mostly affects black African nationalities, for instance, Mozambicans and Nigerians are stereotyped for being masterminds behind illegal activities like illegal immigration and drug activities. Numerous studies have asserted their views on 'afro-phobia' and even racial exclusion as triggers of xenophobic manifestations. Another common factor that seems to evoke such sentiments is the nationality of the victims because what seems to be happening in South Africa is that even South Africans who are "dark-skinned" are targeted, the key notion by the attackers is that victims are foreign nationals (Neocosmos 2009).

Primarily, through documentation and legal status, inaccessible constitutional protections availability, foreign nationals have been turned into "violable aliens" (Misago, Monson, Polzer and Landau 2010). Exclusion and xenophobic exclusion have been socially and bureaucratically institutionalised in significant areas such as government institutions. Several experts have deduced that government officials are xenophobic towards foreign nationals and therefore support the hostility of the community towards foreign nationals (Misago et al. 2010). According to Misago et al. (2010), in a survey conducted in 2006, South African police officers are xenophobic, 87% of the police officers who were sampled believe that illegal immigrants are all involved in some illegal activities in the country. 78% of the sampled believe that regardless of their immigration status, foreign nationals are involved in crime. Misago et al., (2010) argues that a number of police officers are opinion influencers in South Africa, institutionalized xenophobia in the South African Police Services and other government departments' fuels and perpetuates the already existing xenophobic violence within the public and limits the options of the victims as to who to turn to in times of need and protection.

> *Isiphingo residents are not much xenophobic as other places in South Africa,*
> *I have been living in Isiphingo for 15 years and it was the first time ever*

experiencing such hate crime. During the 2015 xenophobic attacks and as always, the police were there to assist us as foreign nationals we were kept in the Isiphingo police station for safety reasons till we were moved to shelters of safety. I have heard that police are the ones perpetuating xenophobic violence but with the case of Isiphingo they have been nothing but our shields of hope and safety.

After the 2008 xenophobic the South African government has still not yet implemented a systemic approach or strategy that will hold those responsible for the violence towards foreign nationals accountable. All xenophobic violence in the country is treated as any other crime; there is no specific law which deals with xenophobic crimes. Historically South African townships have been prone to economic and social disadvantage, high levels of exemption for criminal conduct within the townships, criminal predation and repressive policing by successive governments and vigilantism (SAHRC 2010). In the occurrence of xenophobic outbreaks, South Africans mobilise, loot and attack foreign-owned residences and businesses, which is something South Africans are familiar with. During the apartheid era community justice also known as 'mob justice' in South Africa was sorted out in disciplinary committees or people's courts which operated as 'kangaroo courts'. Post-1994 South Africans still support and use community justice and local security initiatives in the form of community vigilante (Adjai and Lazaridis 2013). The community organised 'security' groups, and crime-fighting vigilantes are popular in most townships as they are perceived as a measure to fight and stop crimes. The police and justice system are believed to protect criminals. Thus, violence against foreign nationals are widely reinforced as a tool for community self-protection. From all indication, it is assumed that violent crime in South Africa's townships and informal settlements have become a feature of life. It has been argued that one of the major causes of xenophobia in South Africa is the reign of impunity and the lack of the rule of law in the townships and informal settlements across the country (SAHRC 2010). The 2010 SAHRC report highlights that the attackers of the 2008 xenophobic violence acted with impunity and it was clear that a number of government officials did not understand the human rights provision embedded in the South African constitution causing them to treat foreign nationals with xenophobia and impunity (SAHRC 2010). Prior to the 2008 xenophobic violence, there have been views that South Africa's social fabric is violence, arguing that in South African society violence is the norm and an acceptable way of solving problems and achieving goals (Misago et al. 2010).

According to the Centre for Human Rights (2009), xenophobia in South Africa is an on-going phenomenon; hence legal and extra-legal preventative measures are required. Amongst the perpetrators of xenophobic attacks exist a high level of impunity, owing to the absence of a specific law which deals with the prosecution of xenophobic offenders.

4.8 SOCIO-ECONOMIC CAUSES OF XENOPHOBIA IN SOUTH AFRICA

A number of studies have shown that the 2008 May xenophobic attacks took place mainly in places that are characterised by high levels of unemployment, overcrowding, shack settlements, competition for scarce resources and deteriorating services (Silverman and Zack 2008). Other studies have recognized the deprivation of socio-economic benefits as a major cause of aggression towards foreign nationals in South Africa. Foreigners are mostly perceived as threats to South African housing, healthcare, jobs, education and other economic benefits that are believed to be for South Africans (Polzer and Takabvirwa 2010). Generally, in South African society, the socio-economic impact of xenophobia is still much evident. Millions of black South Africans remain unemployed, living in poverty, and reside in shacks surrounding city areas. According to Adjai and Lazaridis (2013), in 2013 alone, 25% of South Africa's working population was unemployed). South Africa has one of the world's largest population living with HIV/AIDS in one country; the rate of illiteracy is high. It has been estimated that 65% of white people, and forty percent of Indians, twenty years and above have a higher education qualification, but only seventeen percent of coloureds' and fourteen percent of blacks have the same qualification. The aforementioned statistics show that educational disparities based on race are still quite evident in the context of South Africa; hence the gap between the rich and poor, crime rates and increased unemployment rates. (Landau 2010).

The persistent competition for scarce resources between poor South Africans and foreign nationals living in informal settlements and townships in South Africa is an imperative explanation of the occurrence of xenophobic violence. A study by the forced migration studies programme (FMSP) in 2009 recognized that the frequent occurrence of xenophobic sentiments is a result of economic competition between foreign nationals and South Africans. There are socio-economic jealousy sentiments between nationals and foreign business owners; this is due to the fact that foreign nationals seem to be running successful small businesses. Meanwhile, in the job market, foreign nationals are willing to provide labour at a fairly lower rate compared to local nationals. As with the case in Isiphingo many of the successful small businesses are owned by foreign nationals, which does not sit well will nationals who are unemployed

One participant who is a South African complained that:

> *I work at a foreign-owned shop but can hardly support my family with the money that I earn. I have no problem with foreign nationals owning businesses because we South Africans are seemingly lazy to start our own, but business owners should pay a bit more*

Ethiopians and Somalis living in South Africa are running flourishing businesses in informal settlements, townships and even in Central Business Districts. In Durban for example, they have been accused of taking customers from South African competitors (FMSP 2010).

South African informal traders and small business owners in Isiphingo are not happy with foreign nationals running prosperous businesses as they feel the competition is too high for a small number of consumers in the area.

> *We were here first, already we are faced with an influx of 'these people' in our country, already the country is in deep trouble we are unemployed, poverty, crime rate is too high, why can't they just go to their home countries where they belong. Now they hide behind these small shops that they own selling expired good at very cheap prices, I have lost many customers because of them quite frankly I'm fed up they should just leave. Why should we suffer because of them?*

The factors that seem to trigger this hostility against foreign nationals is that foreigners are seen as the primary cause of economic challenges in Isiphingo community. The perception about foreign nationals is that they are behind all criminal activities that is taking place in Isiphingo, as there is a shocking number of young people in the community who are drug users and foreign nationals are perceived to be behind the drug supply. They are also believed to be disease carriers. These are some factors which trigger xenophobic sentiments.

Pragmatic studies have also found that in most cases xenophobic violence are organised by South African small business owners with the intention to eliminate foreign competition (Misago et al. 2010). In East Rand near Johannesburg, a conducted study shows that foreign nationals were resented because of their 'better' education status and higher qualifications which gives them an upper hand in the competitive job marker (Bond and Ngwane 2010). It was established in a survey conducted in 2008 of two thousand sample size, of South African nationals in Johannesburg that the main reason for xenophobic sentiments against foreign

nationals is embedded on the fact that qualified foreign nationals are accepting lower salary paying employment than their national counterparts, South Africans believe that generally for every job given to foreign nationals, it is one less job for a South African, this view is intensified by high unemployment rates (ACCORD 2011).

4.9 A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE 2008 AND 2015 XENOPHOBIC VIOLENCE

Figuratively, South Africa is known as a rainbow nation, that celebrates and embraces diversity, however for the past two decades, the country has been struggling in dealing with socio-economic inequalities based on nationality and race (Mkandawire 2015). This long existing division is manifested by xenophobic violence on foreign nationals mainly refugees and immigrants from other African states. The sensational media coverage of immigrant's crime, high unemployment rate, and diseases are believed to be some of the underlying stimulating factors of xenophobia (News24 2015). Annually, South Africa commemorates its first democratic non-racial elections in the post-apartheid era, which falls on the 27th of April. In 2015, it was the country's 21st anniversary and the celebration of this day was tarnished by the horrific xenophobic attacks aimed at foreign nationals. This led to the reported seven deaths, several destitute and injured (Smith 2015). Discussions followed to re-examine the role of media in provoking xenophobic attacks. On the other hand, its efforts in promoting co-existence and diversity among all those who reside in South Africa as these are embedded in the Bill of Rights of the country.

A comparison study that was conducted by Bekker in 2015 following the outbreak of xenophobic violence highlighted both the similarities and differences between the 2008 and 2015 xenophobic violence in South Africa. The 2015 xenophobic attacks began in Isiphingo; a residential and Industrial area in the EThekwini Metropolitan Municipality, south of Durban's CBD. The rumour that local workers were involved in wage and industrial disputes were replaced by foreigners in local businesses who were believed to have perpetrated violence aimed at foreign nationals residing in Isiphingo, where 240 foreign nationals were left homeless and destitute following a series of attacks in the area.

Following the outburst, a number of violence xenophobic incidents took place in other parts of the metro, the inner city, residential area of Verulam, more particularly in its informal residential neighbourhoods. Foreign shops were burnt down and looted, even foreign nationals were attacked. These attacks moved to the Northern part of KwaMashu Township. This assault

continued and included local marching on a number of occasions with an apparent purpose of driving migrants out of Durban. Foreign migrants responded by organising a demonstration in the metro's CBD during which clashes took place between the South African police and the demonstrators.

Displaced foreign nationals were accommodated in temporary shelters which were established in Greenwood park (located in Durban North), Isiphingo and Chatsworth. Seven people were killed and others reportedly fearing for their lives. Four camps in the province were established in Phoenix, Chatsworth, Isiphingo and Pietermaritzburg which in total accommodated 5000 people in order to replace temporary shelters (Sosibo 2015). Two weeks after the Durban violent occurrence, rumours circulated through social networks that attacks were overhanging in Gauteng, in anticipation of a similar surge foreign shop owners in Johannesburg CBD closed down their shops in a quest to protect their stock. The much-anticipated Johannesburg assaults soon emerged with foreign-owned businesses in Cleveland and the inner city areas of Jeppestown, and later in the East rand being looted. Locals resorted to block roads as with Durban demanding foreigners out of South Africa. Seven lives were lost, three of them being South Africans (Sosibo 2015).

In both Durban and Johannesburg, the South African police were called to contain the violence. There have been debates by the media and the people at the ground level on how effective and neutral police responded to such violence (News24 2015). On the third week of April, the defence minister Mapisa-Nqakula deployed the South African National Defence Force to prevent foreign attacks on areas that are prone to xenophobic violence. The minister was reported saying that the army intervened as attacks on foreign nationals had developed into a "state of emergency" (BBC news 2015).

4.10 THE ROLE OF THE MEDIA IN CONSOLIDATING XENOPHOBIA

According to Smith (2009), mass media performs various functions in society, and providing information and news is one of the most important functions. Research shows that the role of the media is not limited to information transmission to the public, also through media, certain discourses and ideologies that support specific relations of power are created. Thus through its choice of news and information content, how it is packaged and given salience, the media can create public perceptions and/or can influence public thinking. The media also has a social responsibility of providing accurate and fair reports without showing any bias on relevant issues in society (Allen and Blinder 2013).

However, the dilemma in the debate and immigrant narrative that partly borders on the notion of accurate and fair reporting still exists. On the one hand, seemingly it indicates that the media in the discussion assumes a biased role and continues to contribute to the public stereotype attitudes towards immigrants consciously or otherwise. On the other hand, undoubtedly the media has played a central role in championing campaigns to overturn these dominant negative public attitudes and bringing in attention to the voices of immigrant stereotypes.

Suro, Rosensteil, Kaplan, Dionne, and Akdenizli (2008) referring to the American scenario that occurred in 2000, argue that the debate on immigrant coverage by the media is the main cause of overall impression of controversy, contradictions and chaos. To a certain extent, it is impossible to separate the influence of media coverage from the public perception towards immigrants. Hence it is not surprising that globally media scholars dedicate their effort and time researching this topic to understand the rationale and relationship that exists between media coverage and dominant immigrant narrative. Through studies conducted it has been observed that media coverage of immigrants does increase attitudes of stereotypes on the public (Danso and McDonald 2001). According to Allen and Blinder (2013) in a report published by the Migration Observatory at the University of Oxford in the U.K on the portrayals of asylum seekers, refugees, immigrants and migrants between 2010 and 2012. One of the key findings was that the common description for the word immigrants across all newspaper types is illegal; other words such as sham, criminals, and failed were also used. The results of the report were particularly similar to the results from other comparable studies elsewhere.

Isolated outbursts should not be perceived as just once off occurrence and unrelated to earlier or later events, as South Africa's mass and social media coverage of such violence elsewhere may be an influential stimulus. According to Hunter (2015), the media has an immense responsibility of providing coverage based on facts and one that does not encourage generalisations, perpetuate myths, and spread misinformation about migrants, refugees, and asylum seekers. To certain extent misinformation on xenophobia and foreigners may be blamed on the headlines by the media. For instance, one headline mentioned "Cops nail illegal aliens, recover luxury vehicles". A misconception mentioned in the headline is that illegal aliens were in possession of stolen luxury vehicles, later it was discovered that the four men who had owned these vehicles were South Africans, but it was too late to make amends as foreigners were already painted as the bad individuals (Bekker 2010).

Allen and Blinder (2013) argue that alarmingly the actual number of illegal immigrants involved in crime is closer to 1.5% to 3%, statistics which contradicts to media reports concerning foreign national involved in criminal activities in South Africa. The general disrespect the media has for foreign nationals is that personal details of foreigners are always excluded from reports, therefore making these people seem faceless. It has been suggested that immigrant stories are always reported as crime stories. The same way that crime stories in South Africa are racial stories. Reports on immigrants are solely based on how they behave on the streets. There is an inadequate number of investigative journalisms, and no money is being channelled into journalism that highlights foreigners' human rights in particular.

Simkin (2011) points out that, foreigners are treated as homeless people in South Africa. When these people are murdered or beaten, no proper investigations take place and are hardly reported in the media, because of their status in society. Foreign vendors and shop owners are repeatedly being beaten and ill-treated and their goods were stolen, yet they have no real recourse to the law. South African media is most times neutral, passive and sometimes actively, racist and does not play a role in probing such issues. It carries baggage of the past in its interpretation of the present. UNHCR deputy regional representative Mr. Mengesha Kebede pointed out that during the apartheid regime, South Africans who went abroad or were in exile in African countries in, particular, did not experience any suffering whatsoever, yet now South Africans refuse to reciprocate (UNHCR 2015).

For a country that boasts about having an advanced constitution and a commitment to preserving human rights culture, xenophobic violence slowly tarnishes the good image that has been established post-1994 (Crush and Ramachandran 2014). It has mentioned that the bashing of foreign nationals by the media is noted as a failure on the part of government departments to address problems that refugees are faced with. The South African media has been accused of being part of the problem, despite signing international conventions on refugees. South Africa is still an infant in terms of independence in comparison to other former colonized African states, and its negative attitude is quite astonishing given that its percentage of refugees is relatively smaller when compared to other countries like Zambia that is a host to 300% more refugees than South Africa. However, these refugees are protected, assisted with food and are fed despite Zambia being a much poorer country (UNHCR 2015).

South African fast food restaurant Nandos in 2012 produced a sarcastic advertisement for television. Initially the video seemed to be a celebration of a diverse South Africa, however

following the 2015 xenophobic attacks the video reappeared and went viral on YouTube with over 1.8 million views. The open lines of the video were "You know what's wrong with South Africa? All you foreigners, you must all go back to where you came from: you Cameroonians, Congolese, Pakistanis, Somalis, Ghanaians and Kenyans" (Mkandawire 2015). These words were said while the pictures showed what seemed to be a bunch of immigrants with suitcases illegally entering the country through a big hole in the wire fence boundary that protects national borders. In a puff of smoke, the immigrants disappeared one after the other in different scenes. The advert ends with an indigenous South African the Khoisan carrying hunting equipment and saying "I am not going anywhere you *S#&@* found us here (Gander 2015).

This advert provoked controversial views as others perceived it as a promotion of a diverse South Africa, whereas others saw it as an awakening gesture on the national division that still exists in democratic South Africa. This is apparent by the number of 740 contradictory comments under the official *Nandos* YouTube video of the advertisement.

4.11 THE ROLE OF GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS IN CONSOLIDATING XENOPHOBIA

Since the demise of the apartheid system of governance in South Africa, there has not been any substantial change in the country's migration policing policy. Dramatic tactics that were used by the police during the apartheid regime are similarly used by the police in the new democratic South Africa. Undocumented refugees and migrants face numerous human rights abuses in the hands of the police during detention and arrest (Klaaren and Ramji 2001). While some amendments of the legislative regime have the protection of the human rights at heart, the structures entrusted with the realisation of this aim have failed to make an impact. The discretion granted to the police department in South Africa has more or less contributed to the symbolic and institutional entrenchment of the lack of legal status for undocumented foreign nationals. However, Klaaren and Ramji (2001) argue that the army and the police have played major roles in migration policing, with the administrative oversight from the department of home affairs. Border control backed up with intrusive and extensive internal military-style policing has been one of the policing strategies to be pursued. Nonetheless human rights abuses have continued to persist through to present times regardless of the embarrassing attention of foreign and internal human rights organizations exposing certain instances of human rights abuses.

The widespread criticism on the role of South Africa's state police during the 2008 violence was repeated in the 2015 episodes. Critics spoke of ineffectiveness on the side of the police, low response levels, and insufficient resources to fight such violence (Bekker 2010). However, such criticism has tremendously failed to sufficiently explain the extensive reports on perceptions of resistance from punishment and incrimination that were revealed by the committers of violence across urban South Africa during both episodes. While local or community political organizations can voice out their intolerance of outsiders with violence, it becomes difficult if the state no longer has the capacity to bring non-state policing, such as civics, traditional authorities, vigilante groups, and informal security groups among others under effective accountability for these violent events.

