

UNIVERSITY OF ZULULAND



The inflow of foreign nationals and xenophobic attacks: an assessment of its effect on social relations among residents of the Pietermaritzburg CBD Area, South Africa

By

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Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the Master's Degree in
Public Administration (MPA), in the Faculty of Commerce, Administration &
Law at the University of Zululand (UNIZULU)

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April 2020

Declaration

I, Noluthando Dladla, declare that:

The research reported in this dissertation, except where otherwise indicated, is my original research.

This dissertation has not been submitted for any degree or examination at any other university.

Signature

Date.....

DEDICATION

This study is dedicated to my family for their unflinching support, patience and commitment to my career. A very big thank to you all. I would like to thank you all for your continuous love and support when times were tough and for motivating me to achieve my dreams.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank God almighty for the gift of life, health and for the ability to commence and complete this academic journey.

A special thank you goes to my supervisor, Dr. Adetiba. Doc, I am thankful for your continuous support and patience all through my academic journey. It was a privilege to have worked with you.

Most importantly, my grandmother, Florence Dladla, thank you for giving me the unconditional support. You are my confidant and the source of my strength.

A big thank you to all the participants who participated in this study. Thank you for putting aside time to support me. To all the officials from the South African Police Services, thank you. To Mr. Alec Madiba from the Department of Home Affairs (Immigration Department), thank you sir.

Last but not least, my colleagues: Nontsikelelo Mdiniso, Thembelihle Mdletshe and Samuel Faloye, I thank each one of you for motivating me and always pushing me to work hard, you are all appreciated.

Abstract

The focus of this study was on the effects of migration and the xenophobic attacks on the social relations of residents of Pietermaritzburg CBD area. The study also looks at the measures put in place by the Department of Home Affairs (Immigration Department) and South African Police Services (SAPS) in dealing with illegal immigration and xenophobic attacks.

This study was qualitative in nature and employed the scapegoating, isolation and bio cultural theories as the theoretical framework. According to the findings of this study, foreign nationals come to South Africa with the aim of building better lives for themselves, in search for job opportunities and to study in higher institutions. The xenophobic attacks no doubt have had negative impact on the relationship between South Africans and foreign nationals, hence the constant fear of attacks exhibited by the foreign nationals, while the locals want the government to put strict measures in place to decrease illegal immigration.

List of abbreviations

DHA - Department of Home Affairs

HRW - Human Rights Watch

HSRC - Human Sciences Research Council

ILO - International Labour Organisation

ISS - Institute for Security Studies

SADC - Southern African Development Community

SAPS - South African Police Services

STATSSA - Statistics South Africa

UNHCR - United Nations High Commissioner for Refugee

Table of Contents

Declaration	i
DEDICATION	ii
Acknowledgements	iii
Abstract	iv
List of abbreviations	v
CHAPTER 1	1
1.1 Introduction	1
1.2 Background	2
1.3 Brief profile of Pietermaritzburg	3
1.4 Problem Statement	4
1.5 Aim of the Study	5
1.6 Objectives of the Study	5
1.7 Key Research Questions	5
1.8 Research Methodology	6
1.8.1 Sampling Procedure	7
1.8.3 Validity and Reliability	8
1.9 Significance of the Study	9
1.10 Preliminary Chapter Structure	9
1.11 Conclusion	10
CHAPTER 2	11
2.1 Introduction	11
2.2 Global Perspective of Xenophobia	12
2.3 An African Perspective of Xenophobia	14
2.4 Features of Xenophobia in South Africa	15
2.5 Xenophobia in KwaZulu-Natal	21

2.6 Xenophobia or Afrophobia	22
2.7 The South African Government Response to Xenophobia	24
2.8 Legislative Framework Governing Immigration in South Africa	27
2.9 Theoretical Framework.....	29
2.10 Conclusion	32
CHAPTER 3.....	33
3.2 Research Design	33
3.3 Research Methodology	34
3.4 Sample Design	34
3.5 Data Collection Methods	36
3.6 Target Population	36
3.7 Data Analysis and Interpretation	37
3.8 Ethical Issues	38
3.9 Limitations of the Study	38
CHAPTER 4.....	40
4.2 Analysis and Interpretation of Data.....	40
4.2.1 Biographical Information for Foreign nationals.....	41
4.3 Biographical Information for South Africans	48
4.4 Discussion of Results.....	56
4.5 Conclusion	66
5.2 Summary of Chapters.....	68
5.3 Recommendations	69
5.5 Conclusion	71
References.....	72
Appendices.....	81

CHAPTER 1

1.1 Introduction

The preamble of the Republic of South Africa Constitution of 1996 states that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, but the recent spate of xenophobic attacks tells a different story. Chapter 1(a) of the constitution advocates for human dignity, the achievement of equality and the advancement of human rights and freedoms.

The constitution supports the fair and equal treatment of all citizens in the country. And that everyone should be treated with human dignity. The “rainbow nation” has been tainted by the violent attacks against foreign nationals by South Africans, who were looting foreign owned shops, attacking and even killing foreign nationals.

Despite South Africa’s transition from apartheid authoritarian rule to democracy in 1994, the unfair and violent attacks against migrants have intensified in the country. The change in the political power has brought in a range of new discriminatory practices against the foreign nationals (Vaiji, 2003); this is known as xenophobia. Xenophobia is one of the most contentious issues facing South Africa today, and it is usually understood to imply a dislike, fear or hatred which when exhibited usually results into bodily damage or some sort of violence (Tshitereke, 1999; Harris, 2002).

The democratic South Africa became attractive to migrants due to its comparatively high standard of living and political freedom. The end of apartheid rule led to three main changes in patterns of migration to South Africa (Crush et al, 2005):

- I. An increase in border movement between South Africa and its neighbours led to expanded irregular migration.
- II. South Africa became a desirable destination for economic migrants from west, east and central Africa (Morris & Bouillon, 2001).
- III. South Africa became a country of asylum for refugees from Angola, Somalia, Democratic Republic of Congo and Sudan. It is worthy to note that most migrants to South Africa are intra-regional in nature and the numbers have been increasing since the year 2000 (Crush et al, 2005).

1.2 Background

South Africa attracts migrant foreign nationals because of its reputation as a free, democratic and developing country. South Africa has long been considered a hub of employment for foreign workers lured by the diamond and gold industries since the apartheid era (UNHCR, 2009).

Human Science Research Council (2012) posits that at times, the employment of immigrants is a source of conflict between local South Africans and immigrants, but this happens in the informal sector where illegal or undocumented immigrants are employed in fishing, farming and building. Illegal immigrants tend to settle for cheaper wages as compared to locals. Immigrants in South Africa and all over the world often settle for lower wages when employed, which makes them employees of choice by local employers. Kalitanyi and Visser (2010) assert that there is one notion or unsubstantiated belief held by many South Africans that immigrants from the north of the country's borders are taking South Africans' jobs.

In a study by Kloppers (2006) on the Mozambicans and the South African border, Mozambican citizens were said to be collecting old age grant and other social welfare grants from the South African government. They are exerting pressure on the South African government welfare which makes it difficult for the country to achieve its socio-economic growth strategy and development targets (Klopper, 2006; Solomon, 2001).

Mcknight (2009) states that the xenophobic violence stems from the fear by the so called native South Africans who hold the view that their jobs, women and resources are being threatened by the influx of foreign nationals into the country. Accordingly, the failure of the government to manage cross border migration and communicate the state of its economy to the nation under the global economic recession has heightened the frustrations of the South African township residents, who resorted to violence as an ultimatum measure to alleviate their plight (Majavu, 2009).

1.3 Brief profile of Pietermaritzburg

Pietermaritzburg is the capital and second-largest city in the province of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa (Wells, 2008) It was founded in 1838 and is currently governed by the Msunduzi Local Municipality. Its Zulu name uMgungundlovu which is the name used for the district municipality. Pietermaritzburg is popularly called Maritzburg and often informally abbreviated to PMB. It is a regionally important industrial hub, producing aluminium, timber and dairy products, as well as the main economic hub of uMgungundlovu District Municipality. The public sector is a major employer in the city due to the local, district and provincial governments being located here. It is home to many schools and tertiary education institutions, including a campus of the University of KwaZulu-Natal. It had a population of 228,549 in 1991; the current population is estimated at over 750,000 residents (including neighbouring townships) and has one of the largest populations of Indian South Africans (Msunduzi Mayors Column,2018).

Until the late-1990s, the region was renowned for the production of high-quality textile, and footwear products. An example of the latter included the production of Doc Marten shoes. However, these industries have declined in the area due to lower production costs in Asia. Extensive timber plantations and numerous citrus farms surround the city, contributing a significant share of the city's output.

The Liberty Group has made major investments in several phases in the region since 2002 with the development of the Liberty Midlands Mall (the area's largest shopping centre by area and its most prestigious) and Stay Easy hotel. Hulett's Aluminium and Willowton cooking oil contributes a substantial part of the region's industrial output.

Map 1. Pietermaritzburg



[insert picture/map citation here]

1.4 Problem Statement

South Africa has been experiencing widespread xenophobic attacks across the country; this has resulted in violence, killings, looting of shops owned by foreign nationals and displacement of many. The attacks occurred in provinces such as Gauteng, Western Cape, Free State, Limpopo and Kwa-Zulu Natal.

Xenophobia, simply put, is fear or hatred of foreign nationals or strangers; it is embodied in discriminatory attitudes and behaviours and often illuminates in violent abuses and all types of exhibitions of hatred (Mogekwu, 2005). Xenophobia basically derives from the sense that non-citizens pose some sort of threat to the citizens (locals) or their individual rights (Kaysen, 1996).

Between the year 2000 and 2008, close to 67 people lost their lives due to xenophobic violence. In May 2008, 62 people were killed and 600 injured as a result of xenophobic attacks, 25 of those killed were South Africans who were believed to be non-nationals. Since 2009, the number of attacks against refugees and migrants in South Africa has increased (Claasen, 2014).

This study aims to identify the causes of xenophobic violence against foreign nationals, and also assess the effects the violence has had on the social relations between local South Africans and foreign nationals.

The study will also evaluate measures taken by the Department of Home Affairs in Kwa-Zulu Natal in controlling illegal immigration and also contribute its findings on ways to prevent future xenophobic attacks from occurring. The findings from the study will also add value and knowledge to existing literature of the same topic.

1.5 Aim of the Study

The aim of the study is to investigate the causes of xenophobic attacks on foreign nationals and the effects on social relations among the residents of Pietermaritzburg. This study will add value on the effects of the xenophobic attacks on the social relations among the residents of the Pietermaritzburg CBD area in KwaZulu-Natal and add value to the role played by the Department of Home Affairs Immigration Department and the South African Police Services. This study will help in providing guidelines on how to look at strategies and governing policies on immigration and managing the xenophobic attacks.

1.6 Objectives of the Study

- To identify the causes of the high influx of foreign nationals into Pietermaritzburg CBD area
- To examine the causes of the xenophobic attacks on foreign nationals
- To assess the roles played by government in preventing future xenophobic attacks
- To investigate the effects of xenophobia on the social relations among the residents in Pietermaritzburg CBD area

1.7 Key Research Questions

- What are the causes of the high influx of foreign nationals into the Pietermaritzburg CBD area?

- What are the causes of xenophobic attacks against foreign nationals?
- What role has the South African government played to prevent future outbreaks of xenophobic violence?
- How has xenophobia affected the social relationships between South Africans and foreign nationals, in the Pietermaritzburg CBD area?"

1.8 Research Methodology

Research design refers to the options that are available for the researcher to use to study certain phenomena in order to reach a specific goal (De Vos et al, 2005). Research design is the decisions regarding what, where, when and how much by what means an inquiry, or a research study constitute a research design. A research design is the arrangement of conditions for collection and analysis of data in the manner that aims to combine relevance to the research purpose. Research design constitutes the blueprint for the collection and analysis of data. It includes an outline of what the researcher will do (Claire et al, 1962).

According to Brynard and Hanekom (1997), research methodology refers to methods and techniques that are employed in the process of implementing the research design, there are two methods of collecting data: quantitative and qualitative methods. Research methodology also refers to how to gain knowledge about the world and how to collect data for research (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008). Burns defines research methodology as the strategy, plan of action, process of design laying behind the choice and use of particular methods and linking choices for the desired outcome (Burns & Grove, 2003). However, in research there are two major research methods often used by researchers which are qualitative and quantitative research methods.

Qualitative research refers to inductive, subjected methods to understand, interpret, describe and develop a theory on a phenomenon. It is a systematic, subjective approach used to describe life experiences rather than measurements, statistics and numbers (Burns & Grove, 2003).

Cohen (1980) defines quantitative research as social research that employs empirical methods and statements; quantitative research is the numerical representation and manipulation of observations. Creswell (1994) describes quantitative research as a type of research that explains a phenomenon by collecting numerical data that is analysed using mathematically based methods.

In order to understand the events surrounding the outbreak of xenophobia from the viewpoints of the participants and the real-life experiences of people in Pietermaritzburg CBD, the study used a qualitative research method. To understand the phenomenon the study employed questionnaires.

1.8.1 Sampling Procedure

Sample selection is a definite plan for obtaining a sample for a given population, it refers to the technique or procedure the researcher would adopt in selecting items for the sample. Sample design may lay down the number of items included in the sample, i.e. the sample size of the sample. Sample selection is determined before the data is collected. According to Vos et al (2005), a sample comprises of elements of the population which are considered for inclusion in the study. Samples are drawn because researchers want to understand the population.

Qualitative research involves non-probability sampling. Non-probability sampling technique uses non-randomized methods to draw the sample. Non-probability sampling method mostly involves judgment. Instead of randomization, participants are selected because they are easy to access. For example, your classmates and friends have a better chance to be part of your sample.

One of the major shortcomings of the non-probability sampling is that the findings established through this method lack generalizability. Even though findings obtained through this method apply mostly to the group studied, it may be wrong to extend these findings beyond that sample. Even though in certain cases, non-probability sampling is a useful and convenient method of selecting a sample, the method is appropriate and the only method available in certain cases (Parveen & Showkat, 2017)

Purposive Sampling

Purposive sampling is a method where a researcher chooses participants arbitrarily based on their unique characteristics, experiences, attitudes or perceptions. During the interviewing process common themes will develop among the participants. Snowball sampling is where participants refer researchers to others potential participants who have characteristics similar to their own. Convenience sampling involves selecting any readily available individuals to participate in the study (Cooper & Schinder, 2008).

Purposes sampling is somewhat less costly, more readily accessible, more convenient and select only those individuals that are relevant to research design. Besides this, there is no way

to ensure that the sample is truly representative of the population, and more emphasis is placed on the ability of the researcher to assess the elements of the population (Showkat,2017)

Due to the nature of this study, the study therefore uses purposive sampling, because the researcher interviewed 16 foreign nationals, 4 South African Police Services officials, an Immigration officer from the Department of Home Affairs and 13South Africans as they were relevant to the study. 31% of the foreign nationals were from Nigeria and 25% were from Zimbabwe. 69% of these participants were males and 31% were females.

1.8.2 Data Analysis

Data collection is the systematic collection of relevant information to the researchers sub problem using methods such as interviews, participant observations, and focus group. Qualitative data analysis involves organizing, accounting for and explaining the data; in short, making sense of data in terms of the participants' definition of the situation noting patterns, themes, and categories (Cooper & Schneider, 2008).

A content analysis was conducted. The written recorded materials drawn from personal expressions by participants, as well as the behavioural observations formed part of the qualitative content, with the aim of achieving an in depth understanding of a particular situation (Cooper & Shneider, 2008).

Content analysis analyses written, or recorded materials drawn from personal expressions by participants and behavioural observations; it aims to achieve an in depth understanding of a situation (Cooper & Shneider, 2008). The study used content analysis to analyse the data from the questionnaires administered to participants, the researcher carefully studied and analysed the answers from the questionnaires and tried to find similar patterns and themes.

1.8.3 Validity and Reliability

Merriam (1998: 202) states that in qualitative research, reality is holistic, multidimensional and ever changing. It is therefore up to the researcher and the research participants who attempt to build validity into the different phases of the research, from data collection through to data analysis and interpretation. In the main, validity is concerned with whether the research is believable and true.

The researcher used peer examination process where the data and findings were reviewed and commented on by non-participants who were familiar with the research study and who understood and possessed enough knowledge and background information on the research topic.

1.9 Significance of the Study

The significance of this study is based on that South Africa has been experiencing a wave of incidents of xenophobic attacks. The study aimed to assess the relationship between South Africans and foreign nationals, and how xenophobia had changed the relationship between residents of Pietermaritzburg and foreign nationals. Findings from the study would help the government find solutions on how to prevent xenophobic attacks in the future and add knowledge to other studies of the same nature.

1.10 Preliminary Chapter Structure

The dissertation is divided into five chapters.

Chapter 1

The first chapter introduces the topic and gives background information about xenophobic attacks and immigration in South Africa, it also looks at a brief profile of the city of Pietermaritzburg and further include the problem statement, aims and objectives of the study ,the key research questions and the research methodology employed in the study.

Chapter 2

Chapter two includes literature review, which reviewed the global and African perspective on xenophobia, the features of xenophobia in South Africa and KwaZulu-Natal. It also includes legislative and theoretical framework which includes the Scapegoating theory, The Isolation Theory and the Bio-cultural Theory.

