

**THE INFLUENCES OF XENOPHOBIA ON SOCIAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL
WELLBEING OF BLACK NON-SOUTH AFRICANS IN SOUTH AFRICA**

BY

VUSI CLEARANCE MATHE

**SUBMITTED IN FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENT FOR THE DOCTOR OF
PHILOSOPHY**

DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY

UNIVERSITY OF ZULULAND

KWA DLANGEZWA

SOUTH AFRICA

AUGUST 2020

SUPERVISOR: PROF DR NZIMA

CO-SUPERVISOR: PROF JD THWALA

DECLARATION

I Vusi Clearance Mathe declare that this thesis titled:

‘The influences of Xenophobia on Social and Psychological wellbeing of black non-South Africans in South Africa’ is my own work and that all sources quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of references.

Signed _____

V.C. Mathe

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to all black non-South Africans and local people who are currently living in South Africa, and those who have lost their relatives due to xenophobic attacks which took place in May 2008. All those who have already passed on, may their souls rest in peace. It is also dedicated to all those children who lost their parents and everyone who lost their family members because of xenophobia. A special dedication goes to my colleagues who are black non-South Africans living in South Africa.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to express my sincere gratitude to the following for their assistance towards completing this thesis:

- God almighty for being my pillar of strength and for giving me good health to complete my thesis.
- My supervisors, Prof D.R. Nzima and Prof J.D. Thwala who have supported me. They offered much advice and insight throughout the preparation of my thesis.
- The research participants and their family members for making the study possible.
- My wife, my children and all family members and friends for their faith in education.

ABSTRACT

Background: The violent incidents continued to occur throughout South Africa, with traumatic attacks reported in six other provinces in 2008. The South African Red Cross Society (SARCS) mobilized hundreds of volunteers and staff from 35 local branches throughout the country in order to provide relief to those affected by the violence. In a briefing of the diplomatic community by the Minister of Safety and Security in Pretoria in 2008, it was stated that there over 4,661 incidents and that 519 people had been arrested. The study sample comprised 69 research participants who

were targeted at the University of Zululand, and foreigners who were found in rural and urban areas which were hardest hit by xenophobia in the past two to three years. It comprised of 22 males and 47 females.

Aims: The study investigated the influences of xenophobia on social and psychological wellbeing of black non-South Africans in South Africa. The aim of the study was to determine the influences of xenophobia on the psychological wellbeing of black non-South Africans.

Method: In this study, the researcher used qualitative and descriptive survey research to explore and describe the experiences of people who have experienced xenophobic attacks in South Africa. Data was collected through an interview schedule. Responses from the research participants were analysed using the Statistical Package for Social Science (SPSS) (Version 25).

Results: Findings of this study revealed that black non-South Africans remained with mental disorders such as depression, or anxiety due to xenophobic attacks. Most research participants also indicated that anxiety, as a psychological disorder, was one of the lasting effects of xenophobic violence. There is a persistent fear that a re-occurrence of xenophobic violence will shatter the tenuous calm. Many black non South Africans have packed their few remaining belongings and left volatile areas.

Conclusion: Information obtained from research participants was considered to be sufficiently substantial to warrant analysis. The research methods employed provided answers to the most basic questions posed in the study, and assisted the researcher in his analysis of information obtained from participants.

Keywords: Xenophobia, Racism, Wellbeing

Chapter 1

Overview of the study

1.1 Introduction

Despite the transition from authoritarian rule to democracy, prejudice and violence continue to plague contemporary South Africa. This study examined the high levels of violence which are currently directed at black non-South Africans. It also explored the term “xenophobia”, and ways in which xenophobia manifests itself in the country.

According to Hook and Eagle (2002, p. 1), xenophobia is viewed as a pathology in the context of democratic South Africa.

It is important to consider the question of xenophobia as a multidimensional and multifaceted concept which cuts across several disciplines, such as psychopathology, social psychology, human physiology, sociology, anthropology, race and racism, nationalism, human geography, history, international relations, law and economics. Each of these disciplines has its own special perspective on xenophobia. The study examined those areas in which the psychological perspective overlaps the perspectives of some of these disciplines. Some studies, such as Hassim, Kupe and Worby's (2008, p. 24), indicate that countless assaults on black non-South Africans signify a climate of xenophobia which has been developing in South African society since the end of the apartheid era.