In South Africa, no law directly speaks to fighting xenophobia, the crimes, and prejudice motivated crimes (CHR 2009). When property belonging to foreign nationals, or they are attacked in xenophobia related violence, the wrong-doers are commonly dealt with under the country's general crime law (CHR 2009). Without a specific law of addressing xenophobia and other related crimes hinder the fight for its eradication, thus creating and promoting a deep-seated sense of impunity amongst culprits of attacks on foreigners (Breen and Neil 2011). Reports of xenophobic sentiments cloud the parameters of justice for law enforcers. According to Muchiri (2012), South Africa lacks a specific well known, official hate crime reporting and monitoring mechanism which could be used to collect data that encourages the recording by police of potential bias that also collects data on hate or violent crime. This will subsequently hinder policymakers from understanding the full scope of the problem and for adequate responses to be developed (Muchiri 2012).

There are approximately 65 000 refugees recognised in South Africa and 230 000 documented asylum seekers from different countries (UNHCR 2015). South Africa's refugees act does not say much on the issue of xenophobic violence against asylum seekers and refugees, the main limitation of enjoying asylum, social integration possibilities that asylum seekers and refugees face in South Africa is the persistent occurrence of xenophobic violence by South Africans in the local communities. In South Africa constitution, no specific law distinguishes xenophobic violence from any other acts of crime and is simply addressed through the criminal justice system (CHR 2009). South African government and the civil society faces hardships in re-integrating displaced foreign nationals. This is mostly because xenophobia as an interpersonal phenomenon which is only addressed when it manifests through group violence and its intensity is weakened through politicians and police interventions.

According to the convention on the protection of the rights of migrant workers and members of their families (CMW 2001), state parties are obliged to provide legal sanctions against persons or groups who threaten, intimidate or use violence against migrant workers. It is essential to point out that SA has not ratified the CMW, a key convention whose objective is to safeguard the human rights of all migrants working in the country (CMW 2001). There is a peripheral mention of xenophobia in South Africa's Promotion of Equality and Prevention of Unfair Discrimination Act (PEPUDA), which stipulates that discriminating the victim by nationality creates a breach of the Act (PEPUDA). Weak enforcement of existing criminal laws together with the lack of laws aimed at targeting xenophobic violence is considered as the cause of existing exemption amongst perpetrators of xenophobic attacks (Muchiri 2012).

4.12 POOR ORGANIZATION BY BODIES DEALING WITH XENOPHOBIA

According to Muchiri (2012), local initiatives to deal with xenophobia have been implemented by the government, Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs), communities and refugees. However, due to failure in developing well-coordinated plans to deal with this phenomenon; the effective management of xenophobia in South Africa has been hindered. Another legal contradiction in the Refugees Act 130 of 1998 is that it permits refugees and asylum seekers to pursue and take employment in South Africa. However, this has never been applied and many employers including the government refuse the employment of refugees which is contradictory to the act. Such contradiction perpetuates xenophobia as it makes refugees feel unwelcomed in many workplaces in SA (Refugees Act 130 of 1998).

According to the African Centre for Migration and Society (2011), in an interview with the international media in 2011, it was noticed that SA's government responses to escalating xenophobic violence in the country poorly resourced and there is not much political commitment being put to the abolishment of xenophobia. While it is fair to acknowledge that some government organizations have taken some action to reduce xenophobia and promote social cohesion, there remain significant needs for on-going national co-ordination.

Immigration and xenophobia are closely linked, in that immigration policies enforced within a country play an important role in the mitigation or promotion of xenophobic attitudes and actions (International Labour Organization 2002). Throughout the years South Africa has failed tremendously to reform its immigration system to achieve an effective and solid policy to manage its refugee, asylum-seeker and immigration admissions (Aggad and Sidiropoulos 2008). According to an observation by Aggard and Sidiropoulos in 2008, South Africa for the

past decades has not been successful in creating a coherent approach to immigration, thus resulting in uncontrolled immigration, which in turn causes frustration and outbursts of violence against foreigners. Immigration laws in South Africa have over the years been fixated at excluding and controlling foreign nationals, rather than handling immigration for the benefit of the country (Landau 2006). In the immigration act, section 32(1) and (2) criminalise undocumented immigration and generous provisions for arrests, deportation and detention are made (Immigration Act 13 of 2002). This restricting approach to immigration has obliged thousands of immigrants in SA to try and regularize their stay in the country through false asylum claims. This has resulted in increasing intolerant attitudes and negative perceptions on the side of South African nationals. Subsequently, South Africans feel that the country is 'under obstruction from outside' and to ensure that foreign nationals are kept out while they are bound to turn violent and employ any other unconstitutional measures (Crush 2000).

4.13 CONCLUSION

The chapter discussed the description of the study area, and how it is structured. It also brought to light the profile of those who are prone to be victims of xenophobic violence in South Africa, and particularly in Isiphingo. The chapter also explained the roles played by different stakeholders in the consolidation of xenophobia. The next chapter shall present data presentation and analysis.

<div align="center">**CHAPTER FIVE**</div>

<div align="center">**DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS**</div>

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter focused on xenophobia in South Africa, it looked at the profile of xenophobes. 2008, 2015 and 2017 xenophobic violence, which explained exactly the people who are attacked during the 2015 violence in Isiphingo. It also attempted to explore the reasons behind these attacks and the roles played by different stakeholders in consolidating xenophobia. The present chapter deals with data analysis and research findings. The findings of the study related to the research questions that guided the study. The data was analysed to assess and examine the effects of xenophobia on social integration in Isiphingo. The data was obtained from identified focus groups, through semi-structured interviews and self-administered questionnaires completed by 70 local and foreign nationals from Isiphingo and the key informants of the study who were immigration officers of the Department of Home Affairs head office in Pretoria. This chapter also describes the qualitative analysis of the data, which include the practical steps involved in the analysis. Three sets of data were collected from 70 foreign and residents of Isiphingo. Key informants of the study were three immigration officers from the Department of home affairs national office in Pretoria. Although the data collection was done in three phases on demands of participants, the data is discussed and presented, as a single unit of analysis, to enrich the analysis and to avoid repetition. The data is analysed into generative themes, which would be discussed individually. The overlapping of themes explained, and the findings are linked to the literature and research questions as well as the objectives.

5.2 THE PROCESS OF DATA ANALYSIS

Data analysis has been explained as a process of bringing, meaning, order and structure to the mass data collected, it is an ambiguous, time consuming, messy but also a fascinating and creative process (Rossman 1999). Part of the process in analysing data required the researcher's understanding on how to make sense of the data. This involved engaging with the data, meaning risking the researcher's everyday knowledge and attitude on xenophobia in order to acknowledge the "liminal" experience of living between familiarity and similarity. As a result, the researcher could not identify personally with what the participants were describing and feeling. This helped the researcher to analyse the data objectively without being influenced by preconceived answers which may lead the researcher to be bias and inflicting own opinions

affecting the results of the study. The researcher was able to explore the data with an open-mind and flexibility. Data analysis entails transforming large volumes of data into findings by bringing meaning and order to it (Patton 2002, in de Vos et.al. 2005).

There is an indivisible relationship between data collection and data analysis. Moreover, data analysis does not in itself provide answers to research questions as these can be deduced by interpreting analysed data (Kruger et al., 2005). Interpretation of data requires making sense and explaining the data. It is an ongoing process that requires the researcher's full engagement, the researcher automatically interpreted as the collected data was analysed.

5.2.1 Profile of Respondents

Table 5. 1: Total number of foreign national Participants in the study

Nationality	Total Number of Participants
Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC)	10
Burundi	2
Rwanda	3
Ethiopia	1
Malawi	5
Nigeria	5
China	2
Pakistan	2
Total	**30**

There were 70 participants in total in this study who are residents of Isiphingo, 40 are South Africans and 30. The key informants in the study were three immigration officers from the national Department of Home Affairs, in Pretoria. Among the 40 South African foreign nationals from different nationalities of which 10 participants were Congolese, 2 Chinese, 5 Nigerians, 2 from Burundi, 1 from Ethiopia, 5 from Malawi, and another 2 from Pakistan as shown in table 5.2 above.

Figure 5. 1: Ages of Study Participants
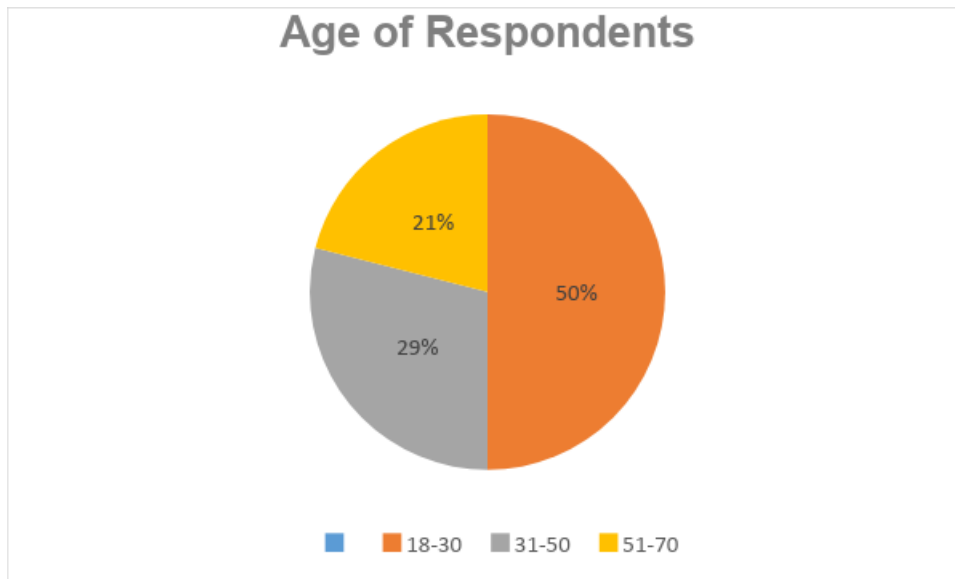
Figure 5.2 presents the different age groups of participants in the study. The results show that young people from the age of 18-30 were, more in numbers and were more eager to be part of the study. 50% of the participants were young people. Moreover, 21% of adults ranging from ages 51-70 agreed to be part of the study.

Table 5. 2: The number of years Participants have been residing in Isiphingo

NUMBER OF YEARS IN ISIPHINGO	NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS	PERCENTAGE OF PARTICIPANTS
1-5 YEARS	13	19.2%
6-10 YEARS	20	28%
11-30 YEARS	35	50%
31-MORE YEARS	2	2.8%

The table shows the number years that participants have been residing in Isiphingo, and the results show that 50% of the participants in the study have been in Isiphingo for over 11 years without relocating to other places. For the participants, Isiphingo is an ideal place to run thriving businesses, even after the 2015 attacks more foreign nationals have relocated to Isiphingo. For instance, one of the respondents had this to say:

I moved to Isiphingo because during the 2015 violence my shop in Newlands West (North of Durban) was looted and burnt.

Figure 5. 2: Gender of Participants
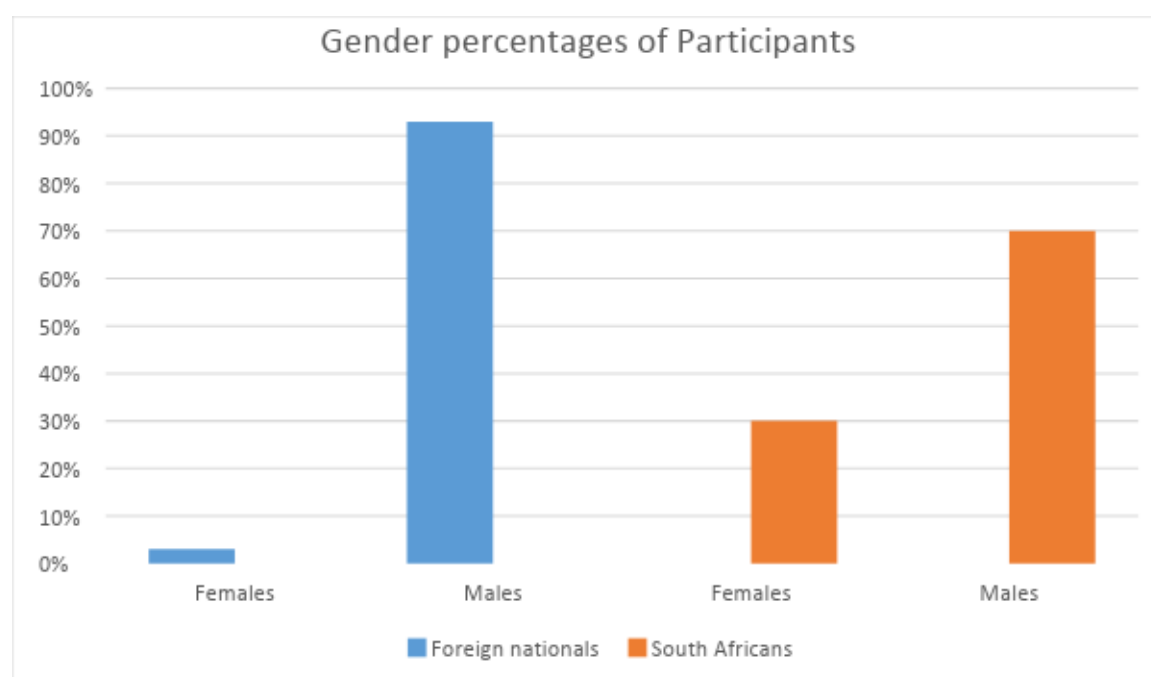
The graph shows that there were more men in the study that there were women. Foreign national women were under 5%, whereas South African women were 30%.

Table 5. 3: Employment Status of Participants

	Frequency	Percentage
Yes	60	85.7%
No	10	14.3

The table shows that a higher percentage of participants in the study are employed. Some are the ones creating employment by running businesses, and others work around Isiphingo in foreign-owned businesses and other organizations.

In order to get more information and to understand xenophobia as well as, the role and effort of the government towards the eradication of xenophobia, the researcher proposed to interview public officials from the Department of Home Affairs that are closer to Isiphingo. However, the researcher-encountered challenges in getting the officials interviewed as proposed in the research methodology; hence the decision to interview immigration officers from the head office of the Department of Home Affairs, which meant that the questions had to change and focus on xenophobia in South Africa at large and not Isiphingo.

When one of the participants was comfortable enough to speak with the researcher and also at the realisation that the researcher was there to get information on the xenophobic violence that took place in Isiphingo, it got easier to be referred to other potential participants hence snowball sampling was used in that regard.

5.3 SEMI- STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS, FOCUS GROUP AND QUESTIONNAIRES

Initially, the data was to be collected using questionnaires, (with two sections), containing biographical information in the first section that formed part of quantitative data. The second section comprised open-ended questions that the researcher relied on to get the attitudes and perceptions of participants regarding xenophobia. However, due to difficult circumstances and the resistance of some participants to fill in the questionnaires, the researcher ended up using three data collection techniques in order to collect the required data for the study. Questionnaires, semi-structured interviews, and focus groups were the sources of data collection. For the semi-structured interviews and focus group, the researcher used the already existing questions from the questionnaires. Although the interviews were not part of the proposal, conducting face-to-face semi-structured interviews assisted in gaining an in-depth understanding of the participants' experiences, perceptions and challenges with xenophobia as well as personal coping strategies and psychological effects that xenophobia caused.

As mentioned above, the questions used in the interviews were from the questionnaires and comprised of two sections. The first section questionnaire encompassed demographic data such as sex, age, employment status, how long participants have been living in Isiphingo, for the immigration officers how long they have worked in DHA, and if they have qualifications and formal training.

The second section comprised of data describing the different attitudes and perceptions of both local and foreign nationals towards each other and xenophobia in Isiphingo. Questionnaires for immigration officers required them to give their thoughts and feeling on xenophobia generally in South Africa and to find out if the department has taken any action in the eradication of this phenomenon. Discussions of the result are presented in this chapter.

5.3.1 Inducing themes

The analysis of the data was done personally by the researcher. This included the transcribing the data from the interview and focus groups. The researcher had to be familiar with the content

of the data, which involved developing themes and sub-themes. The data that emerged from the answers given by the participants, were grouped and developed to form new themes though they were not initially part of the questions but came up frequently in the interviews. The researcher proposed not to miss any particular information regardless of how often or less frequent it emerged in the data collection process. The themes that emerged were based and ranged from the different challenges South Africans faced due to the lack of social integration within Isiphingo.

5.3.2 Coding themes

Each 'turn unit' of transcribed participant narrative was numbered, in conversations between the researcher and participants during interviews and focus groups sessions. A clear description of themes supported by the participant, quotations will be laid out below. This was done following the theme analysis process (Neuman 2000, in Nwanna 2006).

5.3.3 Open coding

In data analysis, the first stage was for the researcher to 'open coding', which required the researcher to read the data thoroughly in order to have an idea of how recurring patterns can be coded. It entailed naming identified categories or patterns of expressions, breaking them into discrete parts, examining them closely, comparing them for differences and similarities and questioning the phenomena that are reflected in them (de Vos 2005)

For this study, the researcher-highlighted themes in the colour orange and each theme named depending on its focus or subject matter. According to Strauss and Curbin (1990), this type of process is known as 'conceptualising' the data, where the name represents a phenomenon. The researcher used statements, as the researcher speaks to participants so that similar phenomena are given the same name; otherwise the researcher would have ended up with too many results that could result in confusion. Each theme was given a name that is mostly related to the data and is more unforgettable, in order to draw the researcher's attention to it.

5.4 GENERATING THEMES

It was important for the researcher to read and transcribe the data carefully in order to get an overall understanding of each session since the researcher had used three data collection techniques namely interviews, focus groups, and questionnaires. Notes and a recorder were used for documentation and recording during the focus groups and interview sessions. All of

these had to be transcribed which seemed to be a very long and tedious process. The following themes were drawn from the data collected.