Chapter 3

This chapter includes research methodology that was used in the study, it also focuses on how the data is collected, the research site, the population, and sampling method, the research

strategy, and the approach used by the author to meet the final objective. The chapter also looks at how the data is analysed.

Chapter 4

The fourth chapter looks at the presentation and discussion of the data analysed using the methods discussed in the third chapter. The discussion presented in this chapter is aligned with the purpose of the study

Chapter 5

This is the chapter where conclusions and recommendations are drawn based on findings and discussion relating to the topic. The summary of the entire dissertation is made, and recommendations are also made for future research purposes

1.11 Conclusion

South Africa's constitution has been praised as being one of the best constitutions in the world, but the xenophobic violence against foreign nationals has undermined this milestone. The high unemployment rate, failure of government to provide housing, proper sanitation and water has exacerbated the matter. The issue of xenophobia requires urgent attention as it has undermined the democracy in South Africa. This paper intends to contribute to the growing discourse of the topic. The next chapter reviews relevant literature on xenophobia and immigration.

CHAPTER 2

2.1 Introduction

The outbreak of xenophobic violence in South Africa in May 2008 left sixty-two people dead, seven hundred injured and over one hundred thousand displaced. The targets of the violence were mainly foreign nationals from other African countries, although South Africans made up one-third of the dead. The violence started in Alexandra township in Johannesburg before spreading to other townships, mainly in the province of Gauteng and in and around the cities of Cape Town and Durban. Many of the 140 affected areas were townships and so-called informal settlements (Von Holdt & Alexander, 2012).

The comparatively high standard of living in South Africa, coupled with the country's political freedom, resulted in its attractiveness to migrants (Crush et al, 2005). As such the main changes in the patterns of migration to South Africa can be seen post the apartheid era (Crush et al, 2005). The following evidence refers:

- I. Increased border movement resulting in expanded irregular migration;
- II. South Africa becoming a desirable economic destination (Morris and Bouillon, 2001);
- III. An increasing number of refugees as South Africa became an asylum country for refugees from all over Africa (Crush et al, 2005).

South Africa the reputation of a free, democratic and developing country – as a result luring foreign worker in the post-apartheid era to what is seen to them as “the land of opportunity” (UNHCR, 2009).

The 2015 spate of xenophobic violence in South Africa that began in Durban and quickly spread to other cities such as Johannesburg and Pietermaritzburg is a stark reminder of the ubiquity of this menace in the country (Tella, 2016). Such attacks and attitudes are not a new phenomenon in South Africa. In 1998, a Mozambican immigrant was thrown from a moving train and two Senegalese were electrocuted in an attempt to escape the violence unleashed on them by a group of South Africans returning from an ‘Unemployed Masses of South Africa’ rally in Pretoria (Vale, 2002). In 2008, xenophobic attacks began in Johannesburg and spread to other cities such as Pretoria and Cape Town. Both citizens and non-South African citizens lost their lives and valuable property was destroyed (Tella, 2016).

The major cause of the violence against foreign nationals is that poor South Africans, still mostly black, see foreign Africans as competition for jobs, housing, and other resources and services. These conditions, along with high crime rates that foster violence, serve as factors that translate xenophobic attitudes into violent attacks on foreign nationals (Misago, Landau & Monson 2009). Related to this are gendered dimensions of competition between South Africans and foreigners, in which foreigners are blamed for “stealing local women” (Dodson, 2010).

Immigrants are seen as taking jobs away from South Africans and increase the unemployment rate in the country because they accept low wages. They are depressing the remuneration of local labour (Maharaj, 2004:7; Tevera & Zinyama, 2002:29-31). The high unemployment rate and inefficient socio-economic delivery of basic services to the masses is a major cause of the violence against foreign nationals. The locals then blame foreign nationals whom they view as outsiders who steal resources and jobs meant for them. Young unemployed black male South Africans were behind these attacks.

2.2 Global Perspective of Xenophobia

According to Shisana (2008), xenophobia is a dislike and fear of that which is unknown or different from one. It comes from the Greek words *Xenos* meaning “stranger” “foreigner” and *Phobos* meaning “fear.” The term is typically used to describe a fear or dislike of foreigners or people significantly different from oneself, usually in the context of visual differentiation. Further, it is also described as fear or contempt of that which is foreign or unknown, especially of strangers or foreign people. Additionally, xenophobia involves the intense dislike, hatred or fear of others perceived to be strangers (Nyamnjoh, 2006: 5). Steenkamp (2009: 439) stresses the irrationality of the fear when stating that “... xenophobia refers to the irrational fear of the unknown, or especially, as the fear or hatred of those with a different nationality.

Xenophobia can express itself in a “broad spectrum of behaviours including discriminatory, stereotyping and dehumanizing remarks; discriminatory policies and practices by government and private officials such as exclusion from public services to which target groups are entitled; selective enforcement of by-laws by local authorities; assault and harassment by state agents, particularly the police and immigration officials; as well as public threats and violence...that often results in massive loss of lives and livelihoods” (Misago, Freemantle and Landau 2015, 17).

As with other forms of collective violence, xenophobic violence can be executed by either a large population or a fraction of people but with broad popular support or complicity. Its manifestations include murder, assaults causing bodily harm, looting and vandalism, robbery, arson attacks, burning of property, immolation, displacement, intimidation and threats, eviction notices, etc. It must be understood that in some circumstances, intimidation and the threat of violence cause substantial socio-economic damage and are thus of the same order as overt physical attacks (Gerring, 2009).

International migration where people move from one country to another has been going on in South Africa since the 1860s with the discovery of gold in the Witwatersrand and diamond in the Orange Free State. The discovery of these precious materials led to the high demand for cheap contract labour by the mining industry during the apartheid era. All the countries surrounding South Africa like Lesotho, Botswana, Zimbabwe, Namibia, Mozambique, and Swaziland acted as reservoirs for cheap contract labour (McDonald, 2000: 814).

Since the end of apartheid and the advent of a democratic South Africa in 1994, the country has become a new destination for African immigrants thus adding to the increasing trend of South-South migration. African immigration to South Africa has increased not only through the regular immigration of skilled professionals and other economic migrants from distressed economies, but also, through refugees fleeing conflict areas such as Angola, Burundi, Democratic Republic of Congo, Rwanda, Somalia, Sudan and Zimbabwe.

Lebhart (2002), Crush and Williams (2005), and Campbell (2007) break down illegal immigrants into two groups — that is, those that enter South Africa legally but stay on after their permits have expired and hence remain in the country illegally as well as those that enter South Africa illegally and go on to stay illegally.

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, an estimated 350,000 of whom approximately 20% have since returned home (CORMSA, 2007). From the 11th of May 2008 to the 21st of May 2008, Gauteng province witnessed two weeks of sustained violence against foreigners leaving 62 dead, 22 of whom were South African, and over 150,000 immigrants displaced (CORMSA, 2007). The reasons for migrating to South Africa are indicated as social

networks; the economic and political conditions in most of the Africans, pull and push factors and the conditions in post-apartheid South Africa.

2.3 An African Perspective of Xenophobia

Xenophobic incidents have been a recurring phenomenon in many African countries with attendant consequences for lives and properties, which have threatened diplomatic relations between governments and nationalities (Oni & Okunade, 2018). In November 1969 in Ghana, forty-nine days after Kofi Busia occupied the Prime Ministerial position, he introduced the Aliens Compliance Order (the Aliens Order), aimed at expelling undocumented aliens (Gocking, 2005: 156). Specifically, the Aliens Order required aliens who lacked work permits to get them within a period of two weeks or leave the country (Gocking, 2005:156)

Prior to the introduction of the order, there had been an emerging general perception of foreigners as the cause of 'large-scale unemployment that had befallen Ghana' (Aremu & Ajayi, 2014: 176). In Kenya, there has been a display of forms of xenophobia. The waves of terrorist attacks by the Somali al-Shabaab group spurred up negative reactions against Somalis in Kenya (Harper, 2010; Wambua-Soi, 2012 and Hatcher, 2015). This reaction spilled over to the Somali refugees in Kenya. The Westgate attacks in 2013, prompted the Kenyan government authorities to threaten to shut the Dadaab camp which catered for about half a million Somali refugees (Romola, 2015).

Also, there has been a manifestation of xenophobia in Gabon. According to Henckaerts (1995: 16), Gabon took a decision to repatriate all Beninese from the country in 1978. Gray (1998: 396) pointed out that the decision was premised on the 'hatred' President Kérékou of Benin had for President Bongo and the citizens of Gabon. There has also been a demonstration of xenophobia in Angola. This reflected in several mass expulsions of Congolese from Angola as a result of perceived theft of natural resources that belonged to Angola. In 2004, the Angolan government expelled an estimated 100,000 Congolese from Angola (Siegel, 2009: 23). It did not stop there; over 160,000 Congolese were expelled between December 2008 and December 2009 (Adebajo, 2011: 91). Angolan government reiterated its stand through its Foreign Minister who stated that Angola 'will never give up its right to protect its natural resources and its right to repatriate citizens who are acting in a way which do not benefit the country'.

The political economy of the oil boom in Nigeria in the early 1970s through the early 1980s and the prosperity that followed was a major factor that attracted other nationals into Nigeria, particularly Ghanaians who took up menial jobs and occupied the small and medium enterprises sector in Nigeria. Again, the mismanagement and inherent contradictions of the oil glut of the 1980s as well as its attendant economic disarticulation led to job loss and inadvertently precipitated Nigeria's xenophobic attitudes against her neighbouring immigrants, particularly Ghanaians to reduce competition for scarce resources. This invariably led to the formulation of the tag, 'Ghana must go' and its introduction into Nigeria's socio-political discourse.

It is important to mention that the nature of xenophobia in both Nigeria and Ghana was subtle and non-violent, which is different from the attacks which happened in South Africa which were grossly violent and led to the loss of lives, burning and looting of properties and displacement of 1000 of foreign nationals.

2.4 Features of Xenophobia in South Africa

The media is awash with pictures of South Africans, mostly men, protesting and violently attacking foreign nationals in the 2008, 2015 and 2017 xenophobic violence in Cape Town, Johannesburg, Alexandra, Durban and Pietermaritzburg (Maluleke, 2015).

Several incidents are worth recalling, illustrating the nature and intensity of collective violence. Between mid-2009 and late 2010, for example, more than 20 migrants were killed and another 40 received serious injuries in various attacks across the country (CORMSA, 2011).

Table 1. Xenophobic incidents across South Africa between January 2015 and January 2017

Types of incidents	Number of Reports
Deaths	66
Assaults	116
Looting	571
Displaced people	11 140

Source: XenoWatch, 2017

It was barely a decade after the demise of the apartheid administration that Danso and McDonald observed that some South African media houses equated certain nationalities with certain crimes. Nigerians and Moroccans were identified with drugs, Congolese with passport fraud and Zairians with diamond smuggling, while Basotho (nationals of Lesotho) were labelled gold dust and copper wire smugglers, Mozambican and Zimbabwean women were associated with prostitution and Mozambicans were perceived as international car thieves (Danso & McDonald, 2001).

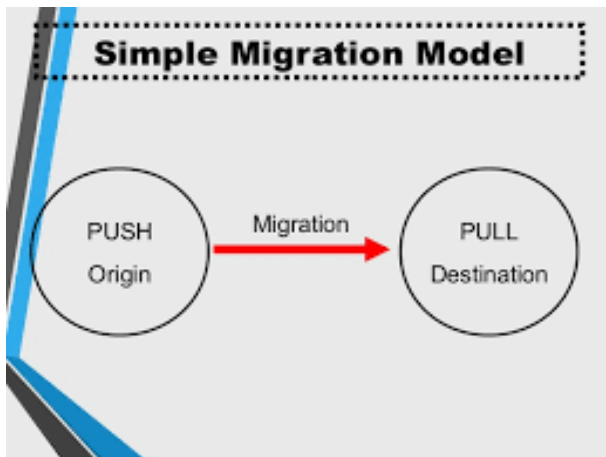
The negative portrayal of foreigners remains evident in the pages of newspapers in contemporary South Africa. While the extent to which this negative reporting incites xenophobic attacks may be subject to debate, it seems to influence South Africans' perceptions of African immigrants.

A South African Migration Project survey (SAMP, 2006) found strong indications of xenophobia: half of the participants (50%) favored deportation of foreign nationals, irrespective of legal status; three-quarters (75%) were against increasing the number of refugees and a similar proportion (75%) favored the idea of containing refugees in border camps, instead of being integrated into society.

Black foreign nationals in South Africa have often been referred to as Amakwerekwere or Amagrigamba. These terms are derogatory and used to inflict intimidation and hate on immigrants (Jere, 2008).

Globalisation has resulted in making push factors stronger and people migrate in large numbers to South Africa (Tsheola, 2008: 39-49).

- Lee (1966) explains the factors that contribute to Push Factors: induce people to move out of their current location poverty, political instability, religious intolerance.
- Pull Factors: induce people to move to new location democratic government, thriving economies, job opportunities.



Lees Migration model (1966)

Often people move from their countries of origin to another because of disadvantages and this has been referred to as “push factors” i.e. poverty, hardship, poor living conditions, scarcity of food, fuel, high inflation, the rising cost of goods and basic necessities and drought. There are advantages of pulling them to the country where they want to move to, and this has been referred to as “pull factors” i.e. employment opportunities, higher wages, political stability, better social amenities, access to consumer goods and commodities and a better life than in the country of origin (Maharaj, 2004: 6; Lefko-Everett, 2007: 14-16; Crush & Williams 2005: 5; ILO, 1998:18; IOM, 2005: 1-2; Simelane, 1999:3; McDonald, 2000: 826).

Most foreign nationals move from their countries because of political instability, poor economies, wars and poor living conditions and move to South Africa in search of better livelihoods. The perception is that immigrants in South Africa compete with locals for jobs and consume public goods and services, therefore, “frustrating state efforts to regulate health, education, and housing sectors” (Vigneswaran, 2008: 135).

According to ILO (1998: 22-23), people migrate to South Africa for the following reasons:

- The perception that South Africa’s employment rate is low which means that it is easy for migrants to get jobs;
- South Africa has varied opportunities since its GDP is ten times than that of all SADC countries combined;
- The income level in South Africa is above the US\$500 mark when compared to that of SADC countries, and that acts as an incentive;

- The South African economy is seen to have the capacity to absorb its own population and labour migrants in the region;
- South Africa's unionisation and affirmative action has had an impact on wages in general, this saw an introduction of a national minimum wage in January 2019, this was to protect workers from unreasonably low wages (Businessstech, 2020)
- Even when the labour market is saturated with unemployment, foreigners are able to get jobs because there are employers who prefer them as a source of cheap labour, and
- The high brain-drain from South Africa acts as a magnet for others to enter.

The South African borders are considered “porous” and thus encourage illegal migration. Lack of staff, corruption and bribery by Department of Home Affairs officials are seen as perpetuating illegal migration into the country (HRW, 2006: 8; Landau, 2007: 66; Maharaj, 2004: 10; McDonald et al, 1998: 14; Kok et al, 2006: 174).

According to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR, 2015) and the South African Department of Home Affairs, in 2015, there were above 300.000 refugees and around 800.000 asylum seekers in South Africa (UNHCR, 2015). Most refugees originate from Zimbabwe, Somalia, Ethiopia, Democratic Republic of Congo, Rwanda, Burundi and Cote d'Ivoire (UNHCR, 2015). According to Statistics South Africa (2016) Community Survey, the population of South Africa is 55.7 million, including 1.6 million people born outside of its borders, which equals 2.8% of its population (Grant, Pampalone & Brodie, 2017). However, the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (DESA,2015) reports that the number of international migrants living in South Africa is 3.24 million, or 5,8% of the entire population (Grant, Pampalone & Brodie, 2015). Due to the lack of concrete statistical information, other humanitarian organizations give information that adds to official figures, the number of undocumented migrants alone is around two million (Brodie, 2015). Altogether, there could be between five and six million foreigners in South Africa, either legally or illegally.

Table 2: Distribution of all recipients of temporary residence permits by permit type, 2015, Statistics South Africa (STATSA)

Permit type	Total	Percentage
Visitor	23 138	30,8
Relative	22 541	30
Study	12 998	17,3
Work	12 354	16,5
Waiver	1143	1,5
Medical treatment	949	1,3
Business	905	1,2
Retired person	875	1,2
Treaty	136	0,2
Exchange	37	0,0
Total	75 076	100 %

Source: Statistics South Africa

The above table includes the number of permits given to foreign nationals in 2015.

The South African media has also been blamed for fuelling xenophobic attacks against foreign nationals. Exaggerated figures on immigration broadcast through media can only fuel the anger of some poor, unskilled and unemployed South Africans. For Palmary (2003), the fears that result in hostilities towards foreigners originate in a way from the widespread perception that there are “floods” of illegal immigrants coming into South Africa.

The Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC, 2008) identified two main patterns of the xenophobic culture in South Africa; firstly, that the violence was mostly aimed at other African nationals and not against foreigners in general, and secondly, that the violence was largely confined to the urban informal settlements in South Africa’s major cities (HSRC, 2008).

A study reveals that “South African women who were part of the pilot study overwhelmingly articulated that foreign men were more respectful of women and were willing to take on the responsibility of South African women’s children, grandmothers and families, and the maintenance of their families” (Nadiar, 2009). The ultimate argument is that foreign men care for and respect women and are not violent towards them (Phandle, 2015).