Xenophobia, in a way, depersonalizes an individual until its fervour is absorbed by a crowd which shares the same hatred. It also depersonalizes an individual in a way which does not target the stranger in his or her capacity as an individual human being, but rather as a supposed typical representative of a black non-South African group. Thus xenophobia appears, from the outset, to be a twofold phenomenon which can be studied and interpreted in two ways. It can be described either as an ethno-psychological or as a socio-psychological phenomenon. On the other hand, it needs to be understood, from its subconscious origins to the definition which appears in the human being's consciousness (Bihr, 2006, p. 5).

1.2 Motivation for the study

According to Hassim et al. (2008, p. 24), in May 2008, xenophobic violence spread from Alexandra township to engulf settlements across Gauteng, especially in Ekurhuleni municipality. The authorities sought to blame criminals, a third force and political conspiracies. They emphasized that criminality is invariably present in the midst of political violence, and that criminal elements took advantage of the chaos in Alexandra to loot people's homes. Hassim et al. emphasize that any attempt to understand this hostility and violence towards black non-South Africans should be located in the politics of failed development and delivery. They argue that Alexandra dumping grounds of the marginalized and alienated, and that the township has hardly Township and other townships that experienced xenophobic violence are still the

benefited from the country's economic growth over the past decades. Media reports in 2008 indicated that at least 23 people were killed and hundreds of others were injured, whilst many more lost their homes. People from other countries have been the target of mobs who accuse them of taking jobs and houses from South Africans and fuelling crime. It has also been estimated that almost 20,000 people have been affected by the violence or are currently displaced. The South African Red Cross Society worked tirelessly in May 2008 to give emergency assistance to displaced people who fled to

police stations and community halls, seeking shelter or security in at least 20 different sites in Gauteng province. Owing to this pervasive xenophobic violence in South Africa, the researcher decided to embark on an investigation of the influence of xenophobia on the wellbeing of black non-South Africans.

1.3 Statement of the problem

The problem addressed concern was that violent incidents continued to occur throughout South Africa, with traumatic attacks reported in six other provinces in 2008. The South African Red Cross Society (SARCS) mobilized hundreds of volunteers and staff from 35 local branches throughout the country in order to provide relief to those affected by the violence. In a briefing of the diplomatic community by the Minister of Safety and Security in Pretoria in 2008, it was stated that there were over 4,661 incidents and that 519 people had been arrested. People fear the continued existence of xenophobia and its tendency to flare up without warning. This not only has a psychological influence on black non-South Africans, but also has an adverse influence or negative impact on some South Africans. There were specific research questions which evolved from the statement of the problem (Hassim et al., 2008).

These questions are:

1.3.1 What are the causes of xenophobia?

1.3.2 What is the influence of xenophobia on black non-South Africans' psychological wellbeing?

1.3.3 Why do people from other African countries become the victims of xenophobia?

1.4 Aims of the study

The major aims of this study were:

- To examine the causes of xenophobia.
- To determine how xenophobia influences the psychological wellbeing of black nonSouth Africans.
- To ascertain the reasons for black non-South Africans becoming the victims of xenophobia in South Africa.

1.5 Definition of terms

1.5.1 Xenophobia

Xenophobia has been defined as an uncontrollable fear of black non-South Africans. It comes from the Greek word, *xenos*, which means “stranger”, and *phobos*, which means “fear” (Hassim et al., 2008, p. 24).

1.5.2 Racism

According to Fisher (2007, p. 85), the term “racism” is often used in a loose and unreflective way to describe the hostile or negative feelings of one ethnic group or people toward another, and the actions resulting from such attitudes.

1.5.3 Wellbeing

According to Compton and Hoffman (2013), wellbeing is a dynamic process that gives people a sense of how their lives should be through interaction between their circumstances, activities and psychological resources.

1.5.4 Social wellbeing

Social wellbeing was developed by Keys and comprises five dimensions: The first dimension is “**social acceptance**,” or the degree to which people generally hold positive attitudes toward others. The second dimension is “**social actualization**,” or the degree to which people believe that society has the capacity to develop and evolve into a better place. “**Social contribution**” refers to how much people believe their daily activities contribute to society and how much those activities are valued by their community. The fourth dimension is “**social coherence**,” or the degree to which society is understandable, predictable, and logical – how it makes sense. The last dimension is “**social integration**,” or how much a person feels a part of his or her community, as well as how much support and commonality one feels toward others. These dimensions of social wellbeing correlated positively with measures of happiness, life satisfaction, generativity, optimism, perceptions of neighbourhood trust and safety, subjective perceptions of one’s physical health, and degree of community involvement. Thus,

social wellbeing is a distinct way in which people judge their own sense of wellbeing and is important for overall mental health and wellbeing (Compton & Hoffman, 2013).