- Xenophobia in South Africa
- Language
- Culture of violence in South Africa
- Migration Issues
- Fear and Security
- Reasons foreign nationals come to South Africa
- Media
- Criminal activities
- Institutional Racism
- Entrepreneurship

5.4.1 THEME 1: Xenophobia in South Africa

The second session of the questions comprised of open-ended questions, which explored the perceptions and attitudes of participants on social integration and xenophobia in South Africa. It was important for the researcher to ask this question in order to achieve the first objective of examining xenophobia in South Africa and the best people to answer this question were the victims and perpetrators of the xenophobic violence in Isiphingo.

The general assumption of most foreign nationals who were part of the study felt that South Africans hide behind the word xenophobia whereas they are just lazy, do not want to take risks, neither do they want to work hard to earn a living, rather they blame the government for everything. A participant had this to say with regards to the identified theme:

> *This is just thuggery; our very own African brothers are taking advantage of the whole situation and use the dislike of the foreigner as an excuse. It is no longer about the competition for already limited resources, but it is just about robbing, looting and taking goods that foreign nationals work hard for instead of asking how the foreigner does things learning and trying it out*

Foreign nationals in Isiphingo have blamed these attacks on lack of education, arguing that xenophobia is caused by the fact that the perpetrators of the violence are intellectually challenged. Another argument that came up during data collection was that in order to curb xenophobia, South Africans need to be thoroughly educated on the effects of xenophobia, on

South Africa's international relations with other countries, the economy, and trade relations with other countries.

A foreign national from the Democratic Republic of Congo added that on his arrival in Durban, he experienced a different picture of what xenophobia is. Arguably, xenophobia is not the violence that foreign nationals experience when locals decide to be violent and attack them. However, it stems back upon arrival of the foreign national who is discriminated and segregated against when locals learn of their citizenship status. This statement seems to contradict the previous sentiments because locals at Isiphingo have the notion that all foreign nationals are in South Africa illegally; they lack knowledge of the individual's status. The people who are aware of such procedures are those who are some worth educated. Hence, the intellectuals' argument behind xenophobia in Isiphingo seems to be weaker. A participant who is a foreign national had this to say:

> *Our certificates from our own countries have been refused in South Africa, but what we learn is the same, yet our qualifications are questioned and that they are of low standards, but personally I feel that is another way the government is trying to disadvantage us and we end up doing petty jobs yet we are qualified. That on its own for me is xenophobia.*

Foreign national participants have experienced xenophobia some way or the other differing in levels and degrees. It was very interesting for the researcher to witness the doubt as to whether they have indeed experienced xenophobia or not during data collection. This was because of a number of participants associated xenophobia with physical violence. However, as defined in the review literature, xenophobia encompasses emotional, verbal and other forms of violence on foreign nationals, not only physical attacks. It is important to note that during the interview, process foreign national participants had their definitions of xenophobia and their perception of xenophobia greatly influenced their experiences. For instance, a participant retorted:

> *I have never experienced any physically harm, so I cannot say much about xenophobic experience here. I just joined my husband who has been here for more than 10 years running a successful cell phone and appliance repair store, however his shop was looted during the 2015 xenophobic violence and we came back as we believe the violence were of external influence.*

In addition, two participants interviewed in Isiphingo noted the following:

Personally, I do not agree with what transpired in 2015, here in Isiphingo we are not very violent people, and what happened during these violence was bad it cost me my job. As my former employer was from Malawi and he owned an internet café. I was robbed of an income, that supports my entire family and for the past 2 years I have been actively looking for a job to no avail.

What I have learnt from South Africa during the past twelve years is that South Africans in general are divided, I have witnessed how bad they treat one another because of different ethnic cultures, and so it is difficult for them to accept outsiders, whereas they still see each other as different from one another.

5.4.2 THEME 2: Language

According to Frans (2015), language has been one factor for identity formation in post-1994 South Africa. When South Africa became a democratic state and re-baptised as "*rainbow nation*", with a new constitution in place, which was regarded as one of the most progressive in the world. During the apartheid regime, English and Afrikaans were the only official languages in South Africa, however post -apartheid South Africa came with a constitution that recognised and gave all 11 official languages equal status (Frans 2015). The recognition of the other African languages was essential, as it was an attempt to give an implicit voice to all South Africans. In a study conducted in 2009 by Pehrson, Vignoles and Brown on national identification and anti-immigration prejudice concluded that there was a close relationship between language and anti-immigrant prejudice. In the history of South Africa, Afrikaans and English were the official languages, despite that it was spoken by a minority number of white people in the country. However, post 1994; the constitution of South Africa embraced all African languages. Nonetheless, South Africans, especially black South Africans, seem to; even today portray negative prejudice towards people who cannot speak certain languages fluently. A participant retorted with regards to the theme of language:

I was attacked in 2015 based on my inability to speak a native language; I was told if I was a true South African then I should be able to speak IsiZulu fluently. I should pack my things and go back to wherever I came from

South Africa is a diverse country, the data highlighted that the province of KwaZulu-Natal, especially Durban has been perceived as an ideal place for foreign nationals as one only needs

to master the IsiZulu language in order to fit in and integrate with the locals. A participant's response supports this when he says:

> It was not hard for me to integrate because I was already fluent in the IsiZulu, unlike when I was staying in Gauteng where one had to be fluent in a number of languages.

The perception is that not understanding and failing to converse in the native language with the people has a negative effect on social integration. According to local participants, one way of recognising foreign nationals is their inability to speak IsiZulu. In empirical research, the language issue emerged as a critical issue as foreign nationals believe that embracing the isiZulu language opens doors for new opportunities. With South Africa having a constitution that promotes and support eleven official languages, not just one, yet policymakers have strived to a mono-linguistic culture of English (Breen 2010). Granting recognition of all eleven languages was an important aspect for post-apartheid South Africa, particularly in the identity formation of the rainbow nation as it symbolized the dawn of a new South Africa, where everyone is equal in the eyes of the law. Despite these efforts by the government, at grass root level the reality of this situation seems as nothing more than a symbol.

This study is premised in Isiphingo, which is an industrial small town based in Durban, KwaZulu-Natal. Isiphingo is perceived to be an ideal place for foreign nationals as one only needs to master the IsiZulu language in order to fit in and integrate with the locals (Breen 2010). However, foreign nationals are being discriminated against and have been struggling to integrate with the locals because of their inability to speak IsiZulu. The second objective of the study aimed at assessing the perception of the effects of xenophobia on social integration. The data revealed that language plays an important role in determining social integration as foreign nationals in Isiphingo believe that in order to fully integrate within the community, one has to master the language spoken by natives. Meanwhile, though most foreign nationals in Isiphingo have been trying to learn to speak the language fluently, Isiphingo residents still have the tendencies of tearing them apart because of their accent when speaking IsiZulu. The statements below buttresses this point:

> Aaaw, I can tell this one is not from here even if they lie and call themselves an Ndlovu or Dlamini but through their pronunciation I can tell they are 'kwere kwere'

> *It wasn't hard for me to integrate because I was already fluent in the IsiZulu, unlike when I was staying in Gauteng where one had to be fluent in a number of languages.*

The data revealed that one of the hindrances of social integration in Isiphingo is the issue of language. The moment one does not understand the language spoken in a new society before locals discriminate against them, such a person is likely to isolate himself or herself. This is because a person may not feel comfortable, being around people speaking a language that s/he cannot understand. Given the animosity against foreign nationals' one tends to marginalise themselves from others. A participant retorted on this point by saying:

> *I thought I had fully integrated with people here, I am from Limpopo and I cannot have the same accent as a person born Zulu but the effort I took to learn the language should have been a proof that I wanted to belong. People who you thought are your friends are attacking what hurts the most. Even today, they act as if nothing happened and still asks for small favours, forgetting what they did to my family.*

Social integration is not only about mastering, and comprehending the language spoken in a community but sentiments of feeling welcomed and loved to play a huge role. From the participant's responses, it is clear that they never felt welcomed or loved by the locals. During focus group sessions with South Africans, what foreign nationals highlighted above seemed to be a mutual feeling. Foreign nationals have not received the warmest welcome in Isiphingo. Some South African participants had these to say:

> *I speak to them in IsiZulu, I cannot be addressing them in English if they chose to come to KZN, they should learn to master the language quickly, or otherwise go to where they can speak whatever language they want to.*

> *I do not understand what our sisters are doing lingering around this criminal, it is such a disgusting thing to even think about, they should just pack and go back because we are not happy about their presence here every corner you find one, it's very irritating I tell you.*

From the researcher's point of view integrating into society requires the ability to do things together, it is essential to understand that locals and foreign nationals are from different countries and at times there will be problems in trying to understand one another. Social

integration requires foreign nationals, to integrate into the mainstream society. South Africans perceive a person who is different, dangerous and threatening. According to the theory of Isolation (Morris 1998), integration in society has proven to be difficult as foreign nationals are being identified as 'unknown', 'alien' and 'different'. It is pertinent to highlight that in KwaZulu-Natal, it is the home province of the Zulu tribe people who have a rich culture envied by many African nations. Family relations is valued however seemingly the culture does not leave room to integrate with 'others', Zulu people feel threatened to have the interference of t 'others' in their space, this can be 'foreigners' from another ethnic group or 'foreigners' from another country. One of the participants said:

> *My sister, what I have noticed here is that you do not matter to South Africans unless they need something from you, it is sad to say that there is no relationship with these people whatsoever, I live in constant fear of what tomorrow hold.*

The experiences of the foreign nationals in Isiphingo and the unwelcoming sentiments of local people, where they perceive the foreigner as a threat before giving them a chance and getting to know them better, has since reduced the possibility of foreign nationals weaving into the society.

There is an important and close relationship between the language and anti-immigrant prejudice. When people validate national interest based on, language there is an increased chance of migrant prejudice. The constitution promotes all eleven languages instead of one, theoretically this is true but in practice South Africans tend to perceive foreign nationals as being bad for the national interest, while South Africa boasts of having a constitution that defines itself by the coming together of different nationalities and multiculturalism, discrimination towards foreign nationals is still common (Frans (2015). One of the participants supported this by saying:

> *I have been verbally abused because of my inability to speak IsiZulu fluently, my kids have been bullied at school because of speaking English, it is one of the most painful things not being able to help your own children, and somehow you feel that you are failing them in a way.*

The above response questions the policy of empowerment in South Africa, one factor of identity formation in South Africa is language (Frans, 2015). Making all 11 languages official was a matter of symbolizing the new Post-Apartheid South Africa. For some time, South Africa

has struggled with xenophobia; hence, the first step in solving some of its problems is identifying its social identities. Prejudice and discrimination towards foreign nationals ought to be seen as a consequence of a far bigger problem not only as a concern. The normalization of violence in society creates danger in such a society.

In empirical research, the language issue emerged as a critical issue, as foreign nationals believe that embracing the isiZulu language opens doors for new opportunities. Studies have revealed that during the 2015 xenophobic violence in Isiphingo several South Africans who cannot speak IsiZulu were also attacked as they were put in the same category as foreign nationals because they could not speak IsiZulu fluently. For example, two participants in the study attested that they were attacked on the basis that they were unable to converse in IsiZulu as they come from Limpopo. They were accused of being foreign nationals claiming to be South Africans to spare their lives. Two men from Limpopo were told to pack their bags and leave the country; the expectation was that if they belonged in South Africa, IsiZulu should be spoken fluently. One of the participants reported that:

> *I was told that I'm not South African if I cannot speak IsiZulu in KZN, one ought to know the language.*

5.4.3 THEME 3: Culture of Violence in South Africa

Prior to the coming of the Europeans to South Africa, the country had its fair share of wars from culture to culture, conflict between two surnames. Two of the biggest tribes in South Africa the Zulus and the Xhosas for the longest time have been living with tension; this took place during the days of apartheid. Two nations both oppressed by the Europeans decided to shoot each other with hatred. There are numerous stories about Xhosa people killed around east rand in Gauteng, not because of apartheid but because of culture-to-culture hatred (Khumalo, 2015).

> *Upon arriving in Durban from the Eastern Cape, I was confronted by a gang who robbed me of my cell phone, and other belongings, finally welcomed me to KZN with derogatory names 'mpondo wamukelekile kwelika banana' (welcome to Durban).*

Freedom granted to "black majority" in 1994 did no justice in uniting South Africans. Shockingly, the 2008 and 2015 much publicized xenophobic violence has been appalling to say the least. South Africans, attacked other Africans because they belong to a segregated

boarder line, created by non-African foreigners. Observers perceive South Africa as a country driven by widespread and excessive violence. Several studies of crime and statistics have revealed that poorer people are more likely to be subjected to interpersonal violence. Given that an overwhelming number of South Africans are poor, this means that the majority of those subjected to violence are likely to be poor.

In South Africa violence remains a normalized and legitimate way of problem-solving, there is a prevalence culture of violence in South Africa (Harris 2001). The country seems saturated in violence; it has become part of the culture, a way of life of the people. The transition from apartheid to a democratic South Africa came with a lot of uncertainty and more crime. There is already willingness and belief that is deeply entrenched amongst the society of South Africa to use violence in dispute or problem solving no matter how minor the problem may be. It has become a norm to resort to violence in resolving matters.

With more than two decades of the abolishment of the apartheid system of government, blaming the past system for present misfortunes has continuously been a problem. The argument put forward by scholars the difficult for the country to dissociate from the past and move forward: 'Leave the past behind and move forward'. To a certain extent this statement is true, however it is just as essentially important to understand how problems arose in order to solve present problems and avoid problems in the future. It is important to understand that failure to deal with problems created by the legacy of apartheid would make it impossible to solve current problems. There is a degradation in moral values in South Africa because there is a perception that culprits of wrongdoing face little or no consequence. Also, the justice system cannot be trusted as the system takes longer to achieve results or the courts are too lenient. In addition, a syndrome known as 'self-hate' syndrome is a deep phenomenon associated with violence; it refers to the envy by black South Africans locals to foreign nationals (Adam & Moodley, 2015).

If South Africans are not engaged in violence against one another, they perpetuate violence against the 'other'; they use foreign nationals as scapegoats. This was the situation during the worst waves of violence that occurred in 2008 and 2015 where thousands of foreign nationals were left displaced and destitute, forced to find refuge in camps. This apart from myths and negative prejudice about foreign nationals of illegitimately accessing resources and property that many South Africans believe rightfully belongs to them. This ubiquity of violence from the most personal spaces across communities, and across divisions of class, locations and 'race'

speaks of deep fractures in the South African social and political landscapes. According to Seeking and Nattrass (2005), South Africa is an unequal society in the world, while the worsening inequality cannot be said to cause the violence; however, it should not be ignored as a contributing factor to the violence. Social cohesion is a challenge as people hold on to irrational and easily disproven beliefs about others in the face of the scientific evidence that cannot be proven.

Twenty years since the official end of apartheid in South Africa, it is still not difficult to conclude that the successive ANC government has not done enough, given by how much the economic inequality has gone from bad to worse during that time. The global economic crises shifts are only partly responsible for this. The use of violence as politics in South Africa will continue to tear the fabric of the complex communities, as the country has an estimated population of 56.52 million diverse people (Stats SA 2015). A participant supported this view when he stated that:

> *The country has a problem of violence, from what I have read South Africa did not regain its freedom by war, but rather through negotiations. Many people were killed, tortured, others sacrificed their own lives and freedom so that we can all be liberated, there is a lot of hatred, frustration and anger that still exist amongst the people.*

Separating xenophobia from violence and physical abuse is hard. Xenophobia is perceived not just an attitude but also an activity. It is not about fear or dislike of foreign nationals but expressions of violence which can cause bodily damage and harm. There is no uniformity in the victimisation of foreign nationals. This was clear in the case of the 2015 xenophobic violence that first took place in Isiphingo. African foreign nationals were the ones directly exposed to xenophobia while others, particularly from the Asian [Pakistanis, Chinese, etc.] community were not physically affected (Pakistanis, Chinese, etc.). One of the participants had this to say:

> *What I have observed in the few years that I have been here in South Africa, is that South Africans are violent by nature, black South Africans in particular, they always seem to think that violence is the answer to everything. Actually, I'm very sad for this promising society; they often resort to violence every time.*

Xenophobic violence like any other violence has been normalized in South Africa and is seen as a way for the people to get the attention of the government. According to Robb and Davis (2010), in South Africa law and order is secured by guns, rubber bullets, there is no mutual cooperation and respect, human rights are not followed, and the country lacks professional ethics, under such circumstances people will be tempted to ignore human rights and act outside the law (Rob and Davis 2010). Unlike a tap, violence cannot be 'turned off'; it is a non-democratic tool that South Africans have relied on if something fundamental concerning a particular situation is not done. Violence should not be an accepted or ideal tool for one to express their grievances (Jeffrey 2009).

5.4.3.1 SUB THEME 1: a history of apartheid

Various scholars have agreed that South Africa generally is a violent society, and it is important to own up to it in order to deal with reality. South Africa's culture of violence is deeply entrenched in its violence of colonialism and apartheid, the oppressed counter violence in response (Gumede, 2015). According to the Centre for human rights in Pretoria (2009), the development of xenophobia has been a consequence of the eradication of the apartheid system in South Africa. The country being one of the most diverse societies globally, different communities are often very intolerant of others. The legacy of apartheid has not only left a deep legacy of black-against-white-racism, but it has also created a divided society amongst the different ethnic groups (black- on- black racism) within the country (Gumede, 2015). In order to understand South Africa's high levels of crime and violence, it is crucial for one to analyse it within the context that it occurs. Although violence is a global phenomenon, South Africa is a country dealing with complex and unique dynamics surrounding violence. The country comes from a past riddled with violence and oppression, particularly due to the legacy of apartheid that had a profound impact on the ways in which the population navigates its socio-economic, demographic and geographic areas.

According to Landau, Polzer, and Wa Kabakwe-Segatti (2010), from its initial formation in 1910, visitors to South Africa, and citizens have always been restricted in terms of movements and living arrangements. Arguably, these restrictions were not as severe as many believe to be. Not severe for who? One may ask when the country's population endured literal and social separation (Landau et al. 2010). During the apartheid regime, it was argued that black South Africans were turned into 'foreign natives' in their own country. The apartheid law forced that their stay in the urban areas was always temporary, preventing them from overstaying if they

were no longer useful they were forced to leave. Black South Africans were in the urban locations to build the city, nurture white children and take care of the pools and gardens of their 'white masters' (Landau 2011). The motivation behind excluding black citizens was not duly for health and efficiency reasons also for concern that having high population density were factors that could stand in the way of the apartheid government's racist vision. Inheriting this from the apartheid era helped in shaping the socio-political configurations that molded both the 2008 and 2015 xenophobic attacks.