The South African unemployment rate published by Statistics South Africa is standing at 27.1% (STATSA, 2019). Immigrants are seen as taking jobs away from South Africans and increase the unemployment rate in the country because they accept low wages.

They are seen as depressing the remuneration of local labour (Maharaj, 2004: 7; Tevera & Zinyama, 2002: 29-31). This is because they accept wages below market wages which local people refuse to take, and this causes conflict and contributes to unemployment rates of local people (Simelane, 1999: 4-5; Solomon, 1996: 9; Harris, 2001; Solomon, 2003: 92; Solomon, 2000: 4).

Siko (2015) asserts that it is unsurprising that the associations of poverty, unemployment and xenophobia came at a time when South Africans struggled for economic freedom, and the fact that most of the incidents of the attacks occur in informal settlements where there is lack of service delivery, high unemployment rate, poverty and lack of proper housing and sanitation (Neocosmos, 2008: 1).

According to Crush (2008: 33), the perception that foreigners steal jobs from South Africans is not based on personal experience because 85% of respondents in a 2006 survey indicated that they have no personal experience or met anyone who lost a job to a foreigner. By interpretation, the allegations made by South Africans that foreign nationals steal jobs from them are untrue and unfounded. An unmistakable feature of xenophobia in South Africa is its racial undertones. Black migrants, mostly from other African countries, including those from Southern African Development Community (SADC) member states are victims of violence, while whites of any nationality are welcome (Solomon & Kosaka, n.d.: 8).

According to Fauvelle-Aymar and Segatti (2011: 75), the 2008 xenophobic violence occurred in local government wards that had black residents, a high proportion of men, many language groups, significant inequality and a high proportion of people with intermediary income alongside poor groups, and a higher proportion of informal settlements. Although xenophobic

attitudes are stronger among whites than blacks (Crush, 2008: 5), there is no recorded incident of whites attacking foreigners.

2.5 Xenophobia in KwaZulu-Natal

A strong feature of xenophobia in South Africa is the fact that the attacked usually, happened in informal settlements where there is high unemployment, inequality and living standards are low. Given these studies, South Africa's economic challenges, history of xenophobic violence, and high unemployment rate all suggest circumstantial evidence that immigrants are perceived as an economic threat by low-skilled, unemployed, less-educated, and poor South Africans (Croucher, 1998; Crush, 2000). This was evidenced in the 2015 outbreak of violence in Durban which was ignited after the Zulu King, Goodwill Zwelithini, made a call for migrants from other African countries to return to their home countries (Saleh, 2015, p. 304).

The King's statement ignited the widespread attacks against foreign nationals in KwaZulu Natal. The attacks quickly spread from Durban to other areas in KwaZulu Natal including Pietermaritzburg. The Natal Witness (2015) reported that the Pietermaritzburg CBD came to a standstill after looters ransacked foreign-owned shops forcing owners to close doors in fear of further xenophobic attacks. People in the city centre along East Street and Retief Street were left in a state of panic as police vans swamped the streets monitoring the situation. In the Howick area, a small group was going around trying to loot shops and harassing foreign nationals. Attacks on foreigners started after midnight on Sunday on March 24, 2019, in Durban.

They began at Kenville Informal Settlement and spread to Sea Cow Lake and Burntwood. Locals were allegedly angry that foreigners were taking their jobs. One of the victims of the attacks said, "They started shouting, and telling us to leave, they kept chanting that we must leave their country, they hit and kicked my husband" (Sunday Tribune, 2019). Police spokesperson Lieutenant-Colonel Thulani Zwane said three people had died and several had been injured. The police had to move more than 50 people who were displaced including children to a place of safety. Most of the displaced were Malawians and they were saying they are willing to go back to their home countries because they fear for their lives (Sunday Tribune, 2019).

2.6 Xenophobia or Afrophobia

Gqola (2008) and Mngxitama (2009) suggest that the May 2008 attacks were manifestations of Afro-phobia or Negrophobia. Afro-phobia is defined as fear or dislike of Africans and their culture and could be associated with the attacks since they were mostly directed at migrants of African origin. Negrophobia refers to fear or dislike of black people in general and their culture. The fact that there are no reported incidents of white foreigners, some who are in the country illegally, and very few Asians being targets of violence (Bekker, 2010: 34) seems to lend some support for the attacks being labelled Afro-phobia or Negrophobia.

Maharaj (2002) argues that the xenophobic tendency stigmatises immigrants from other African countries as criminals and people who undermine economic development and take jobs from locals. After May 2008, recurring aggressions against African immigrants continued: some 3 000 Zimbabweans were forcibly displaced from De Doorns in the Western Cape in 2009; in 2012, 238 incidents were recorded by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), including 120 deaths and 7 500 persons displaced; an estimated 120 Somali and 50 Bangladeshi shopkeepers killed in townships; 62 migrants murdered during the first six months of 2013 and around 130 separate episodes of attacks reported.

In a specifically South African context, Everatt (2011) purports that “xenophobia, or Afrophobia, or Negrophobia and other perceptions” constitute the hostile attitudes directed by South Africans towards African migrants. These African migrants include Zimbabweans, Somalis, Mozambicans, Nigerians, Senegalese and Malawians (Kersting, 2009; Steenkamp, 2009). In addition, Morris (1998) states that physical features are central in any definition of xenophobia. African foreign nationals are easily identifiable by the language they speak and their failure to speak South African languages properly.

There are general negative perceptions of other African states. According to Neocosmos (2008) Problems such as corruption, wars, diseases and poverty are attributed to Africa, and by extension, African immigrants are perceived as freeloaders who leave their poverty-stricken countries to milk South African resources (Neocosmos, 2008). A notion held by most South Africans is that foreign nationals are not genuine and that they are an economic threat and that they steal rather than create jobs as well spread diseases and epidemics such as cholera and HIV/AIDS.

African Renaissance stresses Pan-Africanism and African political, economic and cultural integration. Former President Thabo Mbeki was a strong advocate for a united Africa. In a bid to advance his ideas, former President Thabo Mbeki made his 'I am an African' speech at the adoption of South Africa's Constitution Bill in Cape Town on 8 May 1996. The speech emphasised that Africans and South Africans in general are one and that all Africans should work together in an effort to advance development of the African continent. Mbeki's speech emphasized the notion that all African's regardless of which country they reside are all equal and that South Africa belongs to all African's.

Given the socio-political and economic realities of almost all African countries, it is not surprising that African nationals seek escape routes. Despite recent positive perceptions of Africa's economic performance and potential, the continent remains largely poor; there is little human and infrastructural development, and Africa is widely perceived to possess the least capacity to foster development (Tella, 2013).

African countries are characterised by high levels of unemployment and corruption and conflicts ranging from guerrilla warfare to terrorism. Due to South Africa's relative advancement, it is one of the top destinations for African immigrants. Indeed, Khan (2007) argues that South Africa now appears to be the only reliable destination because European countries' migration policies have become stricter. Ngwenya (2010) asserts that while several factors explain the burgeoning migration of Africans to South Africa, the economic capability of the country is the primary determinant. Other factors include environmental, political, social and health considerations (Potter, 2014). South Africa has drawn African migrants from all walks of life, ranging from skilled professionals, unskilled migrants and international students to refugees that seek better working, learning and security conditions. Countries such as the Democratic Republic of Congo, Zimbabwe, Nigeria, Ghana, Angola, Rwanda, Burundi, Ivory Coast, Sudan and Somalia account for a large chunk of African immigrants in South Africa (Isike & Isike, 2012).

South Africans imagine that African foreigners are different from them because they have big noses, big lips and round heads they are 'too dark' or 'too black'; they dress funny, walk in certain different ways and have inoculation marks (Matshine, 2011: 303). A strong feature of the attacks is that it is only black African foreign nationals that are attacked and not Chinese, Pakistanis and Bangladeshi which also have a high number of people residing in South Africa. Kollapan (1999) warns that xenophobia cannot be separated from violence and physical abuse.

(Black, 2006) in a study revealed that South African nationals are particularly intolerant of non-nationals, and especially African non-nationals. A South African Migration Project (SAMP) study revealed that South Africans are exceptionally xenophobic. In total 3,600 South African citizens over the age of 18 were randomly selected and interviewed. Survey respondents ranged in age from 18 to 97, Results showed that 25% of South Africans interviewed wanted a total ban on immigration while 45% support the strict limitation on the number of immigrants. Over half of the number of respondents opposed offering non-citizens the same access to housing as South Africans and 61% of respondents believed that immigrants placed added strain on the economy of black people, 65% of black respondents indicated that they would likely or very likely take action to prevent people from other countries operating a business in their area (Crush, 2000).

2.7 The South African Government Response to Xenophobia

The government officials in South Africa have been fast to deny any existence of xenophobia in South Africa and have been quick to label the attacks as acts of crimes and dismiss xenophobia.

The final axis of explanation is not only outright denial but also the attribution of the attacks to “naked criminal activity”, as President Mbeki’s statement on 3 July 2008 makes clear:

What happened during those days was not inspired by possessed nationalism, or extreme chauvinism, resulting in our communities violently expressing the hitherto unknown sentiments of mass and mindless hatred of foreigners – xenophobia I heard insistently that my people have turned or become xenophobic I wondered what the accusers knew about my people which I do not know. And this I must say – none in our society has any right to encourage or incite xenophobia by trying to explain naked criminal activity by cloaking it in the garb of xenophobia (Dodson, 2010: 7).

The Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation (CSVR) had found, in 2007, that 85 per cent of policemen in Johannesburg perceived undocumented foreigners as (usually) criminals (Masombuka, 2015). Misago’s (2015) conclusion is that xenophobia manifests itself on larger scales through selective enforcement of bylaws, harassments, arbitrary arrests, political scapegoating, denial of access to services, as well as public violence. As such,

selective enforcement of dubious laws is often coordinated or spearheaded by government officials.

On 13 July 2010, the then Minister of Police emphatically stated that: “there is no such systematic thing as xenophobia in the country” and attributed the violence against foreigners to the activities of criminal elements, following the statement “these are not xenophobic attacks... but acts of criminality...” made by the South African Communist Party a few days earlier (Polzer & Takabvirwa, 2010: 3). South African politicians and senior officials at national, provincial and municipal levels are quick to label collective violence against migrants and refugees as “opportunistic crimes,” committed by “criminal elements.”

Nkosi (2015: 1) writes that the South African Police Service’s *Operation Fiela* (meaning reclaim) is, in fact, xenophobic itself. But despite the apparent success of the anti-crime operation, a coalition of nongovernmental organisations, including Lawyers for Human Rights, Médecins Sans Frontières, Section 27, Corruption Watch, Africa Diaspora Forum and Awethu, has criticized Operation Fiela for perpetuating xenophobia. They say the campaign is unfairly targeting foreign nationals and mistakenly equates the presence of undocumented foreigners.

President Jacob Zuma while addressing an audience at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg on the implementation of the e-toll system on some Gauteng roads in October 2013, the president was credited with the following statement: ‘we cannot think like Africans in Africa. This is Johannesburg. It is not some national road in Malawi’ (Tella & Ogunnubi, 2014). Similarly, when unveiling the monument to the late South African Communist Party (SACP) leader, Chris Hani, in April 2015, President Zuma remarked: ‘we, therefore, urge our people to treat those who are in our country legally with respect and *Ubuntu*’ (Eyewitness News, 2015). Such statements have a tendency to reinforce xenophobia. These statements made by the president clearly suggest that South Africa is not to be compared to other African countries and that South Africa is superior to other countries in the African continent.

The former president was not the only politician who denied the existence of xenophobia in South African society, former president Thabo Mbeki was also a denialist. He once stated that he had never met a xenophobic South African and anyone who called South Africans xenophobic was themselves guilty of xenophobia (Crush & Ramachandran, 2014: 8)

Another notable South African politician who is notorious for his xenophobic statements is the former Home Affairs Minister and leader of the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), Inkosi Mangosuthu Buthelezi. He remarked that ‘if we as South Africans are going to compete for

scarce resources with millions of aliens who are pouring into South Africa, we can bid goodbye to our Reconstruction and Development Programme' (Klotz, 2012: 1999). In a similar vein, he once stated that 'all Nigerian immigrants are criminals and drug traffickers' (Tella & Ogunnubi, 2014: 154). The 2015 xenophobic violence was widely believed to have been triggered by a statement made by Zulu King, Goodwill Zwelithini. Addressing the Pongolo community, the following statements were credited to the king, as translated from isiZulu to English by eNews Channel Africa (ENCA):

I would like to ask the South African government to help us. We must deal with our own lice. In our heads let's take out the ants and leave them in the sun. We ask that immigrants must take their bags and go where they come from (ENCA, 2015).

Given the xenophobic attitudes of South Africa's top government officials, it is not surprising that the majority of South Africans are extremely xenophobic and feel like they are competing for resources with foreign nationals.

Xenophobia stands against everything in the well-articulated vision of former President Nelson Mandela. At the dawn of democracy, former President Nelson Mandela described South Africa as the Rainbow Nation, a nation that can accommodate all people regardless of colour, race, or religion (Harris, 2002). Harris (2002) states that in 1994, South Africa grew into a new state and represented important change in the social, political, and geographical landscape of the past. According to Kimanuka (2015:1), "unity replaced segregation, equality replaced legislated racism and democracy replaced apartheid in terms of the law and the way of doing things".

Former President Jacob Zuma showed concern and respect for foreign nationals living in South Africa by taking the time to inform African leaders on the various efforts which the government had taken to ensure the safety of the citizens. This strategy helped in removing both tension and anger among the countries whose citizens were at risk and saved South Africa's diplomatic ties with the rest of the world. Zuma, in a statement to African leaders in April 2015,

said: "Our law enforcement agencies have acted decisively and those who are involved in acts of violence were arrested and charged and investigations are continuing. We held meetings with organisations representing foreign and African nationals in South Africa and convened a stakeholder engagement meeting on migration to find solutions. The next step was to meet with diplomats from other African".

McConnell (2009) argues that many South Africans are convinced that any job filled by a foreigner is one less for the locals. Given the level of unemployment and poverty in the country, this attitudinal tendency fits the context. The South African Police Service and Department of Home Affairs have been reported to also abuse foreign nationals by demanding bribes from them in order to avoid deportation or prosecution for being in the country illegally and not having the required documentation.

The increase in incidents of xenophobic attacks in the country has sent shock waves around the world, and this is caused by animosities that local South Africans have against foreign nationals, and the failure of the government to control the influx of foreign nationals and mostly the failure of the government in providing adequate services to the locals and the rising unemployment rate. The study aimed to assess the relationship between South Africans and foreigners and to investigate whether the provincial government is doing enough to prevent xenophobic attacks from occurring in the future.

2.8 Legislative Framework Governing Immigration in South Africa

The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (1996) and the Bill of Rights ascertain the rights of all people who live in South Africa and that they should be treated with dignity.

To fully understand the violent xenophobic attacks in South Africa, it is important not to neglect the history of black migration entrenched in racist apartheid legislation. In apartheid South Africa one of the prominent immigration laws was the Aliens Control Act 1913 (Act NO: 22 of 1913), which limited black people from economic and geographical opportunities. The dawn of democracy in 1994 did not result in major shifts in immigration policy, the change was only seen between 1998 and 2002 with the adoption of the Refugee Act, 1998 (Act 13 of 1998) and the Immigration Act, 2002 (Act 13 of 2002) (Mukhonza, 2011).

In South Africa, immigrants are protected by law like any other citizens. According to Landan, Ramjathan and Singh (2004), South Africa has made commitments to all who live in the country, regardless of citizenship, nationality or country of birth.

Aliens Control Act NO: 96 of 1991

Although South Africa has signed many international conventions relating to rights of foreigners in South Africa, according to the South African Human Right Commission, undocumented migrants have rights against arbitrary arrest or detention, the right to humanity, right to equality before courts. In order to curb illegal immigration, the South African government passed the Alien Control Act of 1991, which was used to prevent low wage labour from working and coming into the country.

A new Immigration Act was promulgated in 2003 which put an additional constraint on foreigners. As a result, voluntary migrants were unable to legalise their stay in South Africa after their permits expired.

The Immigration, Act, of 2002 (13 of 2002)

The immigration act was promulgated with the objective to promote human rights-based culture in both government and civil society in immigration control, facilitating and simplifying the issuing of both temporary and permanent permits while also discouraging illegal foreigners. The act further seeks to regulate the influx of foreigners. In terms of section 47 (1) of the act, the Department of Home Affairs is responsible for setting up an anti-corruption unit that is charged with the task of preventing xenophobia.

The portfolio committee of the Department of Home Affairs placed two important units, the counter-corruption unit and the counter xenophobia unit. The counter xenophobia unit was tasked with addressing the institutional bias towards immigrants and to change the perception of civil servants and by extension of the behaviour of the local population. The Department of Home Affairs has been issuing permits to foreign nationals but not all are granted permits.

Refugee Act, 1998 No 130 of 1998

In 1995, South Africa endorsed the 1969 Organisation of African Unity (OAU), a convention which governs specific aspects of the refugee crisis in Africa. In 1996, the 1951 United Nations (UN) Convention relating to the status of refugees and the United Nations protocol of 1967

were also compiled with (Human Rights Review Act, 1999). This international legislation underpins the current Refugee Act of 1998; an act developed from recommendations in 1997 green paper in international migration to deal specifically with the refugee crisis in South Africa.

The Act allows for any person to apply for asylum in South Africa, its definition of a refugee complies with an international standard that a refugee is a person facing political persecution or discrimination on social, racial, religion and must as a consequence seek the protection of another state.