1.5.5 Psychological wellbeing

According to Compton and Hoffman (2013), psychological wellbeing represents the basic behavioural and emotional dimensions measured by Carol Ryff in her model of psychological wellbeing.

1.5.6 Black Non-South Africans

Black non-South Africans are those African nationals who live in South Africa and they had come from other countries such as Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Swaziland, Malawi, Nigeria, Somalia, etc.

1.6 Research methodology and design

1.6.1 Target population

The researcher targeted black non-South Africans at the University of Zululand who had come from rural and urban areas which were hardest hit by the xenophobia in the past two to three years. These were areas in which people could provide qualitative data through open-ended questions in the questionnaire. There was no age limit. The sample consisted of both male and female participants.

1.6.2 Research design

A research design is a plan or blueprint that guides and informs how the study will be conducted (Babbie & Mouton, 2008). This implies the procedures by which we approach problems and arrive at answers. It also provides control over those factors that could influence the outcome of the study. In this study, the researcher used qualitative and descriptive survey research to explore and describe the experiences of the people who have experienced xenophobic attacks in South Africa.

1.6.3 Sampling method and sample size

The study used a purposive sampling method, which is a type of non-probability sampling design. The study used this design in its selection of participants. The black non-South Africans from areas hardest hit by xenophobia were purposively sampled, whereas random sampling was used to select areas where participants were likely to be found. Participants in both the latter areas and the university were chosen randomly.

The total number of completed questionnaires was 69.

A non-probability sampling procedure was undertaken because the researcher wanted to demonstrate that particular traits exist in the victims of xenophobia. The purposive method was used in this study to ensure that the respondents would meet the criteria for participation in a sample, and because research participants would be able to provide relevant information on the influence of xenophobia.

1.6.4 Data collection instrument

The questionnaire, used as an instrument for collecting data, included both closed- and open-ended questions. The questions focused on the cause, influence and prevention of xenophobia, and personal experiences during xenophobic attacks. The research participants gave informed consent regarding participation in the study before questionnaires were handed to them for completion.

1.6.5 Reliability of the measuring instrument

Reliability refers to the dependability of a measurement instrument, which is the extent to which the questionnaire or instrument yields the same results on repeated trials. Reliability is the extent to which the scores are accurate, consistent or stable. Test-retest reliability is applied to determine the extent to which questionnaire responses are reliable over time (Terre Blanche, Durrheim & Painter, 2006). This form of reliability is tested by measuring research participants on the same questionnaire on different occasions, and determining whether the scores/ responses correlate. Slight changes are expected to show that the questionnaire was reliable as the influence of xenophobia on the social and psychological wellbeing of black non-South Africans in South Africa may be remembered on the second occasion.

1.6.6 Validity of the measuring instrument

The questionnaire was valid as it measured what it was intended to measure. It was usable for the purpose for which it was designed, which was to investigate the influence of xenophobia on the social and psychological wellbeing of black non-South Africans in South Africa. Criterion-related validity and content validity were assessed to test the validity of the questionnaire. The researcher undertook the task of determining that the research questionnaire was related to other measures of influence. The content validity of the questionnaire reflected a specific content in this research, which was the influence of xenophobia on the social and psychological wellbeing of black non-South Africans in South Africa. The language used in the measuring instrument was well understandable by research participants, and the questions were fair. The measuring instrument was not biased as it accommodated all the participants without considering their level of education, gender and race (Terre Blanche et al., 2006).

1.6.7 Data analysis method

Both quantitative and qualitative analyses were used in conceptualizing the data in the study. Quantitative analysis was used for the research participants' biographical data such as age, education, employment, and marital status. Data were assembled in frequency tables for easy interpretation.

Qualitative data analysis is an approach to making sense of social research observations by using methods of examining social research data without converting them to a numerical format (Babbie & Mouton, 2001). It is an inductive process of organizing data into categories and identifying patterns and relationships among categories. In addition, qualitative data analysis affords the researcher an opportunity to move into a deeper understanding of the data, and interpret their larger meaning (Cresswell, 2003).

In this study, the first stage of qualitative data analysis involved the transcription of all the data obtained during the administration of the questionnaire. The raw data were then organized into categories and themes were created. The summaries of the data were presented in the form of tabulation to facilitate the organization of ideas, and systematically investigate relations in the data.

Data obtained from the respondents were analysed both quantitatively and qualitatively. After collecting the data, encoding was done so that it would, at all times, be meaningful. After encoding, frequencies and percentages through SPSS analysis were used to interpret the data after encoding.