Some scholars have viewed xenophobia as the consequence of apartheid, as this era kept South Africans away and apart from contact with one another and others. South Africans were isolated from the international arena through sanctions. If a group has no history of contacts with people from other nationalities, it, therefore, proved to be difficult for black South Africans to welcome foreign nationals coming into the country (Morris 1998). In the transition from isolation, the country experienced an influx of foreign nationals where there was massive intolerance on the side of native South Africans, resulting in xenophobic attitude as a result of allowing the 'other' to come closer (Harris 2002). Xenophobia comes with many contradictions; one that the black South Africans who longed for mobility and freedom of movement during the apartheid, are now the ones calling for more restrictive laws to control the movement of foreign African nationals. However, blaming the inheritance of the culture for the frequent occurrence of xenophobia and as it might explain some xenophobia in the country, but it is not the only explanation (Hopstock and de Jager 2011). The argument of inherited culture is a very problematic one. South Africa has a long history of migrant labour from countries like Mozambique and Botswana (Harris 2002). In terms of the liberation movement, many leaders of liberation movements interacted with nationals from other countries, yet in recent times the same foreign nationals are often the main targets of xenophobia in South Africa. A participant supported this when she said:

> South Africa may be reaching close to two decades of democracy but psychologically the society seems to be oppressed, the culture of violence has been deeply instilled in South Africans that we may need another two decades to destroy the walls of apartheid.

The bio-cultural theory of xenophobia explains xenophobia as 'othering' the foreign national the African foreign national in particular by their physical attributes (darker complexion, their inability to speak IsiZulu among other South African languages). In the context of Isipingo their inability to speak IsiZulu. Looking at South Africa's history of apartheid the people of South Africa were segregated and treated differently from one another on the basis of their skin colour with this theory the focus has changed from the unfair treatment of locals to South Africans treating African foreign nationals violently on the basis of their nationality.

5.4.4 THEME 4: Migration Issues

Issues revolving around migration came up in the data a number of times. The responses of the participants revealed that locals at grass root level have limited and no understanding of circumstances around the migrations of foreign nationals. It is pertinent to highlight that during focus group sessions with locals, some unpleasant statements were made. These include statements like: "why are they here", "When are they going back to their countries"? "They are here to take our jobs", "they should just leave". It was clear to the researcher that this is not because of ignorance on the side of locals, but it is because knowledge on such issues is unknown to them. Some of the responses regarding the identified theme are presented below:

> *According to my understanding they run away from their countries because of war, so they decide to enter our country illegally and carry out illegal activities.*

> *These people are everywhere now; one just cannot escape from them. In hospitals you find them, at university, they are there, you now find them even in school. It is bad my sister I tell you. Even you came with one of them (referring to my foreign national friend who accompany me in collecting data).*

> *I am a refugee here in South Africa, my country has been in war from as long as I can remember. I have a legal refugee status in South Africa but the treatment I have received is very painful and hurtful. If I could, I would have packed my bags and went back home.*

Locals in Isiphingo are not aware that there are different categories of foreign nationals that are existent in South Africa. According to them, they are all here illegally and are involved in

criminal and unlawful activities like human and drug trafficking. It is therefore essential for the study to unpack the different categories of foreign nationals in South Africa presently.

Numerous scholars have conducted studies on the topic of xenophobic violence, however many of these studies have failed to distinguish between the types of foreigners who experience xenophobic violence in South Africa (Handmaker and Pardley 2001). There are three broad categories of foreigners that have been identified by Harris (2001), that are mentioned in the South African legislation. They are Migrants, immigrants and refugees.

Harris (2001) asserts that migrants are those foreign nationals who participate in cross-border movements, which means that these foreign nationals are not based in South Africa permanently. Permits that are a necessity to refugees or asylum seekers are not granted to migrants. Migration is a temporary change in one's place of residence. However according to Harris (2001), while migration is temporary, ongoing migration has resulted in many foreigners becoming permanent migrants in South Africa. The distinction between migrants and other categories of foreigners in South Africa is that their entry is permitted for work purposes while refugees are allowed to enter the country for reasons pertaining to security well-being.

Immigrants are those foreigners who make a permanent movement from one country to another. Harris (2001) argues that foreigners are entering the country, are granted permanent residency based on temporary or permanent employment after five years.

Refugees, in the South African context, is believed to be a relatively new concept in the legislation of the country. This emerged in the democratic South Africa, from the apartheid era transition, which saw the return of South Africans who were previously exiled (Harris 2001).

The ambiguous and overlapping nature of these definitions and descriptions should be borne in mind when looking at the various categories of foreigners. Meanwhile, black African foreign nationals referred to in this paper are mostly refugees, who are assumed to have been granted permission to be in South Africa due to the various reasons highlighted above.

5.4.5 THEME5: Fear and Security

> *What I have quickly discovered is that our-so called new South Africa has as much material for a story-teller as the old one. The landscape hasn't really changed, who is in power is different to who was in power then, but the squatter camps grow like cancer the rich get richer, the poor get poorer*
>
> *-Athol Fugard*

The concept of fear was created by the previous dark years of discrimination in South Africa, where the black majority of South Africans, were oppressed by the apartheid government. There are several myths associated with fear towards foreign nationals. The ongoing xenophobic terror in South Africa has mostly threatened the safety and security of foreign nationals in South Africa (Muchiri, 2016).

> *Our people were oppressed by the white man, government officials are now oppressing us their fellow African brothers and sisters, it is quite sad*

Fanon (1961) supports the above statement when he states that his primary fear was that after apartheid is demolished, black bourgeoisie elected in government would set up a national system that will be exploitative towards others. Fear will be in the minds of their followers, subconsciously unknown factors of fear that locals have can drive them to take action including violent attacks on others.

For a long time in South Africa, certain benefits were set aside for the white minority while the black majority remained oppressed. Post-1994 government came with promises and hoped to correct the misfortunes of the past apartheid government. The black majority of South African expected change to happen overnight, however, two decades later, South Africans have not experienced the change that was 'tagged' in democratic South Africa. An influx of foreign nationals has made the situation even worse; as locals fear for their jobs, health, and safety, among others. This has resulted in many forms of insecurities and may trigger violence acts towards the foreign nationals. There are already limited resources to share amongst South Africans, with immigrants in the picture, the struggle seems to be worse and South Africans uncontrollable of their intolerance towards foreign nationals. On the other hand, peoples' frustrations cannot be directed to the government, as they are not reachable to the people, instead they channel their frustrations to scapegoats' black foreign nationals.

There were recurring themes in the data, where South Africans seem to be afraid for security with foreign nationals being in South Africa. According to the Centre for Human Rights (2009), South Africans perceive foreigners as economic threats; studies have also revealed that xenophobia is caused by the perception that foreign nationals are political scapegoats (Dumani 2015).

During the data collection process, locals at Isiphingo expressed their security fears that foreign nationals come to South Africa to take jobs that they believe belong to them. One of them reported saying:

> *We have seen them take our jobs, they accept lower wages when we fight for*
> *higher wages, the employers fire us, because they know that foreigners are*
> *available, they should just go back we are trying to support our families.*

Others felt that foreign nationals hide behind their hair cutting businesses, whereas they are drug dealers, and human traffickers who come to destroy the society. Foreign nationals are prejudiced to be bringing diseases like HIV/AIDS infecting the women, and taking all social benefits that 'belong' to South Africans. For example, access to health care and housing. In the media, foreign nationals in South Africa are labelled as the 'other', 'them', and 'they', thereby creating negative perceptions of foreigners amongst the locals. According to McConell (2009), this was due to the lack of knowledge of foreigners and their rights. A participant responded saying:

> *I came here with my family seeking safety and security as my own country of*
> *origin is faced with war daily.*

5.4.5.1 SUB THEME 1: Job Security

It has been argued that the legacy of apartheid in South Africa has left many people suffering under the weight of growing poverty and unemployment. A close link exists between xenophobia and a lack of development referring to the growing economic inequalities and lack of access to employment amongst South Africans (Khamango 2015). The South African government has failed to implement policies that grow the economy and create jobs for its citizens.

It is not common in Durban to distinguish foreign nationals by their accents, they have become part of the intricate web, not only in Durban but also in the rest of South Africa. When it comes to foreign nationals, one's curiosity is aroused, the treatment that foreign nationals in Isiphingo get is somewhat different. The treatments of foreign nationals differ in Isiphingo based on their nationalities. During 2015, xenophobic violence in Isiphingo, black foreign nationals who own small businesses were the targets of the violence whereas foreign nationals from China, Pakistan, among others were exempted from any physical harm. In South Africa, African foreign nationals have faced discrimination, as locals always have these questions, how did they enter the country? Where did they come from? Who employs them? Despite South Africa's talks and promotion of "Ubuntu" and emphasis on the preservation of basic human rights to all those who reside in South Africa, black-on-black violence easily spreads when local and foreign nationals compete for domestic labour especially in the semi-skilled and

unskilled sectors. At the heart of the problem concerning job security is the perception that foreign nationals are the reason why jobs are not enough for the locals. There is some truth to this belief; however, foreign nationals also contribute to the economy as well as job creation. For instance, a number of thriving businesses in Isiphingo are foreign-owned thereby employing mostly locals, creating employment for the residents of Isiphingo.

There is a strong belief that the xenophobic violence in Isiphingo was a result of angry workers who worked at one of the oldest shops in Isiphingo called KwaJeena. Close to, half of the employees went on strike in December 2014. The strike was because the workers demanded higher wages and bonuses from the employer. Jobs in Isiphingo are hard to come by. According to the 2011 census, the estimated population in Isiphingo was 19 387, and the employment rate was 37.4% with the average monthly household income of R2400 (News24 2015). However, workers and the owners at KwaJeena blatantly denied all these allegations, saying that their strike began in December and they never wanted to attack foreign nationals Otherwise they would have done so the previous year. Some of the participants stated:

> People who already have their own problems have joined us and started the whole thing. If we had anything to do with the attacks, we would have started it in December

> We are part of the community and they are aware of our struggles, the company made a mistake of hiring foreign nationals as security guards, checking shopper's bags and pointing guns at them how would you feel if someone from outside was making you feel like a criminal in your own country?

The owner of KwaJeena supermarket says the situation forced them to hire new staff when almost 50 of their employees went on strike, however, denied that the casual workers that were hired were foreign nationals, arguing that there are strict policies of hiring locals. According to him:

> If you don't have a South African ID, you don't get the job. My workers' records are open to anyone who needs proof.

However, after strikers began vandalising the property and customers were intimidating the owners; KwaJeena resorted to hiring security, company; the security company hires foreign nationals, which is suspected of having sparked the first wave of attacks. The former premier

of KwaZulu-Natal believed that the strike at the supermarket caused the xenophobic violence aimed at foreign nationals in Isiphingo. The owners of kwaJeena supermarket had replaced permanent staff with scab labour in the form of foreign nationals, as the story has been told whether it is true or not this is the perception that exists and is dominant (News24, 2015).

In Isiphingo, foreign nationals occupy casual or low wage positions such as being security guards, parking meter assistants, etc. Evidently in Isiphingo is that foreign nationals in the area are risk takers when it comes to owning businesses, salons, barber shops, internet cafes, spaza shops, among others. During the 2015 xenophobic violence, all of these shops were left empty, and South Africans instead of grabbing opportunities and somewhat running the businesses chose to steal equipment belonging to foreign nationals. A participant stated that:

> *I will never work as a barber imagine spending my entire day waiting for*
> *people in order to cut their hair, I cannot wake up every morning just to make*
> *R50 a day that is just madness I have better things to do with my time like*
> *job hunting.*

The attitude of South Africans when it comes to the small businesses that are owned by foreign nationals is astonishing, they look down upon them, but when these businesses flourish, they feel threatened. Most locals that were participants in the study said they would never work for foreign nationals nor would they consider opening small businesses as they felt that foreign nationals come to South Africa already equipped with capital to establish successful businesses.

Sequel to the conversations with foreign national participants during the study, it is revealed that many foreign nationals are educated but cannot simply find employment in their own birth countries due to poor economic growth and hostile political conditions. Throughout history, the preference for foreign labour is not new in South Africa. This solely lies on the country's apartheid past. The country's history of migrant labour programmes is embedded in the mining sector and other related industries. Foreign black labour, in particular, was used as a buffer against indigenous labour, where local labour was considered to be "unruly" and lacking compliance with the needs of mining capital. There have been different issues regarding labour discipline on the side of South Africans. South Africans have this tendency not to take their work seriously and also believed that solving problems within the workplace requires them to initiate strikes, which is a different work ethic that foreign nationals have. The latter seem to take work more serious and usually succumb to most demands that are made by the employer, because they are in South Africa to make a better life for themselves and their families.

Constricted housing market with residential stratification aggravates problems of service delivery and the already high level of crime is intensified. When it comes to cheap labour, wealthy South Africans have been accused of setting up structures that are meant for the maximum exploitation of migrant labour specifically in the mining sector for their personal economic benefit (Bond et al 2010).

South Africa faces a lot of economic challenges, one of these being unemployment it was important to employ a theory that spoke of this hence the use of the competition of xenophobia. It was alleged that one of the triggers of the 2015 xenophobic violence in Isiphingo was one of the biggest supermarkets hiring foreign employees, as the staff embarked on a strike for better wages motivated the candidate to use the competition theory of xenophobia. In order to understand how competition for socio-economic benefits between intergroup increases xenophobia, it is evident in the findings in theme five, which speaks of fear and security that indeed competition amongst South Africans exists for the already scarce resources and an influx of foreign nationals has worsened the situation leading to anger and xenophobia towards foreign nationals. This is merely caused by the fact that the owners of the factors of production are always looking for ways to maximize profits using fewer inputs. Inputs in the labour force of South Africa being foreign nationals readily available to provide labour at lower prices than locals.

Violence is directed towards those perceived as threats which in the case of Isipingo African foreign nationals. However, it is important to note that during data collection, it became evident that participants viewed Chinese, Pakistani foreign nationals who own businesses as potential employers by their skin colour. The acrimony was reserved for those who were seen as competitors for the scarce resources in this case Black foreign nationals. Therefore, it was essential to discuss the concept of Afro-phobia as the literature presented highlights that in most if not all cases of violence it was the African foreign nationals who were attacked.

5.4.5.2 SUB THEME 3: Housing and Healthcare services

The constitution of South Africa stipulates that everyone has the right to access basic socio-economic benefits. The issue of foreign nationals' rights to healthcare services in South Africa and has continuously generated heated debates (Polzer 2010). In Section 7(2) Act 108 of 1996 constitution obliges that the state respects, protects, promotes and fulfils the rights of everyone who lives in South Africa. The belief of South Africans is explicitly articulated in the preamble

which read thus: "We the people of South Africa believe that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, united in our diversity"

During the 2015 xenophobic violence in Isiphingo, about 120 foreign nationals from Congo, Burundi, Nigeria, Rwanda, Ethiopia and Malawi were attacked and were forced to spend a night at a local police station. This was after a conflict had erupted between locals and foreign nationals, accusing foreign nationals of destroying local businesses.

There were never reports of situations where foreign nationals are owners of government houses, like the RDP houses, rather foreign nationals in Isiphingo normally rent property and if they can afford are able to purchase houses. In 2015, a house owned by a South African, but leased by foreign nationals who run the business of fixing vehicles was visited with mobs who stoned the house and vandalised the vehicles that were waiting to be repaired. Two participants who were victims of the 2015 xenophobic attack had this to say:

> *This was one of the hardest days in my life seeing my property that I worked so hard to build and acquire the past few years being destroyed just because it is being occupied by foreign nationals; the repairs have cost me a leg and an arm.*

> *One cannot freely access the local clinic as it is always full, these people are sick every day and we have experienced shortages of medicine and this is because there is just too many of them here.*

The competition theory climaxes that locals in Isiphingo see foreign nationals as threats to their socio-economic benefits from the government. Foreign nationals are running thriving businesses and employing South Africans, subsequently assisting the government in fighting poverty and unemployment in South Africans. Foreign nationals in Isiphingo have great entrepreneurial skills, are risk takers something that locals are not able to do, in that one participant (local) mentioned that the reason he cannot use vacant space left during the 2015 violence, was that he cannot wake up every day to make R50. Yet when foreign nationals use that opportunity to start small they are perceived as competition and threats for the social well-being of locals.

Based on the reflections of the scapegoating theory of xenophobia the analysis shows that almost three decades post-apartheid South Africa. The black majority is not satisfied with the

pace of development that came with the 'new South Africa'. All these frustrations of not receiving proper housing, proper health care services, among other things have caused a lot of aggravating sentiments towards foreign nationals, and unless the government of South Africa boldly addresses these issues the manifestation of xenophobic violence will not stop any time soon.

5.4.6 THEME 6: Reasons foreign nationals are in South Africa

This theme came up a number of times during the data collection; foreign nationals are in South Africa for different reasons and mostly in search for a better life, because of political and economic unrest in their birth countries.

The reason behind middle and upper-class people for coming to South Africa is the amazing wildlife, it is generally a wonderful country, and one is able to purchase a home (Hong-Kong and Shangai Corporation, 2009). In terms of expatriation, South Africa is rated the 6th best country, despite South Africa rating, as one of the best countries for migrants, the HSBC argued that for immigrants with lower socio-economic status the standard of living had been lowered. A participant whose country of origin is facing a war had this to say:

> *I came to South Africa to find peace, because my country of origin knows no peace.*

The belief is that South Africa is one of the most developed and richest countries in Africa and offers better opportunities. On the other hand

> *It is very hard to secure a job in my country as it depends whom you know, and politically linked. It is very difficult to find jobs on merit nowadays, however coming to South Africa I thought it would be better, only to realise that it is just as hard to get a job here as it is in my country. For me migrating to South Africa was more of seeking a better life, however at the realisation that it was just as hard, I decided to stay for my own personal reasons.*

There were many similarities in push factors that foreign nationals decided to leave their countries based on, economic situations and political unrest seemed to top the list:

> *It was not easy to talk of going back home because the situation back home is tough. There are no jobs and ehhh... Back home they call South Africa diaspora (England) because they believe all nice things are there. So, for me going back home from diaspora was not going to happen.*

The situation that forced me to leave home was bad and is still bad I had to make a choice to find means to support my family, the political unrest in my country took all the hope that it will be back in shape anytime soon and that frightened me because life had to go on.