The Refugees Act provides for the mandatory issuing of asylum seeker permits to any person seeking such status. One becomes an officially recognised refugee after successfully applying for asylum and enjoys privileges far exceeding what international law requires. They enjoy fundamental rights such as the rights to work and study, health, physical security and can in principle, receive social benefits in South Africa (South African Constitution 1998).

The Immigration Amendment Act (NO: 19 of 2004)

The Immigration Amendment Act of 2004 stipulates the use of quota work permits, which maintains that there is a need to locate South Africans capable of doing jobs before sourcing out a certain calibre of immigrants. In terms of this immigration policy, an immigrant coming to South Africa for work will have to ensure that it is not an occupation in which there are already sufficient people available to meet the country's needs.

These Acts help to regulate the inflow of foreign nationals into South Africa, they also emphasise that foreign nationals (legal or illegal) have basic human rights and need to be treated with dignity.

2.9 Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework consists of concepts and, together with their definitions and reference to relevant scholarly literature, the existing theory that is used for a study. The theoretical framework must demonstrate an understanding of theories and concepts that are relevant to the topic (ABEND, 2008). The theories helped to better understand the probable causes of violence against foreign nationals.

Scapegoating Hypothesis

The historical heritage of the scapegoat theory can be traced back to Freud's ego defensive mechanism, which he labelled displacement (Tella & Ogunnubi, 2014). Displacement refers to the individuals' tendency to shift their aggression to another target. When their original target is inaccessible or threatening, e.g. a child beaten by their parent may transfer their aggression to their younger siblings; in scapegoating the person shouldered with the blame is weaker or less threatening than the actual causer.

During the apartheid regime, the majority of South Africans blamed their economic deprivation and misfortunes on the apartheid government and consequently directed their aggression at white minority rule. The end of apartheid and the dawn of democracy promised better livelihoods and better living conditions for the black South African population, citizens had high expectations which were not fulfilled; hence, they needed someone to blame and the vulnerable black Africans became easy targets. Black African foreigners are seen as enterprising and are often willing to accept lower wages than local South Africans. Black South Africans blame foreigners for their economic hardships, including unemployment, limited infrastructure, and the spread of diseases such as HIV and TB.

Foreign nationals have quickly become scapegoats for the continuing social and economic ills facing many South Africans (Steenkamp, 2009). Locals with high expectations from society blame foreign nationals rather than the government for its failure to meet their socio-economic needs and the high unemployment rate.

Isolation Hypothesis

The social isolation theory can be traced back to European history inspired by nationalism and modernisation theory. Both concepts divide between citizens and migrant groups as 'Us and Them'. M. Fennema (1998) quotes Hannah Arendt who located the isolation theory in rise of fascism. In her arguments, there was a direct link between the origins of mass society and the violent nationalism of fascism movements in Europe. Nationalism was seen as a social and political phenomenon contributing to the marginalization and/or exclusion of non-nationals in social and national settings.

Here xenophobia is seen as a consequence of apartheid in South Africa (Morris, 1998). The seclusion of the country from the rest of the world in the apartheid era is taken to be an explanation for the fear and distrust that South African communities have towards foreigners. According to this theory, the freedom felt within South Africa in 1994 came with the ideology that the country must be protected from outsiders. Considering South Africa's history, it is reasonable that the country needed to put its citizens first for transformation and change. However, the closed-door migration policies, sluggish development and increase in poverty and inequality have provided a breeding ground for xenophobia following South Africa's transition to democracy, the Refugee Act took four years to draft and eight years to negotiate (Crush, 2008).

This theory helps explain xenophobia as a consequence of South Africa's apartheid past where South Africans were subjected to racial segregation. In turn, after the dawn of democracy, South African citizens felt like South Africa belongs to them only and that if outsiders are allowed in the country, they would eventually take over as it happened with the apartheid government.

Bio-Cultural Hypothesis

This approach explains that xenophobia operates on the level of physical and cultural appearance, therefore animosity towards the other is not a result of competition for resources but a "product of early political and value socialization." 43 According to this view, cultural differences between people could lead to conflict and hatred, hence the issue that arises is the fear of loss of social status and identity. People prefer to be surrounded by their own kind rather than be exposed to others, consequently, foreigners are deprived of the right to belong. So, the inability of minority groups to integrate into the structure and culture of society leads to xenophobic rejection (Mogekwu,2002).

This theory suggests that xenophobic violence is not applied equally to all foreigners. In the case of South Africa, black foreigners are at a greater risk of violence than foreigners of other race groups (Human Rights Watch, 1998). The bio-cultural hypothesis emphasises the levels of a visible difference in the physical demeanour of other Africans (Harris,2002).

This hypothesis could explain the violence targeted against even South Africans who were thought to be foreign on the basis of their skin colour or speech. As some of the local languages are spoken by neighbouring countries, this led to cases where a local could be seen as a

foreigner and targeted during xenophobic attacks (BBC, 2008). Foreign nationals from other African countries are easily identifiable for their lack of speaking local languages and this makes them easy targets for attacks.

2.10 Conclusion

In conclusion, South Africa as stated above is not new to xenophobia it dates back to the 1800s with the discovery of gold in the country, this saw a large number of foreign nationals coming to work in the gold and diamond mines in South Africa. The spate of the xenophobic attacks in the country is attributed to the notion that foreign nationals steal jobs meant for South Africans and are blamed for the socio-economic ills and the failures of government to deliver. Theories such as scapegoating and isolation have been developed to help better understand the topic.

CHAPTER 3

3.1 Introduction

The previous chapter reviewed the literature on the inflow of foreign nationals and the xenophobic attacks, the factors that influence migration into South Africa and the socio-economic impact of the attacks on the relations between the residents of the Pietermaritzburg CBD area. This chapter presents the research methodology adopted in the study. According to Remenyi, Williams, Money, and Swartz (1998), research methodology is an integral part of a research study and any judgment relating to the quality of the study is contingent on the clarity and relevance of the methodology employed. This chapter discusses the research methodology and techniques that underpin this study. In addition, the chapter describes the data collection method that was employed in the study.

3.2 Research Design

Research design refers to the options that are available to the researcher to study certain phenomena in order to reach a specific goal (De Vos et al, 2005). Research design is the decision regarding what, where, when, how much and by what means an inquiry, or a research study constitute a research design. Research design is the arrangement of conditions for collection and analysis of data in the manner that aims to combine relevance to the research purpose. Research design constitutes the blueprint for the collection and analysis of data. It includes an outline of what the researcher will do. The main function of research is to describe, decide and explain how you will find answers to your research questions (Maxwell, 2013).

A research design refers to the option available for researchers to study certain phenomena according to certain formulae suitable for a specific goal (De Vos *et al* 2005:268). The study utilised a qualitative research design because it was aimed at understanding the impact of the xenophobic attacks on the social relations among the residents of the Pietermaritzburg CBD area.

According to Kerlinger (1986: 279), research design is a plan, structure, and strategy of the investigation so conceived as to obtain answers to research questions or problems. The plan is

the scheme or program of the research. It includes an outline of what the investigator will do from writing the hypothesis and their final analysis of data.

3.3 Research Methodology

According to Cohen (1980), quantitative research is defined as social research that employs empirical methods and statements; quantitative research is the numerical representation and manipulation of observations. Creswell (1994) describes quantitative research as a type of research that is explaining a phenomenon by collecting numerical data that analyzed using mathematically based methods. De Vos (1998) defined qualitative research as a multi-perspective approach utilizing different qualitative techniques and data collection methods to analyse social interaction aimed at the meanings that the subjects attach to it. Straus and Corbin (1990) defined qualitative research as any kind of research that produces findings not arrived at by means of statistical procedure or any means of quantification; it refers to research about a person's life story, behaviour, an organization's functioning, social movements or interactions, and relationships.

Based on the nature of the topic and in order to have an in-depth understanding behind the xenophobia in Pietermaritzburg CBD area, this study used qualitative research methodologies through and semi-structured interviews to interview the Home Affairs officials, questionnaires were distributed to foreign nationals, South Africans and the South African Police Services officials, in order to understand events from the viewpoints of the participants and the real-life experiences of people.

3.4 Sample Design

Sample selection is a definite plan for obtaining a sample for a given population, it refers to the technique or procedure the researcher would adopt in selecting items for the sample. Sample design may lay down the number of items included in the sample, i.e. the sample size of the sample. Sample selection is determined before the data is collected (Vos et al, 2005). A sample comprises of the element of the population which are considered for inclusion in the study. Samples are drawn because researchers want to understand the population.

The main purpose of sampling is to select a subgroup that can represent accurately the population as defined by the researcher. The intention of sampling is to be able to draw accurate conclusions about the population by studying a smaller group of elements (Daniel, 2012).

Qualitative research involves non-probability sampling. In non-probability sampling, the elements in the population do not have any probabilities attached to their being chosen as sample objects (Sekaran & Bougie, 2013). In non-probability sampling, non-random methods are used to obtain a sample -- meaning that sample members are not chosen on the basis of having an equal chance of being selected from a larger sample. Miller and Dingwall (1997: 3) assert that qualitative methods are resources that researchers use in observing and making sense of the aspects of social life.

Purposive Sampling

Researchers choose participants arbitrarily for their unique characteristics or their experiences, attitudes or perceptions, as conceptual or theoretical categories of participants develop during the interviewing process. Purposive sampling is also referred to as judgmental sampling which involves the deliberate selection of individuals or elements based on a predefined criterion (Daniel, 2012).

Snowball Sampling

Snowball sampling is the process of selecting a sample using networks. To start with a few individuals in a group or organization are selected and the required information is collected from them. They are then asked to identify other people in the group and they then are selected to be part of the sample. The process is repeated until the required number of people has been reached (Kumar, 2014).

Convenience Sampling

Researchers select any readily available individuals as participants (Cooper & Schindler, 2008). It is also referred to as accidental sampling and opportunistic sampling. Convenience sampling involves the enrolment of available subjects or elements as they enter the study until the desired sample size is reached (Depou & Gitlin, 2016).

The study used purposive sampling through interviewing foreign nationals and South African nationals and Immigration Officers from the Department of Home Affairs as participants. It

also used snowball sampling as the initial participants also referred the researcher to other foreign nationals who were willing to participate in the study.

The researcher chose semi-structured interviews to engage the Department of Home Affairs officials. Interview questions were used as a guide.

3.5 Data Collection Methods

Initially, the researcher chose focus groups as a way of collecting data, but it proved to be difficult to get all participants in a group at a time because they were mostly busy and reluctant to engage on the topic in a group because they were not sure whether the researcher worked for the Department of Home Affairs Immigration Department or was journalist. The researcher resorted to using questionnaires instead as most of the participants preferred that the researcher leave the questionnaires and collect them later.

Accessing Home Affairs official proved to be very difficult as they were initially reluctant to engage in the research. The researcher was able to interview 1 official from Home Affairs Immigration Department. Semi-structured interviews were used to interview the official. The researcher then had to contact police officers at the South African Police Services Mountain Rise (Pietermaritzburg).

The researcher met with the Immigration official who wanted to first see a brief summary of what the research was about first before committing to the interview because the official did not want to give sensitive information. After emailing the official the basis of the research, the official was then willing to participate in the research. The questionnaires were different for South African citizens and foreign nationals. The questionnaires were divided into 2 sections: section A included biographical information including age, gender, nationality and the number of years foreign nationals were in South Africa; section B included open-ended questions which allowed the respondents to respond freely.

3.6 Target Population

A population is a collection of objects, activities or people having common features that the researcher is interested in analyzing (Mouton, 2002). The targeted population is 50 respondents from the Pietermaritzburg CBD area; it included both foreign nationals and South African citizens.

The CBD is abuzz with formal businesses like clothing stores owned by foreign nationals, cell phone repair shops, hair and nail salon, panel beating and vehicle repair shops, and informal businesses such as street vendors selling fruit and vegetables, pesticides, rat poisoning and shoe repairing.

The study aimed to investigate how the relationship between foreign nationals and South Africans has been affected by the xenophobic attacks. The respondents included South Africans who were residents of Pietermaritzburg. The Department of Home Affairs immigration officials were also interviewed. The researcher targeted one senior official and three immigration officials in the Department. The researcher could only interview one immigration official at the Department of Home Affairs, this was due to the fact that the officials were really hard to track down as they were not always in the office.

Cooper and Schinder's (2008) approaches in qualitative research include in-depth interviews, participant observation and case studies which sometimes might lead to suspicious attitude on the part of the participants. In order for participants, particularly foreign nationals, to feel safe during the interviews, I had two international students and a student completing a Master's degree in Psychology accompanying me while interviewing South African nationals. This was a preventative measure should the participants have a psychological breakdown.

Table 3

Target population	Number
Foreign nationals	23
Department of Home Affairs officials	1
South Africans	23
South African Police Services officials	4
Total	50

3.7 Data Analysis and Interpretation

Data analysis enables the researcher to organize and bring meaning to a large amount of data (Burns & Grove, 2003). Data collection is the systematic collection of relevant information to

the researcher's sub-problem using methods such as interviews, participant observations, and focus group. Qualitative data analysis involves organizing, accounting for and explaining the data; in short, making sense of data in terms of the participant's definition of the situation, noting patterns, themes, and categories (Cooper & Schneider, 2008).

Content analysis describes a family of analytic approaches ranging from impressionistic, intuitive, interpretive analyses to systematic, strict textual analyses (Rosengren, 1981). The specific type of content analysis approach chosen by a researcher varies with the theoretical and substantive interests of the researcher and the problem being studied (Weber, 1990). Although this flexibility has made content analysis useful for a variety of researchers, the lack of a firm definition and procedures has potentially limited the application of content analysis (Tesch, 1990).

The study used content analysis when analyzing the data from the interviews and the focus groups. The researcher carefully studied and analyzed the answers and tried to find patterns and themes. This was done by analyzing the content of the information gathered.

3.8 Ethical Issues

The researcher was guided by the research ethics of the University of Zululand and the research policy. According to Kumar (2014), most professions have an overall code of conduct that also governs the way they carry out research. The research has an obligation to be ethical, use the information of both the primary and secondary data in a proper manner and ensure that all sources are acknowledged properly to avoid plagiarism.

The researcher must not in any way mislead the participants or provide false information. The researcher reviewed relevant and previous work pertinent to the topic and also reviewed speeches from government officials and politicians on their response to xenophobia and ensured that similar research had not been previously conducted anywhere else.

3.9 Limitations of the Study

The limitations of this study were the fact that it was conducted in the Pietermaritzburg CBD area only and the views and opinions of these residents were considered. Only the perception

of the immigration official at the Pietermaritzburg Department of Home Affairs was used to identify any gaps on part of the government in trying to prevent future xenophobic attacks.

Participants were initially afraid of taking part in the research because they thought they were going to be deported or arrested if they are in the country illegally. I had to convince them and reassure them that this research is for academic purposes only and that their anonymity is guaranteed at all times, so they are free to be honest.

Another limitation of this study was the low response rate from the participants. The participants were reluctant to engage with the researcher in a group setting as they had issues about their safety and possible arrest or detention. Some of the participants wanted the researcher to help them get permits from the Home Affairs Department as they thought the researcher was working for Home Affairs.

3.10 Conclusion

This chapter identified the tools that were used in collecting data. The methodology that was used was appropriate for data collection and analysis. The research methods used were focus group interviews and semi-structured interviews. Ethical issues were considered when this study was conducted, and participants were ensured of voluntary participation.

CHAPTER 4

4.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to present the analysis, research findings, and interpretation of the results. The aim of this research was to assess how the relationship between foreign nationals and South Africans in the Pietermaritzburg CBD has been negatively affected by the inflow of foreign nationals into the area. It is also to look at the xenophobic attacks on foreign nationals by the locals and the measures taken by the Immigration Department within the Department of Home Affairs to control illegal immigration and the South African Police Services (SAPS).

The results are presented through the information gathered from foreign nationals, South Africans, one Home Affairs official from the Immigration Department, and four SAPS officials. Information on how the relationship between South Africans and foreign nationals has been affected by the xenophobic attacks was collected from foreign nationals and South Africans. Information on the measures taken by the government to control illegal immigration was gathered from the Home Affairs officials and South African Police Services officials.

4.2 Analysis and Interpretation of Data

Initially, the researcher wanted to have structured interviews with 23 foreign nationals and 23 South Africans, but the participants were reluctant to be organized into groups because they were skeptical of being interviewed because they were not sure whether the researcher was a journalist or was working for the Department of Home affairs (immigration). Therefore, the researcher had to resort to giving the respondents questionnaires because they were not comfortable with having interviews with the researcher.

Of the 23 questionnaires distributed to foreign nationals only 16 were returned fully completed. Of the 23 distributed to South Africans, only 13 were returned. Trying to interview Immigration Department officials at Home Affairs proved to be difficult because they were always busy and getting hold of them was hard. Apart from this, some of the officials at the department were skeptical of divulging information thinking that they would be reprimanded for giving such information. The researcher however managed to interview one senior immigration official at

the Department of Home Affairs. The researcher then arranged interviews with the officials from the South African Police Services, but they also could not meet with the researcher and preferred to have the questionnaires left with them. The researcher was able to get 4 South African Police Service officials to complete the questionnaires.