1.6.8 Ethical considerations

Research participants were assured that data collected from them would be treated in strictest confidence. They were also informed of their fundamental right to withdraw

from participation, should they feel uncomfortable. They were asked to sign a consent form before being permitted to participate in the study, and were informed that free counselling would be provided should they be in any way traumatized by the questions.

Confidentiality and anonymity were maintained throughout the study. Permission to conduct the study was obtained from the University of Zululand's ethics committee.

1.7 Value of the study

It was hoped that the study would assist in determining how xenophobia affects the psychological wellbeing of black non-South Africans, and in providing information needed in order to address the increased incidence of violence in both rural and urban areas. It could also lead to similar studies in the wider South African context.

1.8 Summary

It is important to review the aim of this chapter, which was to provide an overview of xenophobic incidents which took place in May 2008 in South Africa, and affected the wellbeing of the black non-South Africans referred to in the overview. This chapter also detailed the researcher's motivation and areas of concern. The aims and objectives of the study were also outlined. In the next chapter, literature from previous studies will be investigated.

Chapter 2

Literature review

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter, a review of literature concerning xenophobia and media reports on the attacks reveals a number of interesting elements. These include how predictable the outbreak of that violence should have been, given South Africa's long track record of violence as a means of protest, the targeting of black non-South Africans in particular, and the documented tensions over the migration policy and the scale of repatriation. It is clear that while most of the attacks were directed against black non-South Africans, primarily African migrants, attacks also occurred against people from other countries, and South Africans from minority language groups, such as those who speak Sepedi and isiTsonga. The current wave of violence has extended beyond a simple perception of foreign versus indigenous by traversing the spectrum of ethnicity, indigeneity, citizenship and even legal status. Townships which have recently experienced the expression of xenophobic violence have also been the scene of violence and other forms of protest around issues such as, most notably, service delivery (Adepoju, 2003).

2.2 Review of relevant literature on xenophobia

Xenophobia can manifest itself in many ways involving the relations and perceptions of an in-group towards an out-group, and it includes a fear of losing identity, suspicion of the out-group's activities, aggression towards and desire to eliminate the out-group in order to secure a presumed purity. Xenophobia can also be exhibited in the form of an uncritical exaltation of another culture in which it is credited with unreal, stereotyped and exotic qualities (Hassim et al., 2008).

Xenophobia may also be targeted at people or groups of people who are not “strangers”, but who may be long-term immigrants, and who may have been living and interacting with a dominant group which has been expressing xenophobia for some time. In this context, therefore, the term “strangers” may be used to refer to people who are not indigenous or original residents, or occupiers of a particular location, or people who are significantly different from the dominant or main group or population. The key issue is that they are not considered to be “sons of the soil” or “bona fide” members. The distinction between the “locals” or “indigenes”, on the one hand, and the “black non-South Africans” on the other can be conceptualized in terms of the “in-group” (the locals or indigenes) and the “out-group” (the black non-South Africans). An in-group (also described as a “we-group”) is one to which individuals belong, while an out-group (also described as a “they-group”) is one to which individuals do not belong. There is usually a sharp distinction between members and non-members. Members usually have rights and obligations which non-members do not have. An in-group usually develops a sense of solidarity, loyalty and cooperation among its members. In contrast, members of an in-group may have a sense of indifference, disgust or even hatred for members of an out-group. Racial discrimination and xenophobia under the apartheid regime of the white minority government are illustrations of the majority suffering from xenophobia in the minority. They are also illustrations of situations in which the dominant minority group oppress the majority, indigenous groups. In a sense, xenophobia can be associated with racism and ethnicity. Thus, ideas and theories of racism and ethnicity can be applied to the understanding of xenophobia. However, xenophobia is different from racism in that racism usually entails notions of racial xenophobia (Soyombo, 2001).

The definition of xenophobia may be either common or technical. In common parlance, xenophobia is unreasonable fear or hatred of the unfamiliar, especially people or other races. The clinical definition is an irrational fear of members of a certain race foreign to one's own. This fear is often adjunct and secondary to post-traumatic stress disorder (Hassim et al., 2008, p. 4).