5.4.6.1 SUB THEME 1: South Africa painted as a rainbow nation

The common observation that first impressions count is extremely persistent and supported in a recent study that compared how first impressions contradict the subsequent experiences. The conclusion was that when people come to South Africa they have certain expectations and the experiences they encounter during their stay in South Africa tend to contradict the initial perception of this rainbow nation, beautiful and country with a promising future (Vahed 2013).

According to Fukuda, Hatori, and Matsuo (2010), foreign visitors formed first impressions of a country and its people as they walk from the plane to the airport exit, so their first impression of a country is influenced by the treatment and atmosphere upon arrival. However, it is important to note that with black foreign nationals in the study this was not the case. They came to South Africa with the hope of finding better jobs and building a great life for themselves and hoping to work in their respective fields but most of them are doing odd jobs such as street trading, truck driving, house helps, among others. Below is the response of a participant which supports this theme:

I am a truck driver, but I am a qualified electrician, I worked for one of the biggest Electrical companies in my country before my retrenchment. It was quite disappointing when I approached different companies with my qualification to be told that I do not meet the standards of working for electrical firms in South Africa as my qualifications cannot be verifiable.

It was evident during the interview sessions with foreign nationals in Isiphingo; they have been equally disappointed with the treatment that they have received from South Africa. Nonetheless, the thought of going back home for most of them has not crossed their minds, some fear what society will say about their return home and others mostly from DRC are not satisfied with all the political unrests and economic instabilities that are taking place:

I was so excited and happy as I will be having peace that I already dreamed about when I was growing up, something that we only hear about in my home

country, however when I got here I quickly realised that South Africa will never be home.

If you are somewhere you hear different stories and for those who are overseas when they return home for the holidays you see they have changed and have a better life, so you just say South Africa is the place and you also make ways to come here.

By implication, one can conclude that the way South Africa is portrayed outside is quite different from what is on the ground once you are in. *"If anyone had told me that I will have a hostile reception in South Africa, I wouldn't have dreamt of ever coming to this country"*, this is the testimony of one of the respondents in Isiphingo.

In other words, South Africa's 'good' image being painted outside is different from what the foreign residents experience daily**.** In television, South Africa is always portrayed as one of the best places, to be for financial and personal growth as it provided many opportunities. It became evident that the saying that goes 'not all that glitters is gold' was true for the foreigners in Isiphingo, Durban who have experienced a different form of hostility from their host.

5.4.7 THEME 7: Media

In South Africa, it is hardly surprising when one turns on the radio or news, there are always reports on foreign nationals being involved in criminal and some sort of illegal activities. Several scholars have somehow blamed the media for its role in perpetuating xenophobia; however, Mogekwu (2014) argues that mass media does not particularly incite xenophobia, but often aggravate it either deliberately or unintentionally. The media has a way of framing news in certain ways which can suggest that foreign nationals in South Africa are 'intruders' or 'invaders' into the job market, which may deprive "rightful owners" of the environment to access their source of livelihoods. Arguably, the media has not played a neutral role in shaping people's perceptions of foreign nationals. The media is concerned with maintaining and improving listenership/viewership/readership, figures and what is covered with regards to crime, violence supposedly perpetrated by foreign nationals mainly because journalists and editors believe that such will be of interest to their readers.

Practically, this means that there is victimisation that public interest may receive no coverage or limited coverage. The third objective of the study was to assess the level of South Africa's government in integrating non-indigenes within Isiphingo; the data revealed that the media had

not been put into full use in the government's efforts in integrating the people of Isiphingo. The content on foreign nationals in the media has always been one that is negative, resulting in the progression of negative perception of foreign nationals among South Africans. Incidents that often receive a great amount of media coverage are often exceptional or unique with factors that identify with victim's race, age, gender, social prominence, etc. thus affecting whether they are given media attention or not (The Centre for the Study of Violence, 2007). Some of the participants retorted regarding this theme by saying:

> *I always thought that 'they' are here because of violence in their own countries, but after watching the news during the past years I have realised that they are here to corrupt this country and they should just go back to their own troubles.*

> *In the media they always highlight bad things about us as foreigners and it creates a bad picture of us, I am not denying that some other foreign nationals might be involved in some illegal activities however in the end we are all affected even us who are genuinely looking for a better future for ourselves and families.*

5.4.8 THEME 8: Criminal Activities

There is a belief that South Africans are affectionate and gracious people, yet recently the opposite has surpassed the goodness. Crime especially hate crimes, towards foreign nationals have throughout the years reached sky-scraping levels, accusing them of committing serious crimes in the country. The reason why Mngadi (2018) prejudicially claimed that, the country [South Africa] had become a haven to illegal foreign nationals seeking asylum after opening its gate in 1994 to nationals of other countries.

In Durban particularly south beach, point road is believed to be the focal point of drug distribution in South Africa. The place has become a habitat for illegal foreign nationals, where they are able to perpetrate different kinds of criminal activities like drug dealing, human trafficking, among others. Despite police, operations over the years that have attempted to dismantle the drug dealers operating in Point without success. Cocaine is on the menu for the day without any form of ignominy. A number of townships in South Africa are faced with the challenge of drug abuse by young people. A common one which has affected many young people is called 'whoonga'. Whittles (2015) argues that this deadly concoction includes various things like rat poison, powder soap, and the main ingredient that is used is Anti Retro-viral

(AR-V's) This drug had deeply affected Isiphingo in that in every corner one finds that there are many young people affected by the drug. The locals in Isiphingo have blamed this on the influx of foreign nationals in the city. Below is a comment of a participant while referring to drug abuse in the community:

> As you can tell, my sister, Isiphingo no longer has young people, they are now junkies. It is quite sad because it is these people, who came with these drugs to destroy our children. They take our jobs and are now destroying the future leaders.

5.4.9 THEME 9: Institutional Racism

The arrival of foreigner nationals in Isiphingo has caused a number of problems; it has negatively affected the demographics of the area. The South African foreign policy has been largely blamed, as it does not provide a proper structure to deal with foreign nationals, (Vahed 2013). Unlike in some parts of Durban where most foreign nationals live in abandoned buildings, steal anything to make quick money for survival, walking around at night because they are homeless. Foreign nationals in Isiphingo either are owners of small businesses or doing low paying jobs just to survive (Vahed 2013). This affirmed from the comments of two participants stated below:

> My brother and I have been accused by the police of selling drugs to young people in Isiphingo, I have been beaten up by the mob because of these false allegations

> We are discriminated by the locals and when we run to the police, they too abuse us. They are supposed to protect us, yet we are hurt in their hands.

Foreign nationals in Isiphingo have accused the police of not protecting them against the locals. Members of the police force are part of the South African society and are not immune to foreign prejudice. The fact that police have to deal with foreign nationals daily may aggravate their prejudices (Vahed 2013). Scholars have alleged that the 2015 attacks, were sparked by a statement made by the Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini that foreign nationals in South Africa should pack their bags and leave South Africa. Below are the statements of the king:

> As the king of the Zulu nation, I cannot tolerate a situation where we are being led by leaders with no views whatsoever. We are requesting those who come from outside to please go back to their countries....

> *The fact that there were countries that played a role in the country's struggle for liberation should not be used as an excuse to create a situation where foreigners are allowed to inconvenience locals….*

Following these remarks by the King at the end of March, foreign nationals were attacked, and their shops looted. Whether or not these allegations are true, it is important to understand that public figures are influential and have the power to change the way people think and trigger actions among followers. However, other scholars have argued that statements made prior to the 2015 xenophobic violence made by other national leaders also contributed in triggering the violence. For instance, the former president of South Africa, Jacob Zuma in 2014, said that black South Africans should stop behaving as if they were "typical", blacks from Africa. It also emerged that Edward Zuma, former president's son duly expressed anti-foreigner sentiments when he said:

> *I am amazed at how much South Africans hate their fellow Africans. Things like these never happen to foreigners of other races. I am also surprised at how the king of the Zulus can make such reckless comments knowing exactly the kind of political power he has. I do not solely blame the king for what has happened, but it is his comments that evoked the suppressed hatred that some South Africans have for us. Personally, I never experienced any physically attacks but I chose to run away while I still had the chance to. We are your neighbours – why then do you treat us even worse than dogs? Back home in the DRC they are fighting, that is why I left. Now even here they are beating us – what do we have to do now?*

Some of the participants expressed themselves with regard to the identified theme by saying:

> *I lost all my money, equipment and products there. My daughters were traumatised: they still cry and have not fully recovered from the ordeal. I am amazed at how much South Africans hate their fellow Africans. Things like these never happen to foreigners of other races.*

> *I feel very embarrassed for South Africans. We say that foreigners take our jobs, but we are lazy and arrogant when it comes to work. The people who attack foreigners and tell them to go clearly have not thought this through. The father of my baby is a foreigner and so are many other South African*

women. If you tell them to leave, it is many of your own South African sisters who will struggle as single mothers. When these children get delinquent in the absence of their fathers, there will be more street kids and drug addicts to rob and mug you. I urge all South Africans to make peace with our fellow African brothers and sisters who have fallen in love with our beautiful country. It is hard for them to just pack up and leave, as they have already established stable lives.

With the increase of xenophobic violence towards black foreign nationals on the increase in South Africa, the victims have expressed that they find less support or protection from state institutions (Valji 2003). These institutions are for the protection of the dignity and rights of all residents of South Africa and most frequently the places where human rights, abuses, violations take place. As mentioned above, black foreign nationals are the main targets of anger and intolerance in South Africa. Law enforcement agencies have over the years, increasingly used racial profiling in order to identify suspected "illegals". One of the unfair criteria used by law enforcement officers in identifying foreign nationals include traits such as height, skin colour, among others. This process of identification includes 'dehumanizing', 'humiliating' the African foreign national. (Human Rights Watch 1998).

According to many foreign nationals residing at Isiphingo, the government has made little attempts, to educate locals about the different categories of foreign nationals and that each case deserves a unique attention and treatment. Even among public officials at the Department of Home Affairs, it is sometimes evident that little efforts on understanding foreign nationals have been limited. For instance, a participant said:

I have had personal experience, with one of the officials at the department of home affairs. Instead of helping me with my papers was busy questioning me on why I am not going back to my country, it is quite sad really when I tried to explain to her that I was seeking refuge in South Africa she did not even understand that it was possible to get such a status.

Moreover, there is little understanding within the officials of the Department of Home Affairs regarding the rights of foreign nationals and different kinds of migrant communities catered for in the Immigration Act of 2001 or the Refugees Act (Palmary 2002).

It was interesting to find out in the data that the Department of Home Affairs does have a budget to finance issues dealing with xenophobia like training for public officials who deal

directly with foreign nationals. These are catered for in order to reduce the sentiments of institutional racism the Department has recently been accused of perpetuating. However, from collected data, foreign nationals have said that they are still experiencing some sorts of dissatisfaction with the services provided by the public officials in the Department of Home Affairs (DHA).

Immigration officers have also spoken about monitoring and evaluation processes that every department has within the Department of Home Affairs. Immigration officers and a foreign national victim had this to say about corruption within the Department of Home Affairs:

> *The department of home affairs like any other government departments, have monitoring and evaluation strategies to enhance service delivery to the people, I have never worked at branch level, and however I am aware of its existence in branches.*

> *Asking applicants for bribes during application for documentation is a crime in South Africa, I have heard of instances where officers have demanded bribes in order to speed up the process. However, during training there is great emphasis on the Batho Pele principles which act as guidelines for us, public officials.*

> *I have been asked to pay a 'bribe', in order for my papers to come through quicker, and when I declined I was told there is a possibility that my file could 'magically' disappear, which was quiet shocking as these people are aware how desperately we need these papers in order to survive in a foreign country.*

5.4.10 THEME 10: Entrepreneurship

Foreign nationals in Isiphingo operate on a principle of "beggars cannot be choosers", they have optimally managed to utilize their talents and natural abilities to earn a living. Foreign nationals in Isiphingo have depended on informal economic activities for survival (Kertzer 2012). Informal activities have managed to provide an alternative for the unemployed, enabling people to cope with local community problems and poverty (Pratt 2006). However, it was quite obvious that locals are choosy when it comes to jobs. Foreign nationals tend to fill the jobs that South Africans reject, intending to save enough money to start and grow their businesses (Binns et al. 2012). A participant had this to say during the interview:

> *In my country, I am a qualified lawyer with one-year practice, but due to political unrest I had to flee, after my younger brother was killed, I have worked for almost 6 years as a security guard. Before being able to afford to buy containers with my cousin, we have since opened 3 salons.*

Weavind (2012) argues that people should be encouraged to start businesses, to not only generate employment but to grow the economy. This involves the transformation of people's resources and assets into productive livelihoods, which may help in dealing with socio-economic vulnerabilities worsened by the exclusion of the poor and slow economic growth. Waldinger (2002) argues that some foreign national groups are more entrepreneurial than others and are influenced by culture, structure, ethnic enclave and the circumstance in which the business is operated.

The data collected brought forward reasons why foreign nationals resorted to starting up businesses and two of those reasons are discussed below:

5.4.10.1 SUB THEME 1: Opportunity immigrant entrepreneurs

According to Chrysostome (2010), opportunity immigrant entrepreneurs, decide to start businesses on their freewill, as they see business opportunities. They pursue making more money from running their businesses than they would have earned as immigrant workers. Seeking new opportunities is part of their culture, they are opportunity driven, and they usually exploit profit business ideas, even when they can possibly find paid jobs. Some participants supported this by saying:

> *Even before I came to South Africa I knew that I wanted to be my own boss, hence the reason to start my own internet café in Isiphingo, my business has over the years grown to even more than I expected, I have employed 8 permanent staff and it feels good to have seized the moment.*

> *My business started very small, at the realisation that there was no place in Isiphingo that provided computer training courses, I saw it as an opportunity to fill the gap in the market I now have 4 major branches one at Isiphingo, Port Shepstone, Umzinto and Durban central.*

5.4.10.2 SUB THEME 2: Necessity versus opportunity immigrant entrepreneurs

Necessity immigrant entrepreneurs are those immigrants who start businesses because they cannot find jobs due to various obstacles in the host country (Chrysostome, 2010). This is the

case with most foreign nationals in Isiphingo; for these people survival is the name of the game. Generally, some foreign nationals do not have the necessary documentation to look for jobs; they would rather start small businesses, as it is a necessity for survival in a foreign country.

> *From an early age, cars fascinated me, and my uncle taught me how to fix cars. He ran a mechanic business back home and I took over from him I had to be a man and find my own way to survive. Moreover, what better way than to start a business of something I know very well and enjoy.*

> *I cannot work be spending my days cutting people's hair, I have a family to support and I cannot be a breadwinner earning less than R100 a day 'chuckles'.*

5.5 CONCLUSION

This chapter presented the findings of the data collected from foreign nationals and locals from Isiphingo, as well as immigration officers from the Department of Home Affairs. The findings highlighted that local people in Isiphingo lack knowledge and understanding of the different categories of foreign nationals; they generally are wary of foreign nationals based on discriminatory prejudices. Foreign nationals tend to isolate themselves from locals because of a number of reasons, but the main reason is that of language and fear of being attacked. The findings also included knowledge on the existence of training for public officials on how to treat and find ways of dealing with foreign nationals uniquely, depending on which category they belong. Nonetheless, officials are at the center of discriminating against foreign nationals. The findings also highlighted that non-black foreign nationals in Isiphingo are much more welcomed and not perceived as threats. This leads the researcher to conclude that what is ongoing in Isiphingo is not xenophobia but Afro phobia. Chapter 6 shall reveal more details and discussions of the research findings and recommendations.

CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

No one is born hating another person because of the colour of their skin, his background, or religion. People must learn to hate, and if they can learn to hate. They can be taught to love, for love comes more naturally to the human heart than it's possible.

-Nelson Mandela

6.1 INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter presented the findings of the study and revealed several issues within Isiphingo. The study revealed that locals have little or no information on the different categories of foreign nationals in the country, and the different rights that come with each category. Key informants of the study revealed that there are no direct policies that address the issue of xenophobia, it is usually treated like any other criminal activities. One of the ways to test a country's democracy is the treatment of its government and people give to foreign nationals. South Africa prides itself with having one of the most colourful constitutions in the world and engraved its commitment to human rights by having a Bill of Rights in the constitution which emphasizes that everyone has the right to life. This chapter will provide the discussion of the findings, the conclusion of the study and recommendations for future research.

6.2 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

The main aim of the study was to assess the effects of xenophobia on social integration. The research uncovered the following:

Generally, South Africans are not open to diversity; thus, xenophobia has been on the rise throughout the years. The results of the study proved that South Africans are a divided nation. '*ubuntu'* is true in writing but in practice it is the total opposite, though the country prides itself about being a diverse state. There is still a sense of inequality amongst the different ethnic societies. During the 2015 xenophobic violence against foreign nationals, black South Africans who are not Zulu and Xhosa speakers were also attacked and accused of being foreign because of their inability to speak these languages.

In order to understand xenophobia in Isiphingo and how it affects social integration efforts, it was necessary for the researcher to look at xenophobia in the broader South African context. This required the researcher to provide the background of xenophobia as an ongoing and steadily increasing phenomenon for the past nine years since its much-publicized outburst in 2008. The literature gave the researcher information on the places which incidents of xenophobia occurred throughout the years, thus providing insight on these areas and the reasons behind the occurrence of xenophobia.

The study revealed that there are still deep traces of the past apartheid system, where violence as means of communication grievances and also achieving political influence was acceptable. Notwithstanding the work done by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of reconciling the nation, the study suggests that xenophobia lies in addressing issues of apartheid as a human violation system without justice and compensation. The general acceptance of violence as a culture of problem-solving together with ineffective policing results in continued impunity for perpetrators and reconciliation prioritised over justice. It has been argued that the structural underpinnings and economic of xenophobia have not been addressed in South Africa post-1994 thus creating discrimination, violence enabling conditions against those perceived as foreigners (Jara and Peredy, 2009). The decline of employment and the crisis of globalisation makes it challenging for foreign nationals coming from struggling economies to find jobs in South Africa. The competition for jobs in South Africa has since intensified. In the context of Isiphingo the labour market takes advantage of easily exploitable and inexpensive migrant labour and is believed to have triggered the violence in Isiphingo.