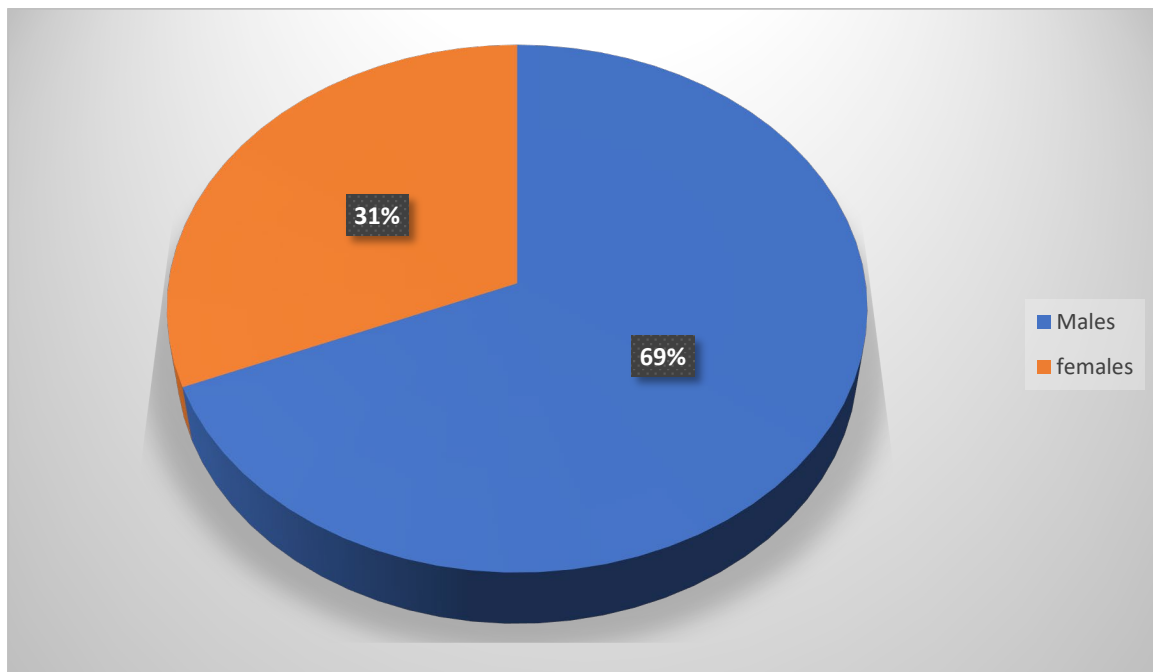
Information on how the inflow of foreign nationals and subsequent xenophobic attacks had affected the relationship between South Africans and foreign nationals collected from **foreign nationals** was analysed and presented as follows:

4.2.1 Biographical Information for Foreign nationals

In the biographical section of the questionnaire, all the respondents who participated in the research were asked to state their gender, age, nationality and how long they had been in South Africa.

Gender

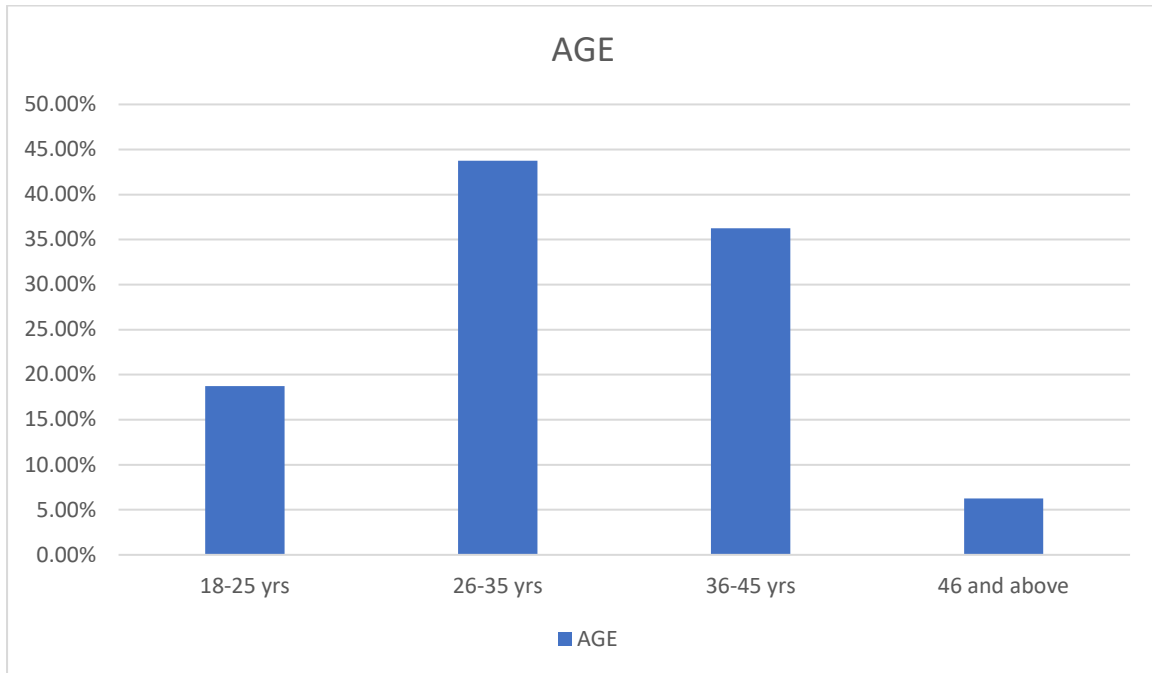
The reason for ascertaining the gender of the respondents was to try and determine the gender of foreign nationals that are in South Africa and the Pietermaritzburg CBD area.



The research 69% of the respondents were males and 31% are females.

Age

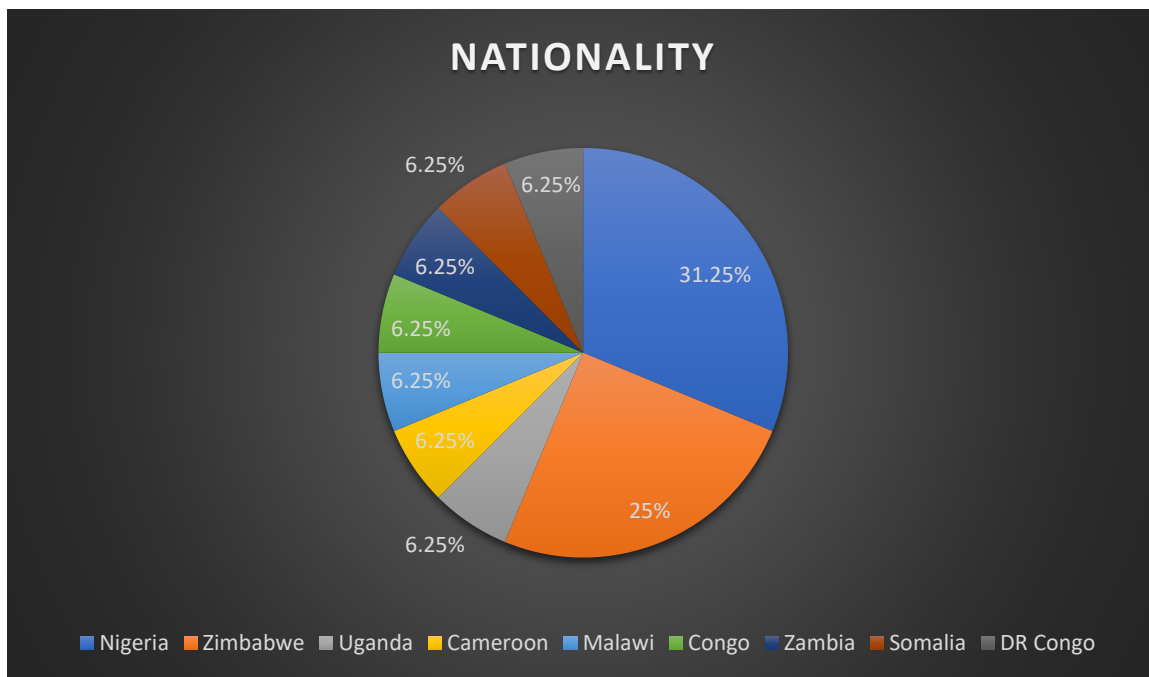
The reason for probing the age of the respondents was to determine the age group that is most likely to migrate to South Africa.



The research findings show that 43.75% of foreign nationals who participated in the study were between the ages of 26-35, and 31% of the respondents were between the ages of 36-45, 18% are aged between 18-25 years and 7% were aged between 46 years and above.

Nationality

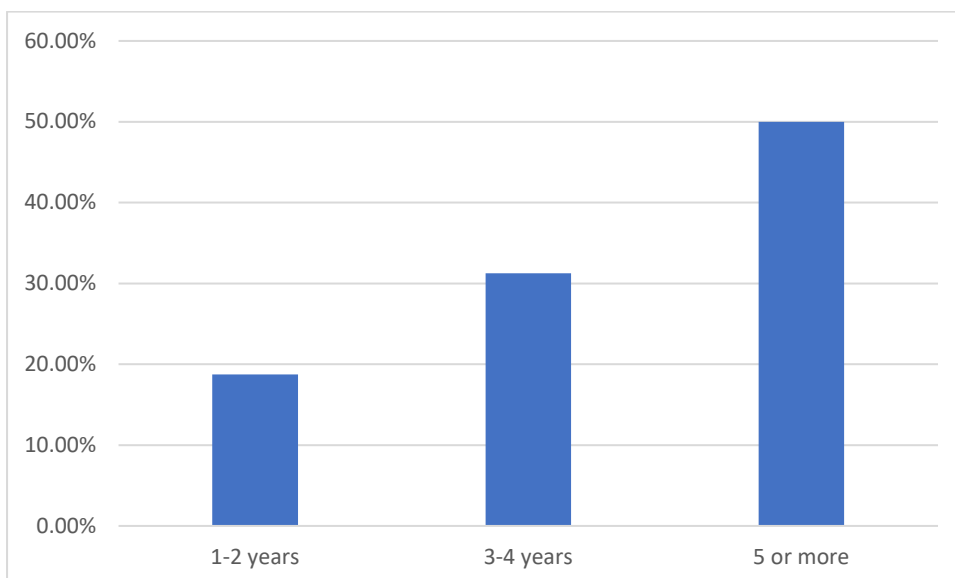
The rationale for probing the nationality of the respondents was to determine which nationality or nationalities are willing to migrate to South Africa.



The research shows that out of all the respondents, 31 % were Nigerians. 25% were from Zimbabwe, 6.25% were from Uganda, 6.25% were from Cameroon, 6.25% from Malawi, 6.25% from Congo, 6.25% Zambia, 6.25% Somali and 6.25% from DR Congo.

Number of years in South Africa

The reason behind probing the number of years the respondents have been in South Africa is to determine how long foreign nationals have been staying in South Africa after migrating.



The research shows that 50% of the respondents have been in South Africa for more than 5 years. This shows that when foreign nationals come into the country, they are likely to stay for a number of years

Section B of the questionnaire included open-ended questions, to determine the reasons for migrating to South Africa, occupations of foreign nationals, and to determine whether the relationship between foreign nationals and South Africans was affected by the xenophobic attacks.

Why did you choose to come to South Africa?

Most of the respondents indicated that they come into South in search of “greener pastures. The respondents claimed that they came to the country in search of better job opportunities, better education and better livelihoods for themselves while supporting families back home. Some claim that they had to come to the country because of political instability in their home countries. This is echoed by Crush et al (2005) who posits that South Africa is attractive to immigrants because of its high standard of living and political freedom.

Most of the female respondents came to South Africa because their husbands were already working in the country; they had to join them after they had left.

What is your occupation?

In determining the occupation of foreign nationals, it would help us understand whether foreign nationals come to South Africa in search of job opportunities or not. Most respondents were professionals particularly in academia while some were working as shop assistants in the CBD. Others owned shops in the CBD. This is because there are a number of higher education institutions in the CBD and most of them are working as lecturers in these institutions (Varsity College, Rosebank College, Damelin etc.).

Several respondents were also students who came to study in South Africa. Some were technicians in cellphone repair shops in the CBD whilst some were not working and were still looking for employment. Others had piece jobs in the construction industry. From the findings of this research it is evident that foreign nationals come into the country because their family or friends who came into the country were working and were successful.

Do you think immigrants are treated fairly by South Africans?

The table below summarizes the answers given by the participants on the above question. The main answers to the question of whether foreign nationals thought they were treated fairly by

South Africans, was ‘yes we are treated fairly, No, we are not treated fairly’, and it depended on the place they were in and the types of people they were interacting with.

Table 4

YES	NO	DEPENDS
4	9	3

Of the 16 participants, only 4 answered yes they felt like they were treated fairly by South Africans, but they felt like the government or government institutions like the Department of Home Affairs officials, the South African Police Services were not treating them fairly when they needed services from the government.

Nine of the 16 participants did not feel like they were treated fairly by South Africans. The participants felt that South Africans treated them unfairly because they were working and they (South Africans) were not working. The participants felt that the animosity that exists between foreign nations and South Africans was exacerbated by the high unemployment rate.

Three of the 16 answered that the treatment they received from South Africans was dependent on the people they were dealing with. They believed that the townships were more dangerous and that once the locals identified that they spoke a different language, they were then stereotyped.

Do you think immigrants contribute to the South African economy?

Foreign nationals who participated in the research believed that they had contributed immensely to the South African economy. They believed that they had contributed to the economy by opening shops in the country where locals were gainfully employed. They also believed that they had contributed to the economy since they worked in all sectors of the economy, the formal, informal and educational sector. They argue that they bring critical skills and occupy high academic positions in universities across South Africa. The participants maintained that they were charged exorbitant rental fees and thus provided income for their landlords.

How were you affected by the xenophobic attacks?

From the 16 participants not all of them had the first-hand experience of xenophobic attacks; they openly stated that although they did not experience the attack, they were then living in

fear: they were always scared and looking over their shoulders as they did not know when the attacks might happen. They were also scared when they were interacting with the local South Africans. One of the participants was quoted saying:

“It is not healthy for the emotional outlook of most immigrants knowing that they could be a victim of a xenophobic attack”.

From the responses of the participants, one can conclude that the psychological or emotional impact of the attacks is much greater than the attacks themselves. Because foreign nationals were then living in fear of insecurity, some answered that they were even scared of interacting with South Africans in public because they could be attacked at any time.

Those who were affected by the attacks were displaced from their relatives; some were detained and others went back home. During the attacks, many of the foreign nationals had to stay at home and skip many days of work as they were scared of being in public.

How have the xenophobic attacks changed the relationship between South Africans and foreign nationals?

The aim of asking how the relationship between the locals and foreign nationals had been affected by the xenophobic attacks was to answer the research question on the effect's xenophobia had on the relationships among the residents of the Pietermaritzburg CBD.

Of the 16 participants, 15 felt that the attacks had led to isolating themselves from South Africans. They were scared of associating with the locals. They also felt paranoid as they felt like they could be attacked at any time. Generally, life had been difficult for them as a result of the xenophobic attacks; one participant went as far as saying:

“The xenophobic attacks have made foreign nationals to hate South Africans and be scared of them at the same time”.

They also believe that attacks on foreign nationals deter even visitors or tourists from coming into the country, as a result of which South Africa's economy, particularly the small and medium industries are affected.

Do you think the government is doing enough to protect you and prevent future xenophobic attacks?

The aim of this question was to try to find ways in which foreign nationals think the xenophobic attacks could be prevented. 14 of the 16 participants were of the view that the government was not doing all it could in protecting them. They blamed some government officials who issued statements that were discriminatory and fueled the attacks. The law enforcement agencies were also not doing enough to prosecute the perpetrators of this violence.

The respondents wanted the government to take strict measures to prevent violence between foreign nationals and South Africans, and that there was a need for more police to protect them. The participants also wanted the government to arrest the locals who violently attacked them.

2 of the 16 participants did not blame the government any way but believed that these attacks were caused by individuals within society. They believed that the government could only do much to protect them; in the end, it would be up to the individual.

Initially the researcher wanted to interview 23 South Africans for this study; however, due to the low participation rate and the reluctance of the participants to participate in the study, and the fact that some questionnaires were returned not fully answered, only 13 questionnaires were returned fully completed.