2.2.1 Racism

Although racism and xenophobia manifest themselves differently in different regions, communities and social contexts, the major pattern of this phenomenon remains the same and can therefore be dealt with in a general investigation. The central theoretical argument is that a comprehensive approach dealing with political, social, educational, economic and cultural issues is necessary to curb the wave of racism and xenophobia sweeping over humanity today, and to deal with the prospect of progressive intolerance and conflict in the future. Owing to its historical experience of institutional racism, and its current exemplary efforts toward reconciliation, South Africa will feature prominently in this investigation. The concept of “race” describes a group of people with the same physical characteristics, and with notable cultural and social similarities. In view of this description, racism can be defined as an attitude of prejudice, bias and intolerance between various racial groups (Fisher, 2007).

2.2.2 Wellbeing

According to Compton and Hoffman (2013), despite the diversity of contexts in which wellbeing appears, there is a surprising consistency in the qualities which it promises.

The first is its positive charge. The “well” within “wellbeing” commands assent – who would not desire it? This is in marked contrast to many policy approaches which have taken negatives as their focus: for example, poverty, social exclusion, and social dysfunction. This change might appear trivial since the aim of conventional policy approaches is to overcome the negatives they identify. In practice, however, there is a small step between identifying a group as disadvantaged, and associating them with social stigma. The move to the positive focus of wellbeing may thus be more significant than it at first appears, since it challenges the stigmatizing dynamic. This has two important aspects. The first is its simple association of the targeted group with a positive concept. In addition, and more subtly, wellbeing offers an inclusive aspiration, as relevant to policy makers and the wealthy as to the poor. It can thus help to combat the “othering”, which is common in policy labelling, depicting the targeted group as different and concerned with inferior goals. The second key quality of wellbeing is its holistic outlook. At a personal level, it promises to connect mind, body and spirit, overcoming the divisions integral to the post-enlightenment modernist understandings of the person. The third key promise of wellbeing is that it focuses on the person, and his or her own priorities and perspectives. Perhaps the signature move of a wellbeing approach is its direction of attention not only towards external “objective” measures of welfare, but also to people’s own perceptions and experience of life. At a simple level, this can be seen in terms of a contrast between the familiar “objective” indicators of income, nutrition, or life expectancy, and the “subjective” dimension of how individuals feel about their health or economic status.

2.3 The scope and nature of xenophobia among South Africans

Xenophobia can only be understood within specific economic, cultural and political contexts. Even within South Africa, anti-foreigner attitudes are by no means universal. Black non-South Africans from Botswana, for example, receive generally positive treatment from residents of North-West Province. Similarly, some former Mozambican refugees living among Shangaan speakers in Limpopo Province are now largely integrated into local communities due to long-standing cultural links and a local government that has actively considered the interests of the former refugees. Even among these communities, however, tensions continue to exist between “indigenous” South Africans and people born in Mozambique, or of recent Mozambican origin. Moreover, many of those embracing former Mozambican refugees still express considerable hostility to the presence of Zimbabweans in and around their communities. Although there are examples of tolerance, and South Africans defending non-nationals’ rights, there is strong evidence that South Africans are generally uncomfortable with the presence of black non-South Africans in the country (Landau, 2004). Based on a national survey of South Africans, Crush (2000) argues that intolerance is extremely pervasive and growing in intensity and seriousness. Abuse of migrants and refugees has intensified, and there is little support for the idea of migrant rights. Only one group of South Africans, a small minority with regular personal contact with non-citizens, is significantly more tolerant. This is reflected in various statistics, produced at both national and local levels:

- 25% of South Africans nationally favour a total ban on immigration and migration, considerably more than in other countries in the region (Crush, 2000).
- 20% of South Africans feel that everyone from neighbouring countries living in South Africa (legally or not) should be sent home (*op cit.*).
- In a 1998 survey, SAMP found that 87% of South Africans felt that the country was letting in too many foreigners (*op cit.*).
- In a Wits University survey, 64.8% thought it would be a positive thing if most of the African refugees and immigrants left the country. By contrast, few see ridding the country of its white population as a priority.

Although one must carefully disaggregate the forms and expressions of xenophobia, there are four broad reasons that are commonly offered as explanations. Each of these explains some amount of xenophobia among particular groups.

1) Black non-South Africans as a threat to economic security

Landau (2004) argues that one of the most common explanations for xenophobia – both locally and globally – is the sense that migrants are a threat to citizens’ access to

employment, grants and social services. Immigration is not viewed as a public tool that could benefit South Africa. Immigrants and migrants (even the most highly skilled) are more often stereotyped as a threat to the economic and social interests of South Africans (Essess, Dovidio, Jackson & Armstrong, 2001).