Despite the transition from apartheid to democracy South Africa still has traces of the past urban geographies created by apartheid are still intact. Together with the rapid increase in the prices of a house, government programmes that are unable to meet the demand, resulting in the massive increase of shack areas in the cities thus leading to generating of tensions as people compete for limited land, jobs and business opportunities (Jara and Peredy, 2009). The research investigated the effects of xenophobia on social integration in Isiphingo, following the much-publicized 2015 xenophobic violence on foreign nationals. The study revealed a number of causes of violence, including South Africa's history of racist and exploitative nature. According to Nyar (2010), there are three steps in the process of transition, liberalisation, democratisation, and socialisation. The first process of liberalisation in the South African context looks at granting a range of liberties and rights to the black majority, previously denied to them by the system of apartheid. Democratisation seeks to give citizens representation and

a platform to participate in the political arena and the ability to vote for those they want to put into power to represent their interests. However, the last step called socialisation is where South Africa has failed in its transition process, the goal in the last step is economic and social equality. Nonetheless, there have been remarkable achievements in some areas that the government has dismally failed in addressing the issue of inequality (O'donell, Schmitter and Arnson, 2013).

The findings of the study revealed that the people at grass root level (locals) have no knowledge of the various categories of foreign nationals. There is limited understanding even amongst government officials on the dynamics relating to migration, due to the absence of high-quality data, people are ignorant about the limited data that does exist. There is also a high range of negative stereotypes and bias attached to foreign nationals in general (Landau, 2011). Data collected from locals in Isiphingo suggests that ordinary citizens seem to have strong anti-immigrant sentiments.

The results prove that there is limited knowledge when it comes to the question of different categories of foreign nationals, as all of the local participants were not clear on what is meant by 'category of foreign nationals. Evidently, the data proved that South Africans in the study believe that the influx of foreign nationals in Isiphingo is invasive and hinders development as the perception is that they are involved in criminal activities. Immigration officers seemed to have clear knowledge on the subject of different foreign nationals, as knowing the different categories of foreign nationals will determine the types of services and assistance to be rendered. However, it is still alarming to hear what foreign nationals have to say about the treatment they receive at the Department of Home Affairs (local offices), when applying for documentation.

The constitution of South Africa clearly stipulates that everyone has a right to life; be they foreign nationals or local nationals. Moreover, government departments are obliged to enforce that the rights of everyone in South Africa are preserved and protected, however the reoccurrence of xenophobia towards African foreign nationals has weakened the authenticity of the South African government's promise of a rainbow nation. The findings of the study reveal that foreign nationals do not feel safe even in the presence of government officials. The people who are supposed to be protecting them against harm that may be caused by civilians are the same people who demand bribes from foreign nationals. The data highlights that foreign national business owners in Isiphingo do have to pay for trading licences to the Ethekwini

Municipality, however in order to prevent their stock from being confiscated by the metro police are bound to pay a little extra to the police.

During the 2015 xenophobic violence foreign nationals attested that they found refuge at a local police station, however on a normal day the police are as xenophobic as locals. Many foreign nationals at Isiphingo face many problems with metro police as they accuse them of taking their stock and sometimes ask them for bribes in order to let them keep the stock. The police force is there to protect the citizens and not take advantage of them. However, this is not the case with the police force in Isiphingo. City officials, the police and local government who are mostly in contact with foreign nationals have the power to influence locals whom they work with every day.

It has been proven that there is a gap between theory and practice. Since 1994 South Africa has experienced an influx of migrants, particularly form African countries. The reality of these immigrants is that they are mostly undocumented, usually end up staying in informal urban settlements (Crush and Ramachandran, 2010). The South African government has been slow in developing a response mechanism to address the issue of the increase of migrants in the country. The heading of all institutional explanations falls under the role of the state (Weber 1946). In order for democracy to flourish, the state is expected to offer security to its people, and those who reside within the boundaries of the country, whatever state signals and initiates have a big impact on what transpires in a country. Entrenched in the constitution is the Bill of Rights which highlights the importance of basic human rights preservation, this is well documented on paper, however in practice it is the other way around. Foreign nationals in Isiphingo live in constant fear as they feel unsafe and are not sure when another episode of xenophobic violence will take place.

Xenophobia remains a feature of South African lifestyle with those in power displaying an ambivalent response to it. Moreover, it often fails to recognise the humanity of African foreign nationals from other parts of the continent. They are thus betraying some funding principles of the South African constitution. The government for sometimes have been in denial of xenophobia happening in the country. They rather deal with violence like other criminal activities. The media for some time has played a pivotal role in painting foreign nationals as the 'other', This is because people generally take what they hear and read from the media as the truth, it is the role of the media to stop misrepresenting foreign nationals thus increasing the chances of them being attacked because of what has been said about them in the media.

During the final stages of the study, there have been media reports on xenophobic violence against foreign nationals. Foreign-owned shops were looted recently in Soweto, which is part of a pattern that has been manifested with greater visibility and intensity post-apartheid South Africa (Suttner, 2018). Foreign nationals selling at local spaza shops have been accused of selling counterfeit products and toxic goods that are believed to have detrimental effects on the health of the general public (Mngadi 2018).

The findings of the study reveal that locals in Isiphingo are not goal-getters; neither are they brave enough to start their businesses due to lack of resources, basic entrepreneurial knowledge, and skills. Local participants in the study looked down on business ideas embraced by foreign nationals they consider them not fanciful enough. However, they turn around and blame the government for lack of employment opportunities. Foreign nationals start small businesses, grow these businesses which result in employment opportunities for locals and other foreign nationals.

6.3 CONCLUSION

Firstly, one should reflect on the research design and method. Choosing a mixed method turned out well, as the researcher was able to quantify and present the analysis of the study and provided details making it possible to answer the research questions. Interviews with selected participants and text analysis gave the study a comprehensive and balanced overview of xenophobia in Isiphingo. Books, newspaper articles and journal articles assisted in generating insights into both victims and committers of violence in Isiphingo (which proved to be difficult during interviews because of language and security issues). Obtaining interviews from participants proved to be more difficult than anticipated by the researcher as participants seemed unsure and were wary of the researcher at first, though they later gave in.

The research assessed the effects of xenophobia on social integration in Isiphingo, following the 2015 xenophobic violence that first broke down in the community. The study looked at the government's efforts in integrating society. It traces xenophobia to the apartheid regime when the country through economic sanctions was closed and could not interact with other countries in the global arena. In chapter two the study employed four hypotheses out of which three explores xenophobia and to the other social integration. The scapegoating theory of xenophobia put forward that locals are frustrated due to lack of service delivery and their frustrations are directed to black African foreign nationals who have tried integrating into the communities. The isolation hypothesis suggests that South Africans are not used to interacting with the

'other' hence the xenophobic sentiments because of past laws that isolated South Africa from the rest of the world.

However, the biocultural theory suggests that the manifestation of xenophobia is unequally applied to foreigners varying on their nationalities. With two decades and a half after its breakthrough from apartheid, it is essential to acknowledge the country's democratic dispensation, and to concede that the country remains in transition. Moreover, it is clear that in order to address the phenomenon of xenophobia in the country, efforts from all stakeholders involved including the South African government, NGOs, citizens of South Africa and foreign nationals are required. Xenophobia like racism needs to be tackled with great concern and sensitivity than all other forms of crime.

Social integration of foreign nationals into the South African has over the years proven to be difficult as it is a two-way process involving immigrants and the host country society. Xenophobia does not only have direct costs through lives lost, physically harmed and threatened victims. It also has a direct impact on socio-economic integration of immigrants. Xenophobic violence also has indirect costs to the government by impairing integration of those immigrants who belong to the target group of xenophobic attacks. In the case of the study area Isiphingo, it has reduced the subjective well-being and has left many of the rented spaces, which were usually occupied by foreign nationals (African foreign nationals in particular) empty and deserted. Local participants have complained that these empty, abandoned shops have become a den of thieves which in turn affects residents of Isiphingo. Causing loss of income to the EThekwini Municipality as foreign nationals who occupy these spaces pay monthly fees to the EThekwini Municipality.

A number of foreign nationals who were affected during the 2015 xenophobic violence in Isiphingo have either fled or are planning to flee in the near future, due to constant fear that this violence might erupt yet again, hence its effects social integration and by extension on the economic well of the Isinpingos. Xenophobic violence increases the intentions of foreign nationals to return to their countries of origins; thus, locals are denied the opportunity to learn about other people's culture, norms and beliefs and limiting social integration. Not only social integration but regional integration because South Africa does not live in isolation it is a member state of a number of organizational bodies like the AU, and SADC which have rules and regulations that promote the protection of human rights and integration among others.

6.4 RECOMMENDATIONS

> *__Change will not come__ if we wait for some other person, or some other time. We are the ones we've been waiting for. __We are the change__ that we seek.*
>
> *-Barack Obama*

6.4.1 Recommendations to South African Government

It is of great importance that South Africans work hard in preserving the rainbow nation which the country claims to be. The present government is not fixated on racist principles like the previous apartheid government. Therefore, it should take necessary steps to curb xenophobia in order to avoid the emergence of a new political racism. Although the findings of this research cannot be generalized, it is however important to note the loopholes revealed in the study shows some forms of negligence on the part of the government.

- Firstly, the South African government needs to accept that South Africans are xenophobic because it is difficult to try and solve something where as one is in denial about its existence. The government should ensure that it adheres to its obligations regarding the protection of the rights of refugees and asylum seekers in the country. Currently, South Africa does not have a specific law to address xenophobia and other hate crimes. Given the country's history of apartheid, racial discrimination and the persistence of xenophobic violence, it is a form of negligence for the country not to have laws which concern xenophobic or hate crimes.

- South Africa needs to have a mechanism to monitor and evaluate xenophobic offences which shall be a centralised oversight. Thus, helping in monitoring past recommendations with regard to xenophobia as a problem for social integration. Also, policy makers should understand policies and interventions which work well and ensure their implementations.

- A clear government policy that is in line with international refugee standards should be implemented. Also, a monitoring and evaluation mechanism on the policy should be enforced by the government, in all strata: local, provincial and national. It is also important to monitor and evaluate the public officials in the workplace if they still adhere to the Batho Pele principles (service standards, access, courtesy, information, openness & transparency, redress, and value for money) which are every official's handbook and guide to carrying out their duties and rendering services to their clients

(general public). Results of these monitoring and evaluation processes should be reported and defaulters duly punished.

- South African government needs to educate its people on the importance of human rights preservation of all those living in the country and also the different categories of foreign nationals, their rights and obligations that they have in South Africa. This will influence and possibly change the views of locals about foreign nationals being invaders of privacy and threats to their social development. Having social cohesion programmes and *'izimbizo'* will be a great platform for people to meet and speak with the government on issues revolving around xenophobia as well as the need for people to be educated on such matters.

- Educational drives around the country on immigration and human rights preservation should also be done at school levels to promote social integration at a tender age, resulting in raising a nation that embraces diversity. The youth of South Africa should be duly used in these drives as they are the future of South Africa and the promotion of *Ubuntu.*

- Of importance to ending the xenophobic attack of foreign nationals is the provision of jobs. By this I mean a situation where the South African government open up the economy a bit to give room for entrepreneurial development among the youths. However, one impediment to this is the attitude of young black South Africans to work; evidently, South Africans often said that these foreigners are very hard working and that they have always excel in their daily endeavours. In the cause of data collection, I met a Nigerian, he said:

  I once had an encounter with a South African in 2016 who complained that he does not have money to buy things for himself, because foreigners have always taken South African money to their countries. However, I told him that such does not happen and that if only he can change his attitude to life that everything must be given to him free of charge he will definitely have money. Till date we are best of friends and even have a small business that we run together apart from our individual business.

- In essence if xenophobism must end in South Africa it is the responsibility of stakeholders to educate young South African on the need to embrace change in their attitudes to life. Nothing for '*mahala*' (free) in this world.

- The government should improve its control mechanisms in its borders in order to prevent the influx of illegal immigrants this would help in controlling and evaluating the people who are coming into the country. It is important that the government invests on training its officials on the treatment of foreign nationals. Thus, more resources should be made available for the Department of home affairs to discharge this duty efficiently.

- Members of the public should be educated through the media. Hence, the media should not be used as a platform to highlight and describe foreign nationals as aliens but should however be used to educate South Africans on diversity and its importance. To this end, the media and journalists should be duly trained to undertake informed and responsible reporting.

- There have been various myths about foreign nationals being carriers of deadly disease and accusations of them infecting locals with these. For instance, HIV/AIDS thus making it essential for the government to take action regarding public health for foreign nationals. There should not be any form of discrimination against foreign nationals when accessing basic health care services; should fees be required in government hospitals in order to access healthcare services foreign nationals should be notified without any form of discriminatory sentiment or xenophobia.

6.4.2 Recommendations for Future Research

- This research should be considered as one that is the first of an ongoing evolution process of realistic research that seeks to achieve a truly democratic South Africa, which is inclusive and representative. Thus, creating the initial first choice African state for foreign nationals with required skills and qualifications which will contribute to the economic development of South Africa.

- It is evident, although rare to find xenophobic attacks on foreign nationals in rural areas in the country, foreign nationals have somehow established thriving businesses and have somewhat integrated with the community. For future research, a comparison study on the occurrence of xenophobia in urban and rural areas could be undertaken as to add on to already existing knowledge which might help in ending xenophobia.

- There is a need for further research, as there is still an existence of a disparity between South African policy on the protection of foreign nationals and the practical implementation of the policy.

- It is also essential to conduct more research on the number of foreign nationals and their different categories in South Africa as people still lack an understanding of the existence of different categories and their impact on the society

7. REFERENCES

Adam, H. and Moodley, K. 2013. *Imagined Liberation. Xenophobia, Citizenship and Identity in South Africa, Germany and Canada*. Stellenbosch: Sun Press.

Adjai, C & Lazaridis, G. 2013." Migration, xenophobia and new racism in post-apartheid South Africa". *International Journal of Social Science Studies*.1, pp.192

African Centre for Constructive Resolution of Disputes (ACCORD). 2011. "It's not just xenophobia: Factors that lead to violent attacks on foreigners in South Africa"

Aggad, F, & Sidiropoulos, E. 2008. South Africa's tipping-point

Allen, W., & Blinder, S. 2013. *Migration in the news: Portrayals of immigrants, migrants, Asylum seekers and refugees in British national newspapers, 2010 - 2012*. Migration Observatory Report. University of Oxford: COMPAS

BBC News. 2015. 'South African army to tackle xenophobic attacks.' Viewed 14 April 2017, from, http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-32396532

Bekker, S. Eigelaar-Meets, I. Eva, G. and Poole, C. 2008. *Xenophobia and Violence in South Africa: A Desktop Study of the Trends and a Scan of Explanations Offered*. University of Stellenbosch. Viewed 31 March 2017, from <www.simonbekker.com>

Bekker, S. 2010. 'Explaining Violence against Foreigners and Strangers in Urban South Africa: Outbursts during May and June 2008.' *The African Yearbook of International Law*. 16, pp.125

Bekker, S. 2015. Violent xenophobic episodes in South Africa, 2008 and 2015. *African human mobility review*. Vol 1(3), pp.229

Biekpe, N, 2008, "The economics of xenophobia," *Africa agenda growth*

Binns, T., Dixon, A. & Nel, E. 2012. *Africa Diversity and Development*. London/New York: Routledge.

Bond, P, Ngwane, T & Amisi, B. 2010. "Xenophobia and civil society: Why did it happen?"

Bordeau, J. 2009. *The violence of fear and hate*. New York: Rosen Publishers

Campbell, E.K., 2003. Attitudes of Botswana citizens toward immigrants: Signs of xenophobia? *International Migration*, Vol41 (4), pp.71-111

Centre for Human Rights at the University of Pretoria, 2009. "The nature of South Africa's legal obligations to combat xenophobia"

Claasen, C.2015. *What explains xenophobia? A test of eight Theories*. University of Glasgow: United Kingdom

Chrysostome, E. 2010. The success factors of necessity immigrant entrepreneurs: In search of a model. *Thunderbird International Business Review* Vol 52(2), pp.137-152

City press, 2015. Xenophobic violence: where did it all begin? Viewed 19 June 2018, from http://www.news24.com/Archives/City-Press/Xenophobic-violence-Where-did-it-all-begin-20150429

Collin, E. 1997. "Case studies of good practice for the prevention of racial discrimination and xenophobia and the promotion of equal treatment in the workplace". *European foundation for the improvement of living and working condition*

Consortium for Refugees and Migrants in South Africa (CoRMSA). 2008. "Protecting refugees, asylum seekers & immigrants in South Africa

CoRMSA. 2010. "Hate crimes legal brief"

CoRMSA. 2010. "Taking action on threats of xenophobic violence: Recommendations for the Inter-Ministerial Committee

CoRMSA. 2011. "Protecting refugees, asylum- seekers and immigrants in South Africa during 2010"

CoRMSA. 2012. "The implications of moving refugee reception offices to the border areas

Creswell, J. W. 1994. Research design: *Qualitative & quantitative approaches*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Creswell, J. W., & Plano Clark, V. L. 2011. *Designing and conducting mixed methods research*. (2nd Ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Crush, J. ed., 1998. *Beyond Control: Immigration & Human Rights in a Democratic South Africa*. Southern Africa Migration Project.

Crisp, J. 2000. "Africa's Refugees: Patterns, Problems and Policy Challenges", *Journal of Contemporary African Studies,* Vol 18(2), pp.157-178

Crush, J., 2001. The dark side of democracy: Migration, xenophobia and human rights in South Africa. *International migration*, *38*(6), pp.103-133.

Crush, J. & McDonald D. 2002. *Transnationalism and New African Immigration to South Africa.* Cape Town: SAMP

Crush, J., Williams, V and Peberdy, S. 2005. Migration in Southern Africa. Johannesburg: Global Commission on International Migration. Viewed 28 May 2017 from, http: //www.gcim.org/attachments/RS7.pdf.