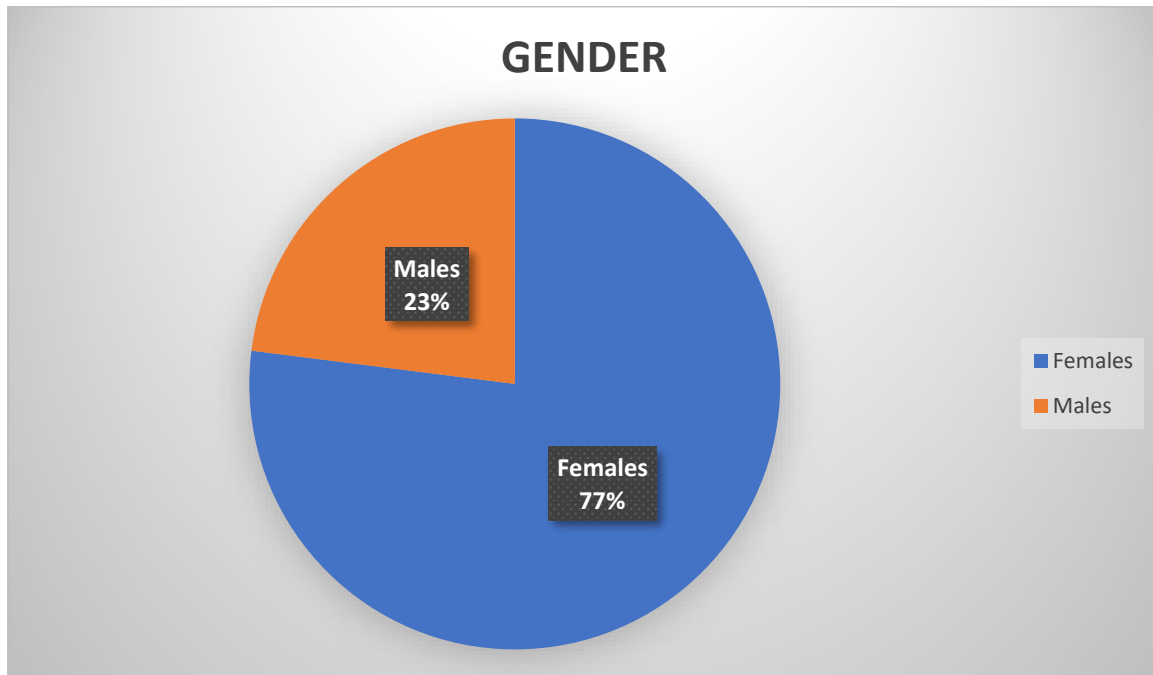
Table 5

	Distributed	returned
Foreign Nationals	23	16
South Africans	23	13
Total	46	29

4.3 Biographical Information for South Africans

Gender

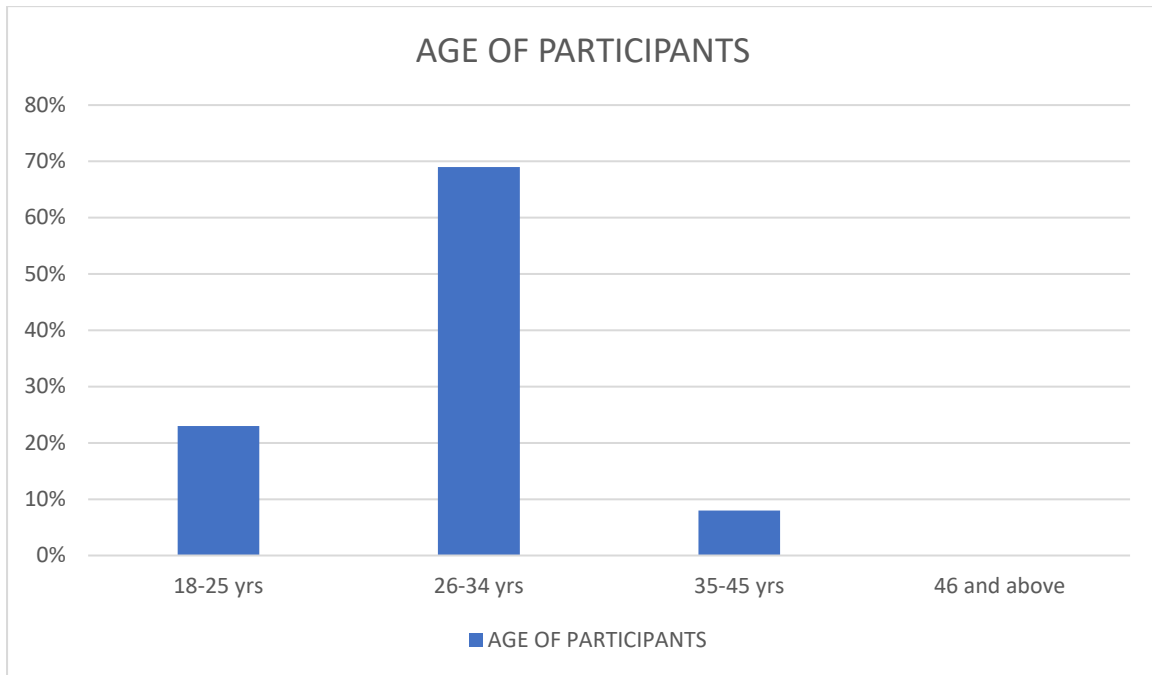
In probing the gender of the participants, the researcher was able to determine which gender was more willing to participate in the study.



The researcher found that 77% of females participated in the study as compared to 23% males.

Age

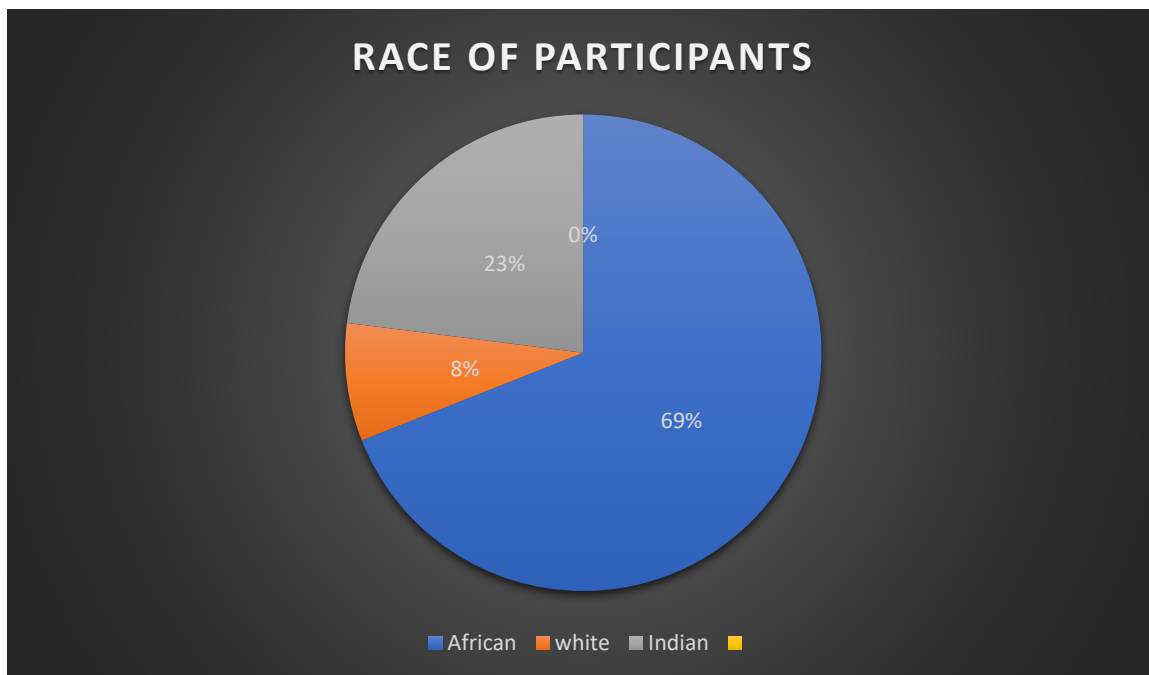
The graph below shows the percentages of the ages of participants who participated in the study.



The research shows that the population of the age group between 25 and 35 years participated in the study, and there were no participants aged 45 and above participated in the study.

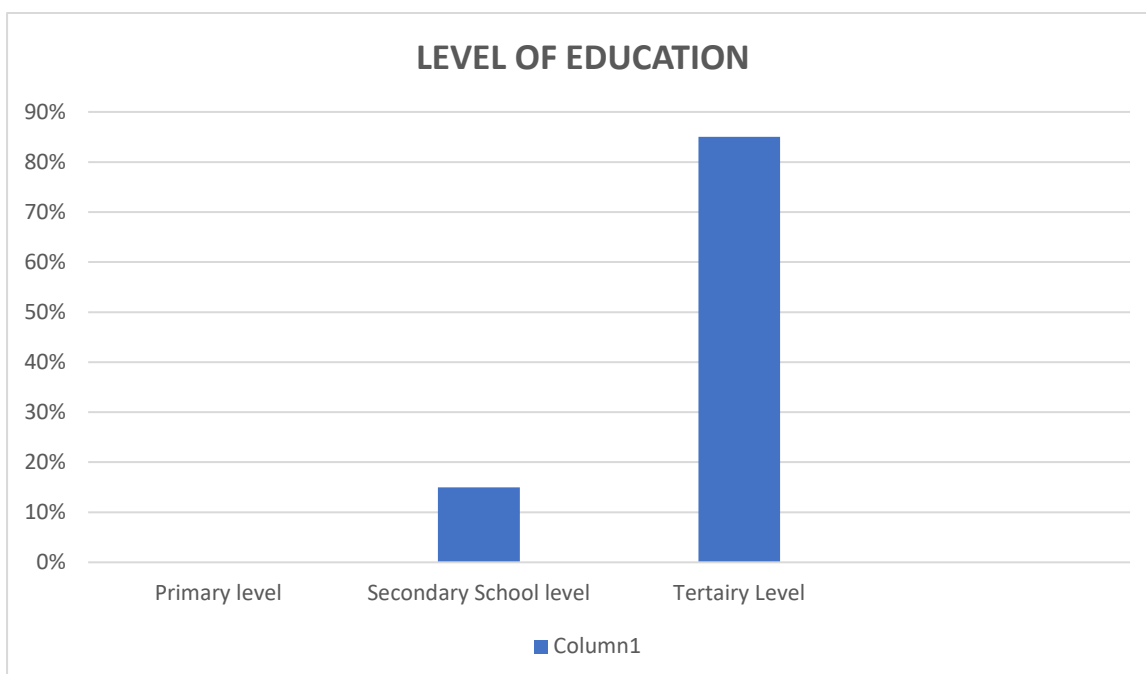
Race

The chart below demonstrates the race of the participants who contributed to the study.



From the research, the researcher found that 69% Africans participated in the study, 23% Indians and 8% Whites participated in the study.

Level of education



The chart above shows that 85% of the South African participants have tertiary level qualifications and only 15% have secondary or high school education.

4.4 Section B.

Open-ended questions

The next section analyzed the open-ended questions administered to participants. The aim was to understand the feelings and perceptions of **South Africans** on xenophobic attacks on the foreign nationals and to understand the effects they thought the attacks had on the relationship between South Africans and foreign nationals.

What do you think are the causes of immigration into Pietermaritzburg?

The common answers and themes from the participants on this question were that most of the participants thought that immigrants came to Pietermaritzburg because they wanted to further their education at the universities in the city such as The University of KwaZulu Natal (Pietermaritzburg Campus) and the Durban University of Technology.

The participants also believed that Pietermaritzburg was appealing to foreign nationals because of being the capital city of KwaZulu Natal, and they came there for better opportunities of employment in the various factories, stores, education and to open small businesses in the city.

The participants also believed that the city had a lot of foreign nationals because the county's laws were not strict and the borders were not protected enough so it was easy for foreign nationals to enter the country, even illegally. Furthermore, the participants believed that most foreign nationals come to the city to join other family members or friends who were prospering in the city.

What are the causes of violent xenophobic attacks on foreign nationals?

The most common answer for the causes of xenophobic attack was the view that foreign nationals come into the country with no proper documentation and thus cannot access legitimate employment. They accepted low wages from employers especially in the construction industry which made them desirable to employers and they were the ones hired over South Africans; hence the animosity from South Africans which then turned into violence due to frustration.

Foreign nationals were viewed by South Africans as the cause of high unemployment and the cause of poverty in most communities. Most participants even said that "they come to steal our jobs". Most foreign nationals came into the city to open small businesses and when these

businesses because the prices that is offered by the foreign nationals are usually cheaper than those charged by the South African business owners and when these businesses thrived the locals were threatened because they saw the foreign nationals prospering while they were living in poverty. The locals believed that these opportunities should instead be available to them.

The participants also viewed foreign nationals as criminals, who came to the city to sell drugs to the youth. They also blamed foreign nationals for the crime in the area. They believed that foreign nationals “steal their women and their wives” because local women were seen as having romantic relationships with foreign nationals. Further to this, the participants also believed that foreign nationals were used as scapegoats for all the socio-economic inequalities that exist in the country.

‘Citizens feel threatened by the presence of foreign nationals, I feel that they are here to take our jobs, they bring drugs to the society, they even lure our wives with material things. They are the cause of poverty in our communities’.

What effects has xenophobia had on the relationship between South Africans and foreign nationals?

From the responses, it is evident that South Africans felt that the relationship between them and foreign nationals had been affected negatively by the xenophobic attacks. The participants considered that the attacks had caused a lot of tension and distrust, as foreign nationals had become skeptical of interacting with the locals.

There was a lot of tension and segregation as foreign nationals were always scared that violence could erupt at any time. The economy had been affected negatively as many businesses had to close due to violence. “The xenophobic attacks have ruined international trade for South Africa and other countries”, said one participant, even foreign investment would decrease as many countries around the world would not want to trade with South Africa.

Has the government done enough to effect changes, in order to prevent future outbreak of xenophobic violence?

The participants did not think the government was doing enough to prevent future xenophobic attacks. They believed the government should be educating South Africans on the values of ubuntu and how to be tolerant and more receptive to foreign nationals in the country. South Africans had to change their mindset on how they view foreign nationals who come to the country that they were not in the country to steal jobs meant for them (South Africans).

The participants also believed that only legal immigrants should be allowed in the country and that immigration policies should be revised in order to stop illegal immigration.

On the issue of foreign nationals accepting low wages, the participants believed that only legal immigrants should be given employment in the country, but they should also be paid less than South Africans.

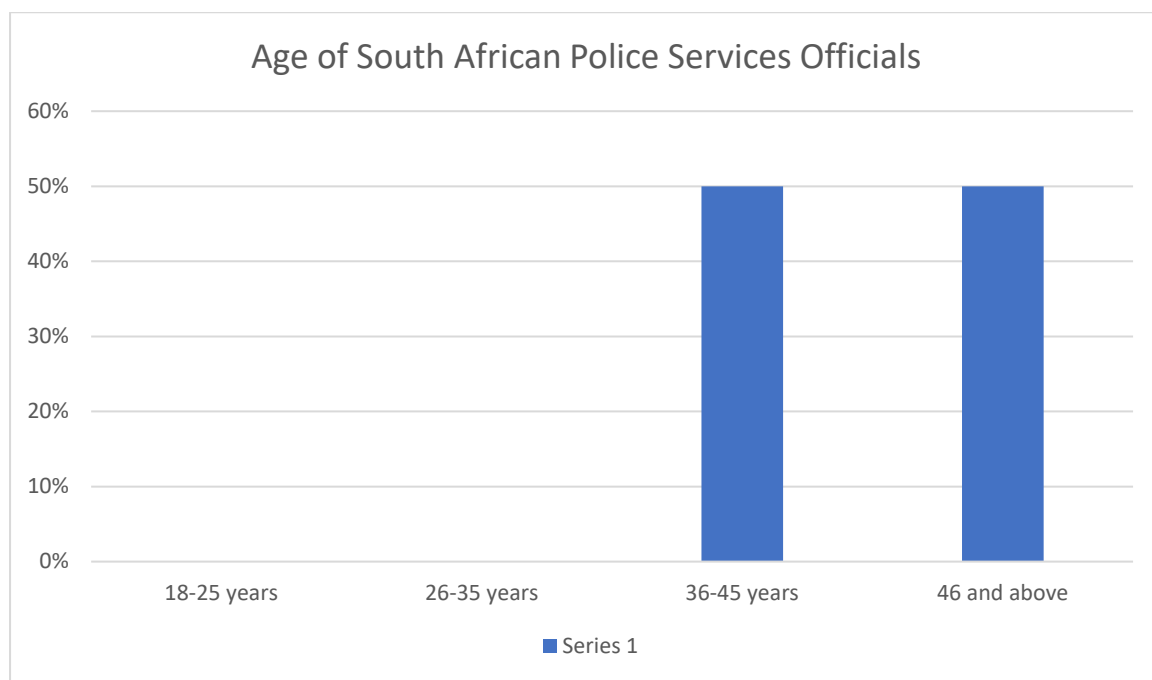
This next section analyzed the data collected from the 4 South African Police Services officials and one immigration official from the Department of Home Affairs.

Initially, the researcher intended on interviewing 4 Home Affairs Immigration officials, but after being given the run around by the officials, the researcher was able to interview one Home Affairs official. The researcher was then obligated to explore a different avenue and handed out questionnaires to 4 South African Police Services officials.

The researcher gathered data from four officers of the South African Police Service, the information was analysed as follows.

Section A Biographical information for the SAPS officials

Age



The above graph shows that the 4 police officials who participated in the study were above the age of 36 as 2 were between the ages of 36 and 45 and the other two were aged between 46 and above.

Gender

The 4 officials who participated in the study (100%) were males.

The next section analyzed the open-ended questions.

What is your occupation in the SAPS?

From the data collected from the officials, there were 2 Warrant Officers and 2 police officials who were deployed at the Crime Prevention Unit of the SAPS.

What measures are in place in your department to deal with immigration in Pietermaritzburg?

The police officials work hand in hand with Immigration Department at Home Affairs. If they arrest an immigrant, they need to work with immigration services to find out if the immigrant has the necessary papers or not. And if the immigrant is in the country illegally, the immigrant is taken to court and the court orders the immigrant to be deported back to their country of origin.

How effective do you think these measures are?

The police officers deem that the measures taken by their department of deporting illegal immigrants are very effective but claim that after they are deported, most of the illegal immigrants come back to the country illegally. They believe that they as police officers and judges of the courts could only do so much. But the national government needs to ensure that the borders are heavily protected to ensure that only legal immigrants can come into the country.

What impact do you think illegal immigration has on the economy?