According to Crush (2000), there is the misguided assumption that national development and skills immigration are incompatible. Such sentiments are clearly reflected in public and political discourse, especially under the former Minister of Home Affairs, Nosiviwe Mapisa-Nqakula. The employment of illegal immigrants is unpatriotic because it deprives South Africans of jobs and the rising level of immigrants has awesome implications for the RDP, because they will be absorbing unacceptable proportions of housing subsidies and adding to the difficulties we will be experiencing in health care (Mail & Guardian, 2008).

Such sentiments are also reflected at local level. In his “State of the City 2004” address, for example, Johannesburg’s Executive Mayor, Amos Masondo reflected widespread sentiment in arguing that:

“In keeping with the international trend of growing migration, our city has become a magnet for people from other provinces, the African continent and indeed the four corners of the world. While migration contributes to the rich tapestry of the cosmopolitan city, it also places a severe strain on employment levels, housing and public services (SAMP, 2008.)”

In a country in which over 40% of the population is unemployed, it is perhaps inevitable that there will be resentment against any group that has the potential to either fill jobs or push down the price of labour for those who are working. That many non-nationals are, in fact, better trained, more experienced, and willing to work for lower wages than the South Africans with whom they compete provides some empirical justification for such sentiments. Although mine and agricultural labour imported through formal guest worker schemes have disempowered South African workers and unions, new immigration patterns are likely to be increasing job opportunities for South Africans. Wits University research in inner-city Johannesburg, for example, found that black non-South Africans were far more likely to have hired someone to work for them in the past year than the South Africans amongst whom they lived. While just 20% of South Africans report having paid someone to do work for them, 34% of migrants surveyed had. Even more significantly, more than two-thirds (67%) of those hired by migrants were South Africans (Mail & Guardian, 2008).

2) Black non-South Africans as a threat to physical security

Many South Africans' disquiet with non-nationals is based on an assumed link between the presence of black non-South Africans and threats to their property and physical security. Nationally, 48% of South Africans feel that black non-South Africans are a criminal threat. In Johannesburg, the country's "crime capital", Landau (2004) reports that 63% of inner-city Johannesburg residents mentioned "black non-South Africans" as the group committing most of the crime in their area. Similarly, among 70% of Johannesburg residents who thought crime had increased in recent years, almost threequarters identified immigrants as a primary reason. Similarly, Johannesburg's Executive Mayor was quoted earlier in the year 2004 as decrying the presence of "30 Nigerians on every street corner" committing crime and undermining the city's safety and security.

3) Racism, isolation and nationalism

South Africa's long history of racial politics and stratification has had an important, if difficult to quantify, effect on how citizens perceive black non-South Africans. As mentioned, anti-foreigner antagonism is particularly intense amongst white respondents, a finding linked to long-standing racism. This is important, but there are few whites who are in positions of political power. It is the country's black population that is more likely to engage with non-nationals on the street, in the workplace, and in the country's public administration (e.g., government offices, schools, hospitals).

Although South Africa's black population is, on aggregate, more tolerant of black nonSouth Africans than other groups, Crush (2000) found the majority were still strongly anti-immigrant. Together with the specific reasons already cited (threats to physical and economic security) and a common belief that black non-South Africans brought HIV/AIDS to South Africa, widespread discrimination is also likely to be a result of a mind-set rooted in apartheid-era racial categorization, political fragmentation, and isolation. In searching for historical roots of discrimination, it is perhaps more important to recognize that apartheid's social engineering entrenched a system in which:

- 1) Every person, South African or black non-South African, was assigned an inflexible ethnic or racial label and identity.
- 2) Groups were socially isolated, and assigned exclusive rights to a geographically bounded territory with only limited, and highly regulated, access to other areas.

Although South Africans justifiably protested against the pass law system, it appears to have had an almost indelible effect on people's understanding of how society should be organized. Under such a system, individuals' rights are linked not to their humanity, but to their territorial origins or homeland. As immigration threatens to undermine South

Africans' exclusive right to the territory south of the Limpopo, it is therefore not surprising to see the emergence of discourses and language exerting exclusive claims to the country's physical space.

4) Black non-South Africans as a political scapegoat

As many of the country's political leaders proclaim a new era of regional integration, tolerance and cosmopolitanism, the country's acting Human Rights Commissioner expressed deep concern about an emerging reality dominated by newer, more subtle forms of racial discrimination and xenophobia. Although it is impossible to adequately discuss the motivations for scapegoating black non-South Africans – and South African politicians are by no means unique in building political capital at the expense of foreigners – there are at least two specific motivations worth noting (Landau, 2004). The South African Constitution not only commits the government to the protection of the country's residents' civil and political rights, but also to the guarantee of an impressive array of social and economic services. In some instances, these commitments have led to unsustainable levels of spending (Johannesburg's financial crisis in the mid-late 1990s is in part a consequence of this). In almost all cases, providing such services has raised challenges to the public administration's managerial and financial resources. This has, unsurprisingly, resulted in problems of service delivery (e.g., the anti-retroviral roll-out) and public frustration. Claims that the government is spending millions in assisting foreigners – or that foreigners are otherwise burdening the government – provide a ready excuse for such shortcomings.