Crush, J. and Ramachandran (2009), Xenophobia, International migration and Human Development. Human Development Report Paper 47.

Crush, J & Ramachandran, S. 2010. "Migration, xenophobia and human development". *Journal of Human Development and capabilities* Vol 11(209)

Crush, J, Ramachandaran, S & Pendleton, W. 2013. "Soft targets, xenophobia, public violence and changing attitudes to migrants in South Africa

Crush, J. and Ramachandran, S. 2014. Southern African Migration Programme (SAMP): 'Xenophobic Violence in South Africa: Denialism, Minimalism, and Realism'. Migration Policy Series No. 66. Cape Town: University of Cape Town

Danso, K.R & Mc Donald, D.A. 2000. Writing xenophobia: immigration and the press post-apartheid South Africa. Cape Town: SAMP

Danso, R., & McDonald, A. D. (2001). Writing xenophobia: Immigration and the print media in post-apartheid South Africa. *Africa Today*, Vol 48(3), pp.115-137

Davis, R. 2015. Analysis: Has UNHCR stepped up to the plate during xenophobia 2015. Viewed 28 May 2017 from, https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2015-05-04-analysis-has-unhcr-stepped-up-to-the-plate-during-xenophobia-2015/#.WXXB64iGPIU

Dodson, B. & Oelofse, C. 2000. Shades of Xenophobia: In Migrants and Immigrants in Mizamoyethu, Cape Town. *Canadian Journal of African Studies* Vol 34(1) Viewed 19 April 2015 from, http:// www. jstor.org/stable/486109

Dodson, B., 2002. 'Gender and the Brain Drain' SAMP Migration Policy Series, No. 23.

Durban CBD. 2008. Report on the Durban CBD. Durban: eThekwini Metropolitan Municipality. Viewed 27 July 2017 from, http://www.s4.brown.edu/southafrica/Reports/Durban/CBD.pdf.

Everatt, D. 2011. 'Xenophobia, State and Society in South Africa', 2008-2010. *Politikon: South Africa Journal of Political Studies*, Vol 38(1), pp.7-36

Eye Witness News 'Xenophobia: if we can make them look bad, our problem will look better.' 4 June 2015 (Johannesburg)

Falconer, R. 2009. Xenophobia and Illegal Immigration in South Africa. Student News Action Network. Viewed 12 November 2017 from, http://www.studentnewsaction.net/forum/topics/xenophobia-and-illegal

Ferguson, C., 1999. *Global Social Policy Principles: human rights and social justice*. Department for International Development (DFID).

Ferguson, C. 2008, Linking human rights and aid effectiveness for better development results: Practical experience from the health sector. Report for the Human Rights Task Team of the OECD-DAC Network on Governance (GOVNET)

France 24, 2015. *Internet boasts false images of xenophobic violence in South Africa*. Viewed 10 July 2017, from France24 - Observers: http://observers.france24.com/content/20150417-south-africa-durban-immigrant-xenophobic-false-photos

Fraser, N. 2005. Reframing Justice in a Globalizing World. *New Left Review* (36), pp.69

Fukuda, D., Hatori, T. & Matsuo, S. 2010. Evaluation of passenger flow lines in international airport terminals. Viewed 20 June 2018, from http://intranet.imet.gr/Portals/0/UsefulDocuments/documents/02086.pdf

Gauteng City-Region Observatory Report (GCRO). 2009. "Report on xenophobic attitudes"

Gander, K. 2015. Freedom day: Satirical anti-immigrant Nando's advert goes viral following fatal xenophobic attacks in South Africa Viewed 24 June 2017 from, 213 http://globalmedia.journals.ac.za

Geschiere, P. 2004. "Ecology, belonging and xenophobia" the 1994 forest law in Cameroon and the issue of "community" In Englund, H. & Njamnjoh, F.B. *Rights and the politics of recognition in Africa.* London, New York: Zed books.

Glaser, D., 2008. Connections: Elite and Popular "Common Sense" on the Matter of "Foreigners". *Go home or die here: Violence, xenophobia and the reinvention of difference in South Africa*, pp.53-63.

Gqirana T. 2015. 'Police Minister: KZN attacks are not just xenophobic.' Mail & Guardian 14 April 2015. (Johannesburg)

Groom A.J.R., 2000 "Integration Theories." *Collegium Special Issue*, Vol 20 (1), pp.51-59

Harber A. 'Publish and be damned in name of patriotism' Business Day 23 April 2015 (Johannesburg)

Harrison, F. V., 2005. Resisting racism and xenophobia: global perspectives on race, gender, and human rights. Rowman Altamira

Harris, B. 2001. *A Foreign Experience Violence, Crime and Xenophobia during South Africa's transition*. Johannesburg: Kaye Falconer Dragonfly Design

Harris, B., 2002. "Xenophobia: A new pathology for a new South Africa?" in Hoek, D and G Eagle, (eds), *Psychopathology and Social Prejudice.* Cape Town: UCT Press

Hassim, S. Kupe, T. and Worby, E. (Eds). 2008. Go Home or Die Here: Violence, Xenophobia and the Reinvention of Difference in South Africa. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press.

Hong Kong and Shanghai Banking Corporation, 2009. *Expat experience report of 2009*. Viewed 19 May 2018, from http://expatexplorer.hsbc.com/files/pdfs/overall-reports/2009/experience

Human Rights First (HRF). 2008. "2008 Hate crime Survey: Racism and xenophobia"

HRF. 2008. "Violence based on racism and xenophobia: 2008 hate crime survey"

HRF. 2011. Combating xenophobic violence: A framework for Action"

HRF. 2011. Combating xenophobic violence: "Background document on xenophobic violence"

Human Rights Watch (HRW). 1998. "Prohibited persons: Abuse of undocumented migrants, asylum-seekers, and refugees in South Africa"

Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC). 2008. Citizenship, Violence and Xenophobia in South Africa: Perceptions from South African Communities. Pretoria: HSRC Press.

Hunter Q. 'Government moves to restore order after xenophobic attacks.' Mail & Guardian 28 April 2015. (Johannesburg)

Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC). 2008. "Citizenship, violence, and xenophobia in South Africa"

Hunter, N. and Skinner, C. 2002. *Foreign Street Traders Working in Inner City Durban: Survey Results and Policy Dilemmas.* Durban: School of Development Studies.

HSRC. 2008. "Violence and xenophobia in South Africa: Developing consensus, moving to action"

Iggleson, V, Moonson, T & Polzer, T. 2009. "Humanitarian assistance on Internally Displaced Persons in South Africa: Lessons Learned following attacks on foreign nationals in May 2008"

Immigration Act 13 of 2002

International Labour Organisation. 1992. *Record of Proceeding*. Geneva: International Labour Organization.

International Labour Organisation (ILO), International Organisation for Migration (IOM) & UN office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (UNHCHR) 2001. "International migration, racism, discrimination and xenophobia" paper for the world conference against racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance

International Labour Organisation. 2002. *Women and Men in the Informal Economy: A statistical picture.* Geneva: International Labour Organization.

International Labour Organisation. 2004. *Street Traders and their Organisations in South Africa.* Geneva: International Labour Organization.

IOM. 2012. "The effects of xenophobia on the integration of migrants in South Africa: An NGO perspective

Jacobsen, K., 2001. *The forgotten solution: Local integration for refugees in developing countries.* Tufts University: Massachusetts, USA

Jacobsen, K. 2004. *Just Enough for the City: Urban Refugees Make their Own Way.* Johannesburg: World Refugee Survey

Jara, M. and Peberdy, S., 2009. Progressive Humanitarian and Nascent Social Mobilisation by Civil Society in a Neo-Apartheid Cape Town: A Report on the Role of Civil Society and the May 2008 Outbreak of Xenophobic Violence in Cape Town. *Report funded by Atlantic Philanthropies*.

Jolly, S.K & DiGuisto, G.M. 2014.Xenophobia and Immigrant contact: French public attitudes towards immigration. *The social science journal.* Vol 51(3), pp.464-473

Joubert, P., 2008.The *signs were there in 2004*, Mail and Guardian, 6-12 June 2008 p9

Kabwe-Segatti. 2008. *Migration in post-apartheid South Africa: Challenges and questions to policy makers*. Paris: Agence Française de Development

Khaas, T & Motsohi, T., 2017. The sparks of SA's xenophobia. Retrieved 20 May 2017, from www.news24.com

Koyana, X. 2012. Nando's ad too 'xenophobic' for SABC. Viewed 16 May 2017, from www.iol.co.za/news/south-africa/nandos-ad-too-xenophobic-for-sabc-1310911

Kreitzer, L., 2012. *Social work in Africa: Exploring culturally relevant education and practice in Ghana*. Canada: University of Calgary Press.

Landau, L, Ramjathan-Keogh, K, & Singh, G. 2005. Xenophobia in South Africa and problems related to it. Johannesburg: Wits University Press

Landau, L. 2006. "Immigration and the state of exception: security and sovereignty in East and Southern Africa. *Journal of International Studies* Vol 34(2), pp.325-348

Landau, L. B. 2007. Discrimination and development? Immigration, urbanisation and sustainable livelihoods in Johannesburg. *Development Southern Africa*. 24(1), pp.61-76

Landau, L. B., and Kabwe-Segatti, A. 2009. Human Development of Migration: South Africa Case Study. Human Development Research Paper: 2009/05.

Landau, L & Misago, J.P. 2009. "Who to blame and what's to gain? Reflections on space, state, and violence in Kenya and South Africa". *Africa Spectrum*. Vol 44(1), pp.99-110

Landau, L. 2010. "Loving the alien? Citizenship, law, and the future in South Africa's demonic society". Journal of African Affairs Vol 109(435), pp.213-230

Laxton, D. 2004. 'The research processes. In: Coldwell, D. and Herbst, F. J. eds. *Business research.* Cape Town: JUTA Academic.

Maharaj, B. 2004. "Immigration to post-Apartheid South Africa". Global Migration Perspectives, No. 1

Maharaj, B. 2009. Migrants and Urban Rights: Politics of Xenophobia in South African Cities. *L"Espace Politique*. Vol 8, pp.4-39

Maharaj, B. and Moodley, V. 2009. New African Immigration to the Durban Region. *Canadian Journal of African Studies*. Vol 134(1), pp.149-160

Mail & Guardian 'DA: Business minister's xenophobic comments "fuelled the wedge".' 3 February 2015 (Johannesburg)

Malina, M.A., Nørreklit, H.S. and Selto, F.H., 2011. Lessons learned: advantages and disadvantages of mixed method research. *Qualitative Research in Accounting & Management*, *8*(1), pp.59-71.

McDonald, D. 1998. Left out in the cold? Housing and immigration in the new South Africa. SAMP Migration Policy Series no. 5.

McKnight, J., 2008. Through the fear: a study of xenophobia in South Africa's refugee system. *Journal of Identity and Migration Studies*, *2*(2), pp.18-42.

McLaren, L.M. 2003. Anti-immigrant prejudice in Europe: Contact, threat perception, and preferences for the exclusion of migrants. *Social Forces*, Vol 81 (3), pp. 909-936

Mikulich, A., 2009. U.S. xenophobia and racism—the presence of the past, Viewed 20 July 2017, from, ww.loyno.edu/jsri/us-xenophobia-and-racism-presence-past-0

Misago, J. P. Landau L. and Monson, T. 2009. *Towards Tolerance, Law and Dignity: Addressing Violence against Foreign Nationals in South Africa*. Pretoria: International Organization for Migration.

Mitullah, W. V. 2003. Street Vending in African Cities: *A Synthesis of Empirical Findings from Kenya, Cote D''Ivoire, Ghana, Zimbabwe, Uganda and South Africa. Nairobi:* University of Nairobi.

Mkandawire, H. 2015. Media retaliation against the 2015 xenophobic attacks in South Africa: The case of QFM radio in Zambia. *Global media Journal, African Edition*. Vol 9(2), pp.191-216

Mhlongo, A. 2015. Zulu King calls for peace amid xenophobic attacks. Viewed July 04, 2015 from South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC): http://www.sabc.co.za/news/a/bc32188047fd65dfb4bcf74405f77b26/Zulu-King-calls-for-peace-amid-xenophobic-attacks-20151204

Misago, J.P, Landau, L & Monson, T. 2009. *Towards tolerance, law, and dignity: Addressing violence against foreign nationals in South Africa*. Pretoria: IOM

Mngadi, M.2018. 'We are relying on the KZN government for protection'- foreign shop owners following ultimatum. Viewed 06 July 2018, from https://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/we-are-relying-on-the-kzn-government-for-protection-foreign-shop-owners-following-ultimatum-20180517

Moser, C, 1992. From Residual Welfare to Compensatory Measures: The Changing Agenda of Social policy in Developing Countries. Institute of Development Studies. Silver Jubilee Papers. Paper 6

Mosselson, A. 2010. There is no Difference between Citizens and Noncitizens Anymore: Violent Xenophobia, Citizenship and the Politics of Belonging in Post-Apartheid South Africa. *Journal of Southern African Studies* Vol 36(3), pp.641-655

Monson, T & Misago, J.P. 2009. "Why has history repeated itself: The security risks of structural xenophobia" *SA Crime Quarterly*. Vol 29, pp.25-34

Morris, A. 1998. "Our fellow Africans make our lives hell: The lives of Congolese and Nigerians living in Johannesburg". *Journal of Ethnic and Racial Studies* Vol 21(6), pp.1116-1136

Muchiri, G. 2012. *The use of la and multidisciplinary mechanisms to address xenophobia in SA*. Unpublished LLM dissertation, University of Pretoria.

Muchiri, G.2016. *Xenophobia: A critical study of the phenomenon and pragmatic solutions for South Africa.* Unpublished LLD thesis, University of Pretoria

Neocosmos, M. 2010. From foreign natives to native foreigners: explaining xenophobia in post-apartheid South Africa. Dakar: Codesria

Nyar, A., 2010. Synthesis Report:'What Happened?' A Narrative of the May 2008 Xenophobic Violence.

Nelson, P. J. 2007. Human Rights, the Millennium Development Goals and the Future of Development Cooperation. *World Development* Vol 35(12), pp.2041-2055

News24, 2015. Mugabe expresses shock, disgust at 'horrific' xenophobic attacks. Viewed 12 April 2017, from http://www.news24.com/Africa/Zimbabwe/Mugabe-expresses-shock-disgust-at-horrible-xenophobic-attacks-20150418

Ndou C. 2015. 'Foreigners must go home – King Zwelithini.' The Citizen 23 March 2015 (Johannesburg).

Nhambi, S.M., 2008. Economic and Social integration of Mozambican Migrants in Durban. : Durban: University of KwaZulu-Natal

Nord, A.K. and Assubuji, P., 2008. Xenophobia in South Africa. *Perspectives*. Vol 3(8), pp.2-6

Nyamnjoh, F. 2006. Insiders and Outsiders: Citizenship and Xenophobia in Southern Africa. London: Zed Books.

Nyamnjoh, F.B. 2010. Racism, Ethnicity and Media in Africa: Reflections Inspired by Studies of Xenophobia in Cameroon and South Africa. *Africa Spectrum*. Vol 45 (1), pp.57-93

O'donnell, G., Schmitter, P.C. and Arnson, C.J., 2013. *Transitions from authoritarian rule: Tentative conclusions about uncertain democracies*. JHU Press.

Patel, K., & Essa, A, 2015. Xenophobia in South Africa. Viewed 06 July 2017 from, Aljazeera Interactive: http://interactive.aljazeera.com/aje/2015/xenophobiasouthafrica/

Peberdy, S. and Crush, J. 1998. "Rooted in racism: the origins of the Aliens Control Act" In Crush, J. Beyond control: immigration and human rights in a democratic South Africa. Canada: IDASA, Queen's University

Pedersen, P. 1995. *The five stages of culture shock: Critical incidents around the world*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.

Pehrson, S., Vignoles, V.L. and Brown, R., 2009. National identification and anti-immigrant prejudice: Individual and contextual effects of national definitions. *Social Psychology Quarterly*, Vol *72*(1), pp.24-38

Peberdy, S. A. 1999. '*Selecting Immigrants: Nationalism and National Identity in South Africa's Immigration Policies, 1910-1998*.' Ph.D. dissertation, Queen's University: Toronto. Thomson

Peberdy, S. 2000. Mobile entrepreneurship. Informal Sector cross-border trade and street trade in South Africa. *Development Southern Africa*. Vol 17(2), pp.201-219

Peberdy, S. and Rogerson, C. 2000. Trans-nationalism and Non-South African Entrepreneurs in South Africa's Small, Medium and Micro-Enterprise (SMME) Economy. *Canadian Journal of African Studies.* Vol 34(1), pp.20-40

Perbedy, S. 2002. "Imagining Immigration: Inclusive identities and exclusive policies in Post-1994 South Africa". *Africa Today*. Vol 48, pp.15-32

Peberdy, S. 2009. Trading Places: Cross-Border Traders and the South African Informal Sector. *Migration Policy Series* 6

Pratt, A.D. 2006. *Women is Livelihood Strategies in Diverse Contexts: Constructing Feminist Topographies in Appalachia and South Africa*. Unpublished Doctoral Thesis. Morgantown: West Virginia University

Polzer, T & Takabvirwa, K. 2010. "Just Crime? Violence, xenophobia and crime: Discourse and practise". Crime Quarterly. Vol 33, pp.3-10

Rukema, J.R & Khan, S., 2008. *Chronicling the effects of the 2008 xenophobic attacks amongst a select group of Congolese and Burundian women in the city of Durban.* Viewed 12 June 2017, from, alternation.ukzn.ac.za/files/docs/20.4/10%20Ruk.pdf

Saideman, S.M., & Ayres, R.W. 2008.For kin or country: xenophobia, nationalism and war. Columbia University Press. Viewed 12 May 2017 from www.jstor.org/stable/10.7312/said14478

SAHRC. 2010. "Report on the SAHRC investigation into issues of rule of law, justice and impunity arising out of the 2008 public violence against non-nationals"

South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC). (2012). SAHRC Equality report - Commentaries on equality: Race, gender, disability and LGBTI issues. Viewed 10 May 2017 from, http://www.sahrc.org.za/home/21/files/Equality%20Report%2020%20Oct%202012%20 Final.pdf

Scalabrini Institute for Human mobility in Africa (SIHMA), (2016). *2015 Asylum statistics: analysis and trends for the period of January to December*. Viewed 12 May 2017, from http://sihma.org.za/news_item/2015-asylum-statistics-south-africa/

Schemer, C. 2012. The influence of news media on stereotypic attitudes toward immigrants in a political campaign. *Journal of Communication*, Vol 62 (5), pp.739-757

Schuster, L. 2003. Common sense or racism? The treatment of asylum seekers in Europe. *Patterns of prejudice* Vol 37(3), pp.233-256

Se Lisle.J, 2011. The benefits and challenges of mixing methods and methodologies: Lessons learnt from implementing qualitatively led mixed methods research designs in Trinidad and Tobago. *Carribean Curriculum* Vol 18

Simkins, C. 2011. 'South African Disparities'. *Journal of Democracy* Vol 22(3), pp.105-119

Skinner, C. 2008. Street Trade in Africa: A Review. School of Development Studies Working Paper no. 51.

Smith, D. 2015. South Africa faces backlash over xenophobic attacks on migrant workers. Viewed 19 June 2017, from, TheGuardian:http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015//apr/18/south-africa-migrant-workers-protests

Sosibo, K. 'Xenophobia: What did we learn from 2008?' Mail & Guardian 24 April 2015. (Johannesburg)

Sosibo, K. et al. 'Township politics fuel the attacks on "outsiders".' Mail & Guardian 30 January 2015. (Johannesburg)

Souden, C, & Sayed, Y., 2003. Integrating South African Schools: Some Preliminary findings, *IDS Bulletin*, Vol 34(1), pp.29-42

South African Human Rights Commission. 2006. *Shadow Report on South Africa"s Compliance with the Provision of the International Convention against All Forms of Racial Discrimination.* Pretoria: South African Human Rights Commission.

South African Institute of Race Relations. 2008. *Unemployment and Poverty-An Overview.* Johannesburg: South African Institute of Race Relations Research Team.

Steinberg, J. 2005. Congolese Forced Migrants in South Africa. ISS Paper No. 117

Steinberg, J. 2008. South Africa"s Xenophobic Eruptions. ISS Paper No. 169

Soyombo, O .2008. Xenophobia: A Contemporary Issue in Psychology. IFE *Psychologia – Special Issue: Xenophobia* Vol 16(2), pp.85-104

Stewart, F. 2002 Horizontal Inequality: a Neglected Dimension of Development. Helsinki: WIDER Annual Development Lecture.

Suttner, R. 2018. Attacks on foreign nationals and callous indifference. Viewed 30 September 2018 from, https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2018-09-11-attacks-on-foreign-nationals-and-callous-indifference/

Tashakkori, A., & Teddlie, C. 1998. *Mixed methodology: combining qualitative and quantitative approaches.* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Taylor, P. 2002. 'Analysing quantitative data'. In: Charlesworth, J., Lewis, J., Martin, V. &Taylor, P. eds. *Toolkit 2: Investigating performance and change: study guide for MBA B736*. Milton Keynes: Open University.

Charlesworth, J., Lawton, A., Lewis, J., Martin, V. & Taylor,P. eds. *Toolkit 1: Investigating performance and change: study guide for MBA B736*. Milton Keynes: Open University.

Trading economics, 2017. South Africa's unemployment rate. Viewed 18 July 2017 from, https://tradingeconomics.com/south-africa/unemployment-rate

United Nations (UN). 2015. UNHCR concern at xenophobic violence in South Africa. Viewed July 05 2017 from, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR): http://www.unhcr.org/5530cdaa9.htm

UNDESA 2006. Social Justice in an Open World. The Role of the United Nations. New York: United Nations publications.

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), 2015. Speech of the Inspector General: Geneva. Viewed 24 May 2017, from www.unhcr.org

UNRISD, 1994.*Environmental degradation and social integration.* Briefing paper no 3 for WSSD

Vale, P. 2002. Migration, Xenophobia and Security-making in post-Apartheid South Africa. *Politikon* Vol 29(1), pp.7-29

Vahed, Y., 2013. Crime, fear of crime, and xenophobia in Durban, South Africa. *Alternation,* pp.197-214

Visser, A. 2015 'Machel vs Mugabe: What would happen if countries opened their borders?' Retrieved 04 May 2017, from News24.com

Watkins, K. 2007.' Inequality and Human Development' in Poverty in Focus. The Challenge of Inequality. International Poverty Centre. UNDP

Weavind, T. 2012. Creating your own job. *Sunday Times*, 12 August 2012

Whittles, G. 2015. 'Effects of ARVs in whoonga are worse than heroin', *Eye Witness*, 21 August 2015. Viewed 12 July 2018, from https://ewn.co.za/2015/08/21/Effects-of-ARVs-in-whoonga-are-worse-than-heroin

Wicks, J., 2015. Looting: Thousands mob KwaMashu Police. Viewed 10 March 2017, from http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/Looting-Thousands-mob-KwaMashu-police-20150413

Zuma, J. (2009) *"Xenophobia in South Africa". Being the text of a speech delivered at a conference on Xenophobia attack on foreigners in Cape Town*, South Africa, July 12.

APPENDICES

UNIVERSITY OF ZULULAND

PARTICIPANT INFORMED CONSENT

INFORMED CONSENT DECLARATION
(Participant)

<u>Project Title</u>: The effects of xenophobia on Social Integration in Isiphingo KwaZulu-Natal province.

Nompumelelo Dlamini from the Department of *PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION* University of Zululand has requested my permission to participate in the aforementioned research project.

The nature and the purpose of the research project and of this informed consent declaration have been explained to me in a language that I understand.

I am aware that:

The purpose of the research project is to contribute to the body knowledge that seeks to understand and assess the effects of xenophobia on socio-economic development in Isiphingo Kwa Zulu Natal province.

The University of Zululand has given ethical clearance to this research project and I have seen/ may request to see the clearance certificate.

By participating in this research project I will be contributing towards the production of a better understanding of the research objectives.

I will participate in the project by responding to interview questionnaires

My participation is entirely voluntary and should I at any stage wish to withdraw from participating further, I may do so without any negative consequences.

I will not be compensated for participating in the research, but my out-of-pocket expenses will be reimbursed.

I am aware that there is no risk associated with my participation in the project.

The researcher intends publishing the research results in the form of Journal article and book and/or book chapters. However, confidentiality and anonymity of records will be maintained and that my name and identity will not be revealed to anyone who has not been involved in the conduct of the research.

I will not receive feedback in any form regarding the results obtained during the study.

Any further questions that I might have concerning the research, or my participation may be directed to my Supervisor Dr C.T Adetiba of the Department of Politics and International Studies, University of Zululand. South Africa Tel: 0359026070 Email: AdetibaT@unizulu.ac.za

By signing this informed consent declaration, I am not waiving any legal claims, rights or remedies.

A copy of this informed consent declaration will be given to me, and the original will be kept on record.

I……………………………………………………………………... Have read the above information / confirm that the above information has been explained to me in a language that I understand, and I am aware of this document's contents. I have asked all questions that I wished to ask, and these have been answered to my satisfaction. I fully understand what is expected of me during the research.

I have not been pressurised in any way and I voluntarily agree to participate in the above-mentioned project.

………………………………….   ………………………………….
Participant's signature   **Date**

QUESTIONNAIRE (South Africans, English Version)

Topic: The effects of xenophobia on Social Integration in Isiphingo Kwa Zulu Natal province

PLEASE TICK IN THE BOX INDICATING YOUR ANSWER.

SECTION A: Personal Bio data

1. Gender

(a) Female ☐   (b) Male ☐

2. Age

(a) 18 – 30 ☐   (b) 31 – 50 ☐   (c) 51 – 70 ☐

3. Nationality

(a) South African ☐   (b) Nigerian ☐   (c) Congolese ☐

(d) Pakistani ☐   (e) Chinese ☐   (f) Other ☐

4. Race

(a) African ☐   (b) White ☐   (c) Coloured ☐

(d) Indian ☐   (e) Other ☐

5. Employment

(a) Yes ☐   (b) No ☐

6. How long have you been living in Isiphingo?

(a) 1 – 5years ☐   (b) 6 – 10 ☐   (c) 11 -30 ☐

(d) 31 – more ☐

7. What is your opinion about xenophobia in South Africa?

……

……

……

………………

……

……

…………

8. How has xenophobia affected the relationship between foreigners and South Africans in Isiphingo?

……..

……

….

……

……...

....

9. What kind of business do you run? And how has xenophobia affected your business?

……

……

……

……

….

……

….

……

….

10. Do you think xenophobia is affecting the economy of Isiphingo? If so how?

……

……

…………

…………………………………………………………………………………………………
……

…………………………………………………………………………………………………
…

11. What is your opinion on government intervention to the problem of xenophobia in Isiphingo?

    ……………………………………………………………………………………….

    ……………………………………………………………………………………..

    ……………………………………………………………………………………..

    ……………………………………………………………………………………..

    12. How do you think the government can integrate the locals and foreign nationals in Isiphingo?

    ……………………………………………………………………………………….

    ……………………………………………………………………………………..

    …………………………………………………………………………………………

    .

    …………………………………………………………………………………………

    ..

    13. As a South African would you consider working for non-South African? Explain

    …………………………………………………………………………………………

    ..

    …………………………………………………………………………………………

    …

    …………………………………………………………………………………………

    …

    …………………………………………………………………………………………

    …

    14. What role do you think the residents of Isiphingo can play in integrating socially with the non-nationals?

    …………………………………………………………………………………………

    …………………………………………………………………………………………

    …………………………………………………………………………………………

Thanks for your participation.

QUESTIONNAIRE (Foreign Nationals)

Topic: The effects of xenophobia on Social Integration in Isiphingo Kwa Zulu Natal province

PLEASE TICK IN THE BOX INDICATING YOUR ANSWER.

SECTION A: Personal Bio data

1. Gender

 (b) Female ☐   (b) Male ☐

2. Age

 (a) 18 – 30 ☐   (b) 31 – 50 ☐   (c) 51 – 70 ☐

3. Nationality

(a) South African ☐   (b) Nigerian ☐   (c) Congolese ☐

(d) Pakistani ☐   (e) Chinese ☐   (f) Other ☐

4. Race

(a) African ☐   (b) White ☐   (c) Coloured ☐

 (d) Indian ☐   (e) Other ☐

5. Employment

(a) Yes ☐   (b) No ☐

6. How long have you been living in Isiphingo?

(a) 1 – 5years ☐   (b) 6 – 10 ☐   (c) 11 -30 ☐

 (d) 31 – more ☐

7. What is your opinion about xenophobia in South Africa?

…………………………………………………………………………………………………

…………………………………………………………………………………………………

…………………………………………………………………………………………………

………………

…………………………………………………………………………………………………

…………………………………………………………………………………………………

…………

8. How has xenophobia affected the relationship between foreigners and South Africans in Isiphingo?

…………………………………………………………………………………………..

…………………………………………………………………………………………

….

…………………………………………………………………………………………

……..

....

9. What kind of business do you run? And how has xenophobia affected your business?

…………………………………………………………………………………………………

…………………………………………………………………………………………………

……

…………………………………………………………………………………………………

….

…………………………………………………………………………………………………

….

…………………………………………………………………………………………………

….

10. Do you think xenophobia is affecting the economy of Isiphingo? If so how?

…………………………………………………………………………………………………

…………………………………………………………………………………………………

…………

……………………………………………………………………………………………………
……

……………………………………………………………………………………………………
…

11. What is your opinion on government intervention to the problem of xenophobia in Isiphingo?

    ………………………………………………………………………………….

    …………………………………………………………………………………..

    …………………………………………………………………………………..

    …………………………………………………………………………………..

12. How do you think the government can integrate the locals and foreign nationals in Isiphingo?

    ………………………………………………………………………………….

    …………………………………………………………………………………..

    ……………………………………………………………………………………

    .

    ……………………………………………………………………………………

    ..

13. As a foreign national would you consider working for a South African? Explain

    ……………………………………………………………………………………

    ……………………………………………………………………………………

    ……………………………………………………………………………………

    ……………………………………………………………………………………

14. Would you prefer staying in Isiphingo not minding the xenophobic attacks or do you consider leaving? Explain

    ……………………………………………………………………………………

    .

    ……………………………………………………………………………………

    .

    ……………………………………………………………………………………

    .

Thanks for your participation.

QUESTIONNAIRE (Department of Home Affairs)

TOPIC: The effects of xenophobia on Socio-economic development in Isiphingo, Kwazulu Natal Province

SECTION A

Biographic information
   1. AGE

18-30 ☐   31-50 ☐   51-70 ☐

   2. Name of organization

   3. Position in your organization

   4. Total number of years in your organization

   5. Academic qualification

SECTION B

   6. Do you believe xenophobia is a serious issue in South Africa? Explain.
   …….
   …….
   ……
   ……

   7. Should the Department of Foreign Affairs and the Home Affairs be actively involved in issues concerning xenophobia? Explain
   ……..
   ……..
   ……..
   ……

   8. Does your organization have any strand-by budget to address issues of xenophobia?
   ………..
   ……
   ……

   9. To your opinion, is there any legislation that is put in place in Republic of South Africa that encourages xenophobia? Please elaborate.
   ……..
   ……..
   ……
   ……

   10. What additional support is required from the national and local government to be proactively involved in immigration issues in Isiphingo?
   ……..
   ……
   ……
   ……
   ……..

11. What role should the nationals play to include foreigners in the development of Isiphingo?

………
……
……
……
……

12. Any other additional comment that you will like to mention?

………..
……
……
……
……
……

Thanks for your participation.

UHLA LWEMIBUZO NGESIZULU

Isihloko: Imiphumela yokucwaswa kwabantu ekuHlanganisweni kweNhlalakahle e-Isiphingo esifundazweni sakwa Zulu-Natali

Uphawu ebhokisini ekhombisa impendulo yakho.

INGXENYE YOKUQALA: Ulwazi lomuntu siqu

1. Ubulili

(c) Owesifazane ☐   (b) Owesilisa ☐

2. Iminyaka

(a) 18 – 35 ☐   (b) 36 – 50 ☐   (c) 51 – 65 ☐

(d) 66-kuyaphezulu ☐

3. Ubuzwe

(a) Ningizimu Afrika ☐   (b) Nigerian ☐   (c) Congolese ☐

(d) Pakistani ☐   (e) Chinese ☐   (f) Okunye ☐

4. Uhlanga

(a) Omnyama ☐   (b) Omhlophe ☐   (c) Coloured ☐

(d) Indiya ☐   (e) Okunye ☐

5. Uyasebenza?

(a) Yebo ☐   (b) Cha ☐

6. Usuhlale isikhathi esingakanani eSiphingo?

(a) 1 – 5 ☐   (b) 6 – 10 ☐   (c) 11 -30 ☐

(d) 31 – kuyaphezulu $\boxed{}$

7. Uthini umbono wakho ngesimo sokucwasa kwabokufika e Ningizimu Afrika?

……

……

……

………………

……

……

…………

8. Ngabe ukucwaswa kwabokufika kunomthelela muni kubudlelwane phakathi kwabokufika
kuleli nobomdabu?

……..

……

….

……

……...

....

9. Iliphi ibhizinisi olenzayo? Ngabe ukucwaswa kwabokufika kube nomthelela muni kwi
bhizinisi lakho?

……

……

……

……

……

10. Kube namuphi umthelela kumnotho wase Siphingo ukucwaswa kwabokufika?

……

……

……

……

…

11. Uthini umbono wakho ngokungenelela kuka hulumeni kule nkinga yokucwaswa kwabokufika eSiphingo?

…………………………………………………………………………………………….
……………………………………………………………………………………………..
……………………………………………………………………………………………..
……………………………………………………………………………………………..

12. Iziphi izindlela uhulumeni angazisebenzisa ekuhlanganiseni abokufika nabo mdabu eSiphingo?

……………………………………………………………………………………………
…………………………………………………………………………………………….
……………………………………………………………………………………………
……………………………………………………………………………………………
……………………………………………………………………………………………
……………………………………………………………………………………………
……………………………………………………………………………………………
……………………………………………………………………………………………

13. Iliphi iqhaza elingabanjwa umphakathi wase Siphingo ekuhlanganiseni noma ekudaleni ukuthula phakathi kwabokufika nabakuleli??

………………………………………………………………………………………………
………………………………………………………………………………………………
………………………………………………………………………………………………

Siyabonga iqhaza lakho

UNIVERSITY OF ZULULAND
RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE
(Reg No: UZREC 171110-030)

RESEARCH & INNOVATION
Website: http://www.unizulu.ac.za
Private Bag X1001
KwaDlangezwa 3886
Tel: 035 902 6887
Fax: 035 902 6222

ETHICAL CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE

Certificate Number	UZREC 171110-030 PGM 2017/425			
Project Title	An Assessment of the Effects of Xenophobia on Social Integration in Isiphingo KwaZulu-Natal			
Principal Researcher/ Investigator	Dlamini NP			
Supervisor and Co-supervisor	Dr TC Adetiba			
Department	Public Administration			
Faculty	Commerce, Administration, Law			
Type of Risk	Medium risk – Data collection from people			
Nature of Project	Honours/4th Year	Master's	x	Doctoral	Departmental

The University of Zululand's Research Ethics Committee (UZREC) hereby gives ethical approval in respect of the undertakings contained in the above-mentioned project. The Researcher may therefore commence with data collection as from the date of this Certificate, using the certificate number indicated above.

Special conditions:
(1) This certificate is valid for 2 years from the date of issue.
(2) Principal researcher must provide an annual report to the UZREC in the prescribed format (due date 01 July 2018)
(3) Principal researcher must submit a report at the end of project in respect of ethical compliance.
(4) The UZREC must be informed immediately of any material change in the conditions or undertakings mentioned in the documents that were presented to the meeting.

The UZREC wishes the researcher well in conducting research.

Professor Gideon De Wet
Chairperson: University Research Ethics Committee
Deputy Vice-Chancellor: Research & Innovation
27 September

CHAIRPERSON
UNIVERSITY OF ZULULAND RESEARCH
ETHICS COMMITTEE (UZREC)
REG NO: UZREC 171110-30

05-10-2017

RESEARCH & INNOVATION OFFICE