From the responses, the officials believe that illegal immigrants contribute negatively to the economy as they do not pay any taxes but benefit from the services in the country, which causes violence as the citizens who are poor blame them for all the social ills that exist in the country.

The officers also believe that after the court orders illegal immigrants to be deported, they have to be provided with temporary shelter and food whilst awaiting deportation.

Is the government doing enough to prevent future xenophobic attacks?

The police officials do not believe that the government is doing enough to prevent xenophobic attacks because these attacks keep on resurfacing from time to time. Recently, the truck drivers were attacked by South Africans who believe that foreign nationals are employed in the truck industry as drivers, but they are sitting at home with no employment. The officials believe that the government needs to be strict with the perpetrators of this violence and they should be charged and treated as criminals.

Home Affairs official

The researcher interviewed the control immigration officer at the Department of Home Affairs.

What measures are in place in your department to deal with immigration in Pietermaritzburg?

The Official indicated that they were in charge of gathering information on any illegal immigrants in the city. They investigate, arrest charge and finally deport illegal immigrants. They also have business inspections where they inspect businesses around the city, to check whether the foreign nationals who run businesses have the necessary documentation to run a business.

How effective are these measures?

They found that there was a decrease in the crime rate in some areas where they had raids and inspections of illegal immigrants living in those areas. After inspecting shops and found counterfeit or fake goods being sold, they are able to close them down.

What impact do you think illegal immigration has on the economy?

The response from the official was mainly that foreign nationals come into the country to sell counterfeit goods and expired products which are sold at a very cheap price. Illegal immigrants are mostly employed because they are paid less salary than South Africans. Most of the illegal immigrants can get fraudulent documents.

Is the government doing enough to prevent future xenophobic attacks?

The official responded that they were very understaffed at immigration services; he would love the government to hire and train more immigration officials so that they could be more effective in doing their job. Since they were understaffed it was very hard for them to do operations such as raids and inspections more frequently. The respondent also indicated that the border posts also need to be more protected and more staff from immigration also need to be present at the border posts.

4.4 Discussion of Results

In the previous section, the analysis of responses, including the inferential and descriptive statistics obtained from the analysis of the gathered data was presented. In this section, the discussion of the analysis, with respect to the research objectives and questions of this study is presented. This section also demonstrates how the objectives of this study have been achieved in relation to the existing literature on the subject. In addition, the meanings and implications of the findings obtained from the analysis of the results in relation to the objectives of this study are also presented in this section.

Research objectives

As presented in chapter 1, the following are the objectives of this study:

1. To identify the causes of the high inflow of foreign nationals into Pietermaritzburg CBD area;
2. To examine the causes of the xenophobic attacks on foreign nationals;
3. To assess the roles played by the government in preventing future xenophobic attacks;
and
4. To investigate the effects of xenophobia on the on the social relations among the residents in Pietermaritzburg CBD area

The alignment of the findings in this study, in relation to the objectives of the study is discussed below.

Research Objective 1: Identifying the causes of the high inflow of foreign nationals into Pietermaritzburg CBD area

As a prelude to understanding the causes of xenophobic attacks on foreign nationals and the effects of these attacks on social relations among the residents of Pietermaritzburg, this study set out to investigate the underlying factors that contribute to the high inflow of foreign nationals into Pietermaritzburg and South Africa. This was necessary given the fact that exploring and acquiring a good understanding of the motives and factors behind the foreign nationals' choice of Pietermaritzburg/South Africa as a place to come and live in, in addition to revealing these motives, help the researcher to identify possible areas/sources of conflict. After all, xenophobia in the South African context is largely driven by the locals' resolve to protect their interest, whatever it may be.

The findings from this study and analysis clearly reveal that the major driving factors behind the inflow of foreign nationals into South Africa and Pietermaritzburg are economic, education and general social wellbeing. We provide a concise discussion of each of these below.

- ***Job opportunities and economic factors***

Among other points, the search for job opportunities and “*greener pastures*” featured prominently in the responses provided by the respondents. This was expected for the following reasons among others. The high prospects of employment opportunities offered by Pietermaritzburg when compared to the foreign nationals' home countries coupled with the fact that Pietermaritzburg is the capital city of KwaZulu-Natal province makes the city a choice for foreign nationals who are fleeing economic decline in their home country and in search of greener pastures. Furthermore, Pietermaritzburg has a thriving formal and informal sector that can support small and medium scale businesses thus making the city a centre of attraction for African immigrant entrepreneurs. Immigrant entrepreneurs have been previously shown to contribute to the economic growth and development of South Africa (Kalitanyi & Visser, 2010). Our respondents who were foreign nationals also echoed these views. They believed that the economic activities engaged in by foreign nationals are beneficial to the host country. In their words:

‘Yes, immigrants are contributing to the economy for example by opening private companies and employing South Africans and also contributing to the taxations of this country’.

Further reiterating the notion above was the observed profession or type of job employment engaged in by the respondents. Most were employed in the academic sector while a few were engaged in the informal sector as shop assistants. We also discovered a significant number were business owners/entrepreneurs. Taken together, these point to the fact that the search for better economic and job opportunities is a significant factor contributing to the inflow of African immigrants into Pietermaritzburg and South Africa. This is in line with the observations of Kanayo et al. (2019) who found that economic factors topped the list of pull factors responsible for international migration into South Africa.

- ***Education and study***

According to our findings, education and study is another significant factor driving the inflow of immigrants into South Africa. Both local and foreign respondents believed the aforementioned to be true. However, we believe this cannot be completely separated from the first since gaining requisite training and skills is necessary to gaining befitting employment. This factor is driven by the increase in enrolment into South African tertiary institutions by foreign nationals. Data available on the UNESCO’s Institute for Statistics (UIS) webpage indicates that some 45,334 international/mobile students are currently hosted in South Africa for education at the tertiary level (UNESCO,2015). Additionally, according to IIE’s *Open Doors* report for 2015/16, South Africa was the eleventh leading destination for the United States study abroad participants. These support our findings that the search for better and quality education is a significant factor driving the influx of foreign nationals into South Africa. And since Pietermaritzburg is host to several university campuses including the University of KwaZulu Natal and Durban University of Technology, it is only normal to see a huge influx of foreigners into the city.

The observed prevailing gender (males) and age group (26 – 45 years) of foreign nationals in this study show that this is a young population of males. These also lend some credence to the conclusion that the influx of foreign nationals into Pietermaritzburg is driven by economic and educational factors among others. This is because individuals in this age group, which falls within the working-age, readily migrate in search of better (study or work) opportunities when such is unavailable in their home countries. In 2019 alone, about 74.2% of the global migrant stock, were between the ages of 20 and 64 (United Nations, 2019). Given the demographic and

economic status of Pietermaritzburg as a capital city, as well as the fact that many tertiary institutions are hosted within the city, the city could be perceived by foreigners as a place that furnishes the hopes of actualizing their economy as well as educational aspirations, hence the influx into the city.

- ***Relaxed immigration laws and weak border security***

While these were not cited by the respondents who were foreign nationals in this study, it was a notable response among local respondents. The notion that immigration laws are not stringent enough or the existing laws are not adequately implemented contributes to the inflow of foreign nationals into South Africa was perceived among the local respondents. These views are not entirely new and they have been attributed to a number of factors which include poor and inadequate immigration policy, lack of staff and requisite manpower, corruption, and bribery among officials of the Department of Home Affairs (DHA) (Landau, 2007, Adjai & Lazaridis, 2013).

- ***Family and social networks***

Though a subtle and often ignored factor, family and social networks contribute significantly to influx into South Africa. Both foreign and local respondents in this study alluded to this factor. Foreign respondents who were females noted that their immigration into the country was large because of their spouses. On the other hand, local respondents were of the opinion that foreign nationals usually come to join family and friends who were already in the country and appeared to be doing well. Our findings here are in line with literature which posits that social networks are strong stimulators of migration (Wentzel et al., 2006). And they are strong indications of the role of social networks in fostering migration, in this case, into South Africa.

Research Objective 2: Causes of the xenophobic attacks on foreign nationals

Xenophobia in South Africa is expressed as negative attitudes towards immigrants, but it also occurs in xenophobic practices such as discrimination, exploitation, and violence. Several attempts have been made and different explanations proposed for the presence and severity of xenophobic attitudes and practices in South Africa. One of the objectives of this study is to evince the underlying causes of this behaviour towards foreign nationals among South Africans. We recognize that a broad and complex spectrum of social and economic factors interact to bring about these behaviours, and these even vary among individuals or groups of

individuals, hence one or a few isolated causes cannot be portrayed as the sole determinants or driving factor for xenophobia. However, from the analysis of our findings, we have identified several socio-economic factors that are responsible and predisposing to xenophobic behaviours. These include economic inequality, unemployment, poverty and perceived threat to social position and civic rights.

The most conspicuous motive advanced for the socioeconomic causes of xenophobia are unemployment, poverty and inadequate or lack of social service delivery. Though respondents threw up concerns about illegal migration and lack of proper documentation among many of these foreign nationals, this was mainly an attempt to justify the xenophobic attitude. The perception that foreign nationals are responsible for the high, and still increasing, unemployment rates in South Africa is evident in the recurrent statement... *“they come to steal our jobs”*. Foreign nationals are seen as taking up jobs that otherwise would have been allotted to a South African. This perception is reflected in a comment by a former Minister of Home Affairs, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who said:

“...the employment of illegal migrants is unpatriotic because it deprives South Africans of jobs ... the rising level of migrants has awesome implications for RDP as they will be absorbing unacceptable proportions of housing subsidies and adding to the difficulties, we will be experiencing in health care...” (Reitzes, 1994)

A notable scenario of perceived economic deprivation is in the establishment of small and medium scale businesses. Locals believe they are deprived of opportunities when foreign nationals set up small businesses in cities and thrive thus leaving them with nothing but poverty. Speaking on the view that South Africans perceive small businesses owned by immigrants as a threat, the South African Broadcasting Corporation's (SABC) Special Assignment program (2006) noted about Somali shop owners:

“...it's in the marketplaces that hostility towards the Somalis plays out. Their asylum status in South Africa means they can't get formal jobs, so they have to make it in the informal sector. This brings them into direct competition with other poor South Africans also trying to eke out a living...”

All these lead to frustration among locals who then turn on immigrants using them as scapegoats for their feelings of discontent (Tshitereke, 1999; Esses et al., 2001; Harris, 2002; Odiaka, 2017). Our findings align with previous observations and arguments which highlight the role of competition between foreign nationals and locals for the limited job and economic

opportunities as one of the underlying cause of xenophobic violence (McKnight, 2008, Bekker, 2010; Choane et al., 2011; Misago, 2012). In view of the above, xenophobic violence in South Africa can be explained by the relative deprivation theory. The *Relative Deprivation Theory* based on the concept that dissatisfied people who feel they are being deprived of a desirable thing considered essential in their society—in this context, employment and socioeconomic stability—will organize or join social actions/movements dedicated to obtaining the things of which they feel deprived (Walker & Pettigrew, 1984).

Another obvious view, though previously reported in the literature (Landau, 2011), that we found as an underlying factor contributing to the resentment and xenophobic disposition towards immigrants is the equation of foreign nationals/migrants with crime. Though not outrightly expressed in words directly by local participants in this study including SAPS and DHA officials, a number of comments and accounts of actions carried out point to a deep seated perception that most foreign nationals are in the country illegally and are engaged in criminal activities, hence they have to be alienated. These findings clearly support previous arguments that link foreign settlers with crime as a factor contributing to anti-immigrant dispositions of South Africans (Landau, 2011). Many statements that portray immigrants as criminals have been credited to many government officials including the SAPS and DHA (Adjai & Lazaridis, 2013; Blaser Mapitsa, 2018; Heleta, 2019).

Research Objective 3: The role of government in preventing future xenophobic attacks

Xenophobia, which is manifested in the form of violent attacks, hostility and other forms of exclusionary attitudes towards foreign nationals especially Black Africans, is a great human right challenge and social ill in South Africa with far-reaching and dire consequences. The South African Government and its agencies have been seen to take some conscious measures to ensure prompt responses and intervention to combat and prevent the reoccurrence of these attacks on foreigners. Recognizing that xenophobia is a complex phenomenon, concerted efforts cutting across many government institutions are made to ensure success in the fight against xenophobia. Among the government agencies involved, and were considered in this study, are the South African Police Services (SAPS) and the Department of Home Affairs. However, considering the reoccurrence of xenophobic behaviour as recent as 2019; there is an urgent need to investigate and evaluate if government efforts in tackling xenophobic attacks are effective or successful.

We found that both locals and foreign respondents agree that the government is not doing enough to curb the menace of xenophobic violence. Locals are of the view that the South African government needs to engage actively in the education of the masses to enlighten them on the need to be tolerant. Foreign nationals, on the other hand, believe that the government must address the issue by taking tough stands with perpetrators of xenophobic violence. They also blamed some of the xenophobic violence on some government officials who make discriminatory and inflammatory statements, in a bid to use identity as a fulcrum to exercise economic and political power (Misago, 2012), thus sparking these violent attacks.

These findings align with the arguments of Blaser Mapitsa (2018) and Heleta (2019) who suggested the existence of a link between politics and governance at local level and xenophobia. National government and relevant local authorities have thus far either tended to ignore the problem or categorise violence against foreign nationals and other outsiders as normal crime with no need for more specific or more targeted interventions. Although well intentioned, civil society efforts to foster peaceful. Concerns were also raised on the need for more feasible anti-xenophobia and pro-migrant policies and laws to be developed, enacted and implemented. Similar views have been made by Breen and Nel (2016) and Naidoo (2016) who decried the lack of specific legislation and laws that directly address hate crimes and xenophobia in South Africa.

- ***South African Police Service***

In line with its mandate and responsibilities as laid down in the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (1996) and the South African Police Service Act, 1995 (Act 68 of 1995), and as amended by the South African Police Service Amendment Act, (Act 57 of 2008), the SAPS polices, arrests and prosecutes criminal offenders among other duties. In combating xenophobic violence, the SAPS is mandated to arrest and prosecute perpetrators of criminal actions that are targeted at foreigners such as physical violent attacks, targeted robberies, looting and destruction of properties and businesses. These roles are either performed independently or by working with the immigration officials from DHA. Though a previous report suggests that some government efforts through SAPS have yielded some positive results (Polzer & Takabvirwa, 2010) and this was also noted by respondents in this study.

There are many examples where the police have responded quickly and decisively to early signs of violence, stopping its spread, arresting people inciting and perpetrating violence, and

assisting foreign nationals to protect lives and belongings. Senior police officers at provincial and sector level have made their cell phone numbers public in order to facilitate fast responses to threats and attacks (Polzer & Takabvirwa, 2010).

However, the resurgence of violent xenophobic attacks makes it necessary to revisit the role of SAPS in preventing future attacks. Our respondents expressed concerns suggesting that not enough is being done by the government since these attacks continue to resurface.

While arrests and deportations may help to reduce the number of illegal immigrants in the Republic, taking strict prosecution stands against instigators and perpetrators of xenophobic violence is necessary to curb the menace. Furthermore, it was evident from our analysis that participants recognize that there's an urgent need to heighten patrol and security at the country's borders and ports of entry to check the influx of illegal immigrants.

Immigrant respondents in this study expressed concerns that they are not being protected enough. This is an accusing finger directed at the SAPS since they are saddled with the mandate of protecting the populace, citizens and migrants alike. Similar findings have been made with SAPS officials reported to being xenophobic (Adjai & Lazaridis, 2013). They have been reported to routinely confiscate and destroy refugees' authentic documents in order to justify arresting them as illegal migrants (Nduru, 2005, August). These attitudes, as noted by Adjai and Lazaridis (2013), are grounded on the myth that migrants are the main perpetrators of crime and arresting them is one of the measures taken by the police to reassure the population that steps are being taken to address the high levels of crime in the country.

- ***Department of Home Affairs***

The DHA derives its constitutional and legislative mandates from the Constitution and various acts of the South African Parliament and policy documents. The department's services are divided into two major categories namely: civic services and immigration services. The primary mandate of the department is to secure and manage identity and international migration through the delivery of enabling services to all citizens, foreign nationals, government and the private sector. The role of the DHA in the regulation of immigration is captioned in a section of her mission statement:

...the regulation of immigration to ensure security, promote the development and fulfil our international obligations... Department of Home Affairs (2014).

In line with their mandate, the DHA is saddled with the identification and deportation of foreign nationals who do not possess the necessary papers/permits to reside in the country. Since the high number of illegal immigrants in the country contributes or is often cited as a factor to resentments, which in the long run triggers xenophobic violence, this role of the DHA is supposed to help mitigate the resurgence of violence against foreign nationals. However, as noted by Choane et al. (2011), institutional discrimination and the complacency in the discharge of duty including the laxity of the DHA to grant asylum seekers refugee status, among others, have continued to stand in the way of making progress thus leaving xenophobic attacks largely unabated. In this study, the DHA official raised other issues that allude to the inadequacy of government efforts to enable the department to carry out the discharge of its duties and mandates effectively.

Understaffing, which translates to a shortage of requisite manpower to effectively discharge their duty was highlighted. In an effort to fish out illegal migrants in the Republic, frequent intelligence gathering, and raids are required. The Department of Home Affairs Immigration Department is highly understaffed with the Pietermaritzburg office only having 4 Immigration officials. Another concern was the proper border patrol and security which was also raised by SAPS officials. These findings are similar to those reported by Landau (2007) and Adjai and Lazaridis (2013). Participants in this study were of the opinion that these are areas that the government must focus on and channel financial and human resources to curb the influx of illegal migrants into South Africa.