2.4 Xenophobia in South Africa and problems relating to it

There has been much speculation as to the causes and triggers of the violence. A number of reports have highlighted various issues contributing to xenophobia; some of which include poor service delivery and competition for resources, and the type of leadership within communities, which talks to issues of governance. The issue is not only about black non-South Africans and their rights, but about the safety of all who live in South Africa. Most incidents of violent attacks have been carried out by South Africans (*IoL News*, 2000).

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. South Africa did not recognize refugees until 1993, and when it became a signatory to the United Nations (UN) and Organisation of African Unity Conventions on Refugees in 1994. The number of refugees and asylum seekers in South Africa has increased in the past few years, putting the total number of cross-border migrants in this category at about 150 000. The issue regarding the number of undocumented migrants in the country has proved to be

a controversial one in South Africa. Central to this debate is the unquantifiable nature of this group of migrants together with a number of credible myths widely accepted as reality in South African society. South Africa is Africa's most industrialized country, and it attracts thousands of black non-South Africans every year, seeking refuge from poverty, economic crisis, war and government persecution in their home countries. While the majority of them are from elsewhere on the continent, such as Zimbabwe, Malawi, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Somalia and Ethiopia, many also come from Pakistan and Bangladesh. Xenophobia is generally defined as "the deep dislike of immigrants by nationals of a recipient state." This definition is also used by the South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC). Xenophobia is also a manifestation of racism. Racism and xenophobia support each other and they share prejudiced discourses. They both operate on the same basis of profiling people and making negative assumptions. The profiling in the case of racism is on the basis of race, in the case of xenophobia on the basis of nationality. Reasons for the attacks differ, with some blaming the contestation for scarce resources, while others attribute it to the country's violent past; inadequate service delivery and the influence of micro-politics in townships; the involvement and complicity of local authority members in contractor conflicts for economic and political reasons; the failure of early warning and prevention mechanisms regarding community-based violence; local residents' claims that black non-South Africans take jobs away from local South Africans, and accept lower wages; and black non-South Africans do not participate in the struggle for better wages and working conditions. Other South Africans claim that black non-South Africans are criminals, and they should not have access to services and police protection. Black non-South Africans are also blamed for their businesses that take away customers from local residents, and for the spread of diseases such as HIV/AIDS (*IoL News*, 2000).

2.5 Cases of xenophobic attacks in democratic South Africa

In December 1994 and January 1995, armed youth gangs in Alexandra Township outside Johannesburg, Gauteng Province, destroyed the homes and property of suspected undocumented migrants and marched the individuals down to the local police station, where they demanded that the black non-South Africans be forcibly and immediately removed. In September 1998, two Senegalese and a Mozambican were thrown from a moving train in Johannesburg by a group of individuals returning from a rally organized by a group blaming black non-South Africans for the levels of unemployment, crime, and even the spread of AIDS. In the township of Zandspruit, a township in Johannesburg, residents went on a rampage, burning down shacks of

Zimbabwean people living in the settlement with the intention of driving out black non-South Africans they claimed were stealing their jobs and causing crime. In 2000, seven xenophobic killings were reported in the Cape Flats district of Cape Town. Kenyan Kingori Siguri Joseph died in Tambo Close, Khanya Park in Gugulethu after being attacked and shot. In separate incidents, two Nigerians were shot dead in NY 99 in Gugulethu. Prince Anya, 36 years old, who owned a restaurant in Sea Point, was hijacked with his wife Tjidi and their toddler in Adam Tas Road, Bothasig. In

Mdolomda Street in Langa, two Angolan brothers were trapped inside their house and burnt to death. Nguji Chicola, 23 years old, and Mario Gomez Inacio, 25 years old, were in their house when it was set alight by several men who then ran away. On May 11 2008, an outburst of xenophobic violence in the Johannesburg township of Alexandra triggered more xenophobic violence in other townships. At first it only spread in Gauteng province. After two weeks, the violence spread to other urban areas across the country, mainly Durban and Cape Town, but it also emerged in townships in more rural areas such as Limpopo Province. The violence consisted of attacks both verbal and physical by inhabitants of the townships on other inhabitants. The victims were called “foreigners”, referring to their nationality being black non-South African, and predominantly Zimbabwean and Mozambican. As a result, many houses were burnt, 342 shops were looted and 213 burnt down. Hundreds of people were injured, thousands chased away and the death toll after the attacks stood at 56 (Wicks, 2015). Mozambican Ernesto Alfabeto Nhamuave, who was 35 years old, was beaten, stabbed and set alight in Ramaphosa informal settlement on the East Rand. Nobody was arrested for his horrible murder. Police closed the case on 27 October 2010 after concluding that there were no witnesses and no suspects. In all, 62 people were killed. On 24 May 2008, spaza shops owned by Pakistanis, Somalis and Ethiopians were attacked, their stocks were looted and the doors ripped down. The looting was widespread in Sebokeng, Orange Farm, and Evaton areas south of Johannesburg (*IoL News*, 2000).

From 14 to 17 November 2009 3,000 Zimbabwean citizens living in the rural community of De Doorns, an informal settlement near Breede Valley Municipality in the Western Cape, were displaced as a result of xenophobic violence. It selectively targeted Zimbabweans despite the presence of other foreign nationals (e.g. Lesotho nationals) living and working in the same area. There had been destruction and looting of Zimbabweans dwellings by their South African neighbours. Violence occurred in three informal settlements: Ekuphumleni, Stofland and Hasie Square located in Ward 2 of De Doorns. The first wave of attacks took place on 14 November 2009 in Ekuphumleni, displacing 68 Zimbabweans. On 17 November 2009 the violence intensified, spreading to Stofland and Hasie Square. This second wave displaced approximately 3,000 Zimbabweans. While the displaced initially sought protection at the De Doorns police station, they were moved to a local sports field called Hexvallei Sportklub on 18 November 2009 as numbers increased. Shelter and humanitarian assistance were provided at the sports field. On 27 February 2013, eight South African police tied a 27-year-old Mozambican man, Mido Macia, to the back of a police van and dragged him down the road. Subsequently, the man died in a police cell from head injuries. The incident happened in Daveyton, east of Johannesburg. On 26 May 2013, two Zimbabwean men were killed by a South African mob in xenophobic violence in Diepsloot, South Africa. In January 2015, a Somali shop owner shot and killed a 14-year-old boy, Sipiwe Mahori, during an alleged robbery in Soweto township. The boy was shot in the neck and died within 15 minutes. Lebogang Ncamla, 23 years old, was another victim when he was shot three times in the arm. The incident triggered waves of attacks and looting of shops owned by black non-South Africans. An estimated 120 spaza shops owned by Somalis and Bangladeshis across Snake Park, Zola, Meadowlands, Slovoville, Kagiso, Zondi and Emdeni in Soweto were looted. It was

also reported that police stole goods and helped others raid the shops during the worst attacks on black non-South Africans. In Zondi section, the police instructed looters to queue outside a black non-South African-owned shop, and allowed four of them in at a time to prevent a stampede. Police arrested a suspect accused of killed 14-year-old Mahori, along with a number of looters and black non-South Africans for possessing three unlicensed firearms (Misago, 2009).

On 5 March 2015, xenophobic attacks occurred in Limpopo Province. Black non-South Africans on the outskirts of Polokwane left their shops after protesting villagers threatened to burn them alive, and then looted them. Violence erupted in the GaSekgopo area after a foreign shop owner was found in possession of a mobile phone belonging to a local man who was killed. Villagers demanded answers as to how the shop owner got the dead man's phone. They did not know whether it was sold to him, or was brought there to be fixed. Violent protests erupted, with villagers sending all the black non-South Africans packing and pushing them out of 11 villages in Sekgopo. One of the shop owners reported loss of stock. On 21 March 2015, Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini made comments that black non-South Africans should go back to their home countries because they are changing the nature of South African society with their goods, and enjoying wealth that should have been for local people. This horrified black non-South Africans who have been dealing with a spate of xenophobic attacks around the country. King Zwelithini made these comments at the moral regeneration event in

Pongola, KwaZulu-Natal Province. The King's statement came while Congolese people were mourning deaths caused by a series of xenophobic attacks. Noel Beya Dinshistia from Congo, a bouncer at a local nightclub, was doused in a flammable substance before being set alight while on duty. On 8 April 2015, the spate of xenophobic violence increased. On 10 April 2015, two Ethiopian brothers were critically injured when their shop, in a shipping container, was set