On the culpability of government officials and agencies in fuelling anti-immigrant behaviour and xenophobia, the DHA has not been spared. The view, expressed by local and foreign participants in this study, that government agencies are not doing enough could also be stemming from the perceived corrupt practices and unethical/unprofessional behaviours of officials of the DHA. Choane et al. (2011) earlier pointed out that the unsatisfactory manner in which the department responds to immigration problems prompts locals in the communities into believing that they could take their own actions against foreign migrants. Immigration officers are also accused of using excessive force, engaging in acts of bribery and abusing the human rights of migrants (Adjai & Lazaridis, 2013). The officials are accused of demanding money from foreign nationals and accepting bribes.

Research Objective 4: The effects of xenophobia on the economy and businesses in the Pietermaritzburg CBD area

The perpetuation of xenophobic violence does not only affect the social spheres of society but also comprise a core attribute of human rights violation, loss of economic activities and displacement of people thus compounding the already worse humanitarian crisis and services (Choane et al., 2011). Several consequences of xenophobia were expressed and revealed by migrant and local respondents as well as the outcome of the analysis of our findings in this study. These included but were not limited to, economic, emotional and social effects. Most migrant participants expressed living in persistent fear as they do not know where and when these attacks might occur again. This has led them to try to avoid locals and isolate themselves and only interacting with South Africans when it is absolutely necessary. The view about South Africans in the wake of these violent attacks is highlighted by one of the participants as below:

“...the xenophobic attacks have made foreign nationals to hate South Africans and be scared of them at the same time...”

On the other hand, local respondents, also agreeing that these xenophobic attacks have impacted negatively on the socioeconomic relationship between South Africans and migrants, pointed out that there’s a heightened feeling of animosity, distrust and tension between locals and migrants. These have led to foreign nationals not being readily disposed to interacting with South Africans as would be expected.

Touching on the economic implications, both immigrant and local respondents raised concerns over the economic impact of xenophobia.

‘I think immigrants contribute positively to the economy of South Africa because they are business owners who even employ locals.’

‘foreigners come into the country to steal our jobs’.

As a result of the violence, properties are destroyed and lost, businesses remain closed and economic activities wind down. Migrant entrepreneurs who survived the attack pick up whatever they are left with and leave the country. Those who remain are left with nothing to survive on thus further deepening the rate of poverty and hardship in the country. Another angle

to the economic implications is the discouraging effect xenophobic violence has on potential foreign investors.

Trade relations with foreign countries are threatened in the wake of these attacks, especially countries whose nationals are directly affected in the violence. Uadiale (2008) and Nkwede (2019) already expressed this concern when they noted that foreign investors, who had intentions to invest in South Africa would divert their resources.

(Benson,2019) In Nigeria, people are outraged and have called for reprisal attacks on South African-owned enterprises. On Twitter, for instance, where clips and images of people being burnt alive have trended, Nigerians are demanding for a complete boycott of South-African businesses in Nigeria; specifically, the likes of **MTN**, **Shoprite**, and **DSTV**, etc. These companies operate peacefully in Nigeria where they make billions and remit to South Africa, whereas Nigerian traders are slaughtered ever so often, and their shops looted.

4.5 Conclusion

This chapter discussed the findings in light of the research objectives. In addition, it presented how the research objectives have been achieved through the analysis of the data. Accordingly, the main findings and conclusions of this study are as follows;

- The search for a job and economic opportunities, i.e. better socioeconomic life as well as quality higher/tertiary education are the main pull factors responsible for the influx of immigrants into Pietermaritzburg city and South Africa.
- In addition to socioeconomic factors, local politics including the struggle to gain political and economic influence foster internal mechanisms that continue to cause the resurgence of violent xenophobic attacks. The attitude of officials of government agencies, like the SAPS and DHA, towards foreign nationals also contributes to xenophobic resentments.
- With respect to government efforts to avert the reoccurrence of these violent attacks, more needs to be done, as the recent escalations are clear indications that whatever current measures have been put in place are not effective enough. Government attention has to be drawn to the prosecution of instigators and perpetrators of xenophobic attacks

while more resources must be channelled into the SAPS and DHA to enable effective discharge of their duties.

- Finally, xenophobia has put a strain on the socioeconomic relationships between foreign nationals and locals in Pietermaritzburg thus adversely affecting social and economic life. It has also led to a reduction in economic activities thus slowing down the economic growth that is much desired to enhance the quality of life of both locals and migrants within the city and surrounding townships.

Chapter 5

5.1 Introduction

The previous chapter presented the data collected by the researcher and was analysed. The chapter also included discussions of the findings of the study. It also presented how the objectives of the study were achieved through the data analysis. This chapter includes the summary of chapters one to four, recommendations and the conclusion.

5.2 Summary of Chapters

The first chapter introduces the topic and gives background information on xenophobia in South Africa and precisely the CBD area of Pietermaritzburg; it also proceeds to state that xenophobic attack is not a new phenomenon in South Africa but can be traced back to when gold was first discovered in the country. The chapter also discussed the background of the study, the problem statement and the objectives of the study. In addition, the chapter also included the significance of the study and the research methodology employed in the study.

The second chapter reviewed the pieces of literature on xenophobia; starting with the history of xenophobia in South Africa as well as the features of xenophobia. It also included the theoretical and legislative framework employed in the study. Furthermore, it discussed xenophobia and Afrophobia and concluded that the attacks in South Africa show features of Afrophobia instead of xenophobia because the violence is mostly aimed at African foreign nationals and not at foreign nationals from other countries.

Chapter 3 discussed the research methodology that was employed in this study. The study used the qualitative research method approach and used purposive sampling in choosing the participants of the study, because the study was focused on foreign nationals. Initially, the researcher distributed 50 questionnaires. The questionnaires were distributed in around the CBD area where most of the foreign nationals operate their businesses.

The researcher went door to door asking for participation in the study and ensuring that the participants were aware of the fact that their participation in this study was for academic

purposes only and that their anonymity is guaranteed. Of the 50 questionnaires, 34 were returned by the participants. 16 questionnaires were not returned by the participants, this could be because the issue is very sensitive, and some participants were unsure if the researcher was working for the Department of Home Affairs or was a journalist.

Chapter 4 provided the analyses of the data collected and the discussion of the findings and how the research objectives were achieved. This chapter presented the findings of the research and analysed the questionnaires distributed to foreign nationals and South Africans, it also analysed the interviews held with the Department of Home Affairs Immigration official and the questionnaires distributed to the South African Police Services official. It also presented a discussion of the findings concerning the objectives of the study. The findings of this study showed that the relationship between South Africans and foreign nationals is strained because of the xenophobic attacks, South Africans blame the government for not implementing measures that would deter illegal immigrants from entering the country. The Department of Home Affairs Immigration section is understaffed and cannot fully perform its duties. The government is urged to increase the number of Immigration officials at the Department of Home Affairs to help the department manage immigration effectively and decrease the number of illegal immigrants in the country.

5.3 Recommendations

The findings of this study reveal that xenophobic attacks on foreign national residents in the Pietermaritzburg CBD area have had a negative impact on the relationship between South Africans and the foreign nationals in the area; from this research it is recommended that:

1. The government institutions, namely, the Department of Home Affairs, The South African Police Service should design and implement laws that will eliminate the high rate of illegal immigration into South Africa. The institutions must ensure that there is proper implementation of the laws and policies that control immigration.
2. The Department of Home Affairs should have programs that will teach local communities about living with people from different parts of the world and the importance of accommodating foreign nationals into the communities. They could introduce social cohesion programs where they go to communities and teach community members on the importance of social cohesion and how to integrate and

'live' peacefully with foreign nationals. And to encourage the locals to learn to cohabit peacefully with foreign nationals in their communities.

3. The Department of Home Affairs (Immigration Department) from the view of this research is understaffed; this, therefore, makes it hard for the department to work efficiently. Hiring more officials in the immigration department is encouraged as this will make it easier for the department to carry out its responsibilities. Increase in officials protecting the border posts, more South African Police Services (SAPS) and Home Affairs officials.
4. The South African Police Services (SAPS) must work hard in ensuring that the perpetrators or instigators of the xenophobic violence are punished accordingly. This will set an example and deter those who will also commit these crimes in the future and decrease more occurrences of the xenophobic attacks.
5. The findings in this research showed that foreign nationals were not being treated fairly by officials from the South African Police Services (SAPS) and the Department of Home Affairs when they require services in different departments. Officials are encouraged to treat foreign nationals fairly and with the respect that they deserve.
6. The deportation of illegal immigrants to their home countries and issuing of permits those who can prove that they can support themselves, will help in ensuring that the number of illegal migrants in the country is decreased and also deter those who wish to come into the country illegally.
7. South African employers who employ illegal immigrants should be prosecuted. The Department of Labour should put measures in place to check employees in various sectors and as well check if they have the necessary papers or permits to be in the country legally.

5.4 Future Research

The findings of this study make it possible for further research on the impact of the xenophobic attacks, and to look at the contributions made by foreign nationals in both the formal and the informal economy of South Africa.

5.5 Conclusion

The aim of this study was to find out if the xenophobic attacks have had an impact on the relationship between South Africans and foreign nationals. The findings from this study indicated that the animosity between South Africans and foreign nationals is caused mainly by the employment of foreign nationals in the formal and informal sectors. This is because South African employers prefer foreign nationals because they can pay them lower salaries than they would have to pay South African employees. South Africans blamed the high unemployment rate on foreign nationals. Which then leads to the outbreak of violence. Foreign nationals are constantly looking over their shoulders as they always expect to be attacked anytime. This has caused a strain on the relationship as foreign nationals try to avoid any association whatsoever with the locals.

The findings from this research revealed that The Department of Home Affairs is highly understaffed which makes it difficult for the department to carry out its duties fully. The government is encouraged to increase immigration officials at the department as this will enable the department to manage immigration. An increase in law enforcement agencies at the border posts will help to decrease the number of illegal immigrants who come into South Africa illegally.

From this research it is evident that foreign nationals leave their home countries and come to South Africa in search of better lives, better economic opportunities, to study in institutions of higher learning and search for jobs. Many leave their countries because of poverty, political instability and lack of economic opportunities. And come to South Africa in search of a better livelihood.

The government should ensure that there are strict measures in place to curb illegal immigration and that foreign nationals that enter the country do so legally. There is a need for the borders to be more protected, an increase in the staff at the Department of Home Affairs (Immigration Department), illegal immigrants need to be deported or encouraged to obtain the necessary permits. Perpetrators of xenophobic violence should be prosecuted; this will help to deter and stop future attacks.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Ethical clearance certificate

UNIVERSITY OF ZULULAND

RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE Website:

(Reg No: UZREC 171110-030) Private Bag X1001

RESEARCH & INNOVATION



<http://www.unizulu.ac.za>

KwaDlangezwa 3886

Tel: 035 902 6731

Fax: 035 902 6222

Email: DlelanaM@unizulu.ac.za

ETHICAL CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE

Certificate Number	UZREC 171110-030 PGM 2018/545						
Project Title	THE INFLOW OF FOREIGN NATIONALS AND XENOPHOBIC ATTACKS, AN ASSESSMENT OF ITS EFFECTS ON SOCIOECONOMIC RELATIONS AMONG RESIDENTS OF THE PIETERMARITZBURG CBD AREA, SOUTH AFRICA						
Principal Researcher/ Investigator	N. Dladla						
Supervisor and Cosupervisor	Dr TC Adetiba						
Department	Public Administration						
Faculty	CAL						
Type of Risk	Med Risk — Data collection from people						
Nature of Project	Honours/4 th Year		Master's	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	Doctorat		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 1 year from the date of issue.
 - (2) Principal researcher must provide an annual report to the UZREC in the prescribed format (due date-24 September 2020)
 - (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.

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4 sso ejd6n De wet i person: University Research
Ethics Committee

Deputy Vice-Chancellor: Research & Innovation

25 September 2019



<p style="text-align: center;">CHAIRPERSON UNIVERSITY OF ZULULAND RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (UZREC) REG NO: UZREC 171110-30 26 -09- 2019 RESEARCH & INNOVATION OFFICE</p>
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Appendix B: Questionnaires



INFORMED CONSENT DECLARATION

(Participation)

Project Title: The inflow of foreign nationals and the xenophobic attacks, an assessment of its effects on social relations among the residents of the Pietermaritzburg CBD, South Africa

Noluthando Dladla from the Department of Public Administration at the University of Zululand has requested my permission to participate in the above-mentioned 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:

1. The purpose of the research project is only for academic purposes
2. The University of Zululand has given ethical clearance to this research project and I have seen/may request to see the clearance certificate.
3. By participating in this research project, I will be contributing towards helping raise awareness on the effects of the xenophobic violence on social relations in the Pietermaritzburg CBD area.
4. I will participate in the project by completing the questionnaires
5. 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

6. I will not be compensated for participating in the research
7. There may be risks associated with my participation in the project. I am aware that:
 - a.) The following risks are with my participation: Expressing my views on the matter may elicit feelings of discomfort.
 - b.) The following steps have been taken to prevent the risks: The researcher will allow a moment of debriefing after the interview; where I will talk about how I felt expressing my views on the subject matter.

The participants were asked if they felt in anyway uncomfortable when answering any of the questions.

- c.) There is a 10 % chance of the risk materialising
8. The researcher intends publishing the research results in the form of articles in journals however, confidentially 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.
9. I will receive feedback in the form of verbal feedback recorded on the tape recorder
Regarding the results obtained during the interview.
10. Any further questions that I might have concerning the research, or my participation will be answered by the researcher.
11. By signing this informed consent declaration, I am not waiving any legal claims, rights or remedies.
12. A copy of this informed consent declaration will be given to me, and the original will be kept on record.

I.....read the above information confirm that the above informed 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

Appendix B:

The inflow of foreign nationals and the xenophobic attacks, an assessment of its effects on social relations among the residents of the Pietermaritzburg CBD area, South Africa.

Supervisor

Researcher

Dr T C Adetiba

Miss Noluthando Dladla

0833548229

I am Noluthando Dladla, a master's degree candidate at the department of Public Administration at the University of Zululand. I would like you to participate in my research project titled the inflow of foreign nationals and xenophobic attacks "an assessment of its effects on social relations among the residents of the Pietermaritzburg CBD area, South Africa".

I require your participation in this study as respondents to my research questions. Please be advised that your participation in this study is completely voluntary and note that there will be no monetary gain from participating in this research.

Your privacy and confidentiality are guaranteed; you may refuse to participate or withdraw at any time.

Researcher: Noluthando Dladla (201318666)

Questionnaire

Section A

1. Gender

Female [] Male []

2. Age

18-25 [] 26-35 [] 36-45 [] 46 and above []

3. Nationality

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4. Number of years in South Africa

1-2years [] 3-4 years [] 5or more years []

Section B

1. WHY DID YOU CHOOSE TO COME TO SOUTH AFRICA?

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2. What is your occupation?

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3. Do you think that immigrants are treated fairly by South Africans?

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4. Do you think immigrants are contributing to the economy?

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5. How were you affected by the xenophobic attacks?

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6. **How has the xenophobic attacks changed the relationship between South Africans and foreign nationals?**

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7. **Do you think the government is doing enough to protect you and prevent future xenophobic attacks?**

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Appendix B

The inflow of foreign nationals and xenophobic attacks, “as assessment of its effect on social relations among the residents of the Pietermaritzburg CBD area, South Africa”

Please fill in the following questionnaire. This is an academic research and will be used for academic purposes only, therefore your confidentiality is guaranteed.

INSTRUCTIONS

This questionnaire is divided into two sections. Please complete both sections.

- Mark your answers with an **X** on the relevant box.
- Support your arguments and express your opinions in the space provided.

Focus group questionnaire for South Africans

Section A

Gender

Female Male

Age

18-25 25-35 35-45 45-65

Race Black White Indian Coloured Other

Level of education

Primary School	Secondary School	Tertiary Education
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SECTION B

1.) What do you think are the causes of immigration into Pietermaritzburg?

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2. What are the causes of xenophobic violence against foreign nationals?

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3. What Effects has xenophobia had on the relationship between South Africans and foreign nationals, and the economy of Pietermaritzburg?

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4. Has the government done enough to effect changes, in order to prevent future outbreaks of xenophobic violence?

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The end: Thank you for your participation

Questionnaire Guide for South African Polices Services Officials

Section A

1. Age

18-25 years [] 26-35 [] 36-45 [] 46 and above []

2. Gender

Female [] Male []

Section B

1. **What is your occupation in the SAPS?**

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2. **What measures are in place by your department to deal with immigration in Pietermaritzburg?**

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3. **How effective are these measures?**

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4. What impact do you think illegal immigration has on the economy?

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5. Is the government doing enough to prevent future xenophobic attacks?

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Questionnaire Guide for South African Polices Services Officials

Section A

3. Age

18-25 years [] 26-35 [] 36-45 [] 46 and above []

4. Gender

Female [] Male []

Section B

6. **What is your occupation in the SAPS?**

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7. **What measures are in place by your department to deal with immigration in Pietermaritzburg?**

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8. **How effective are these measures?**

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9. What impact do you think illegal immigration has on the economy?

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10. Is the government doing enough to prevent future xenophobic attacks?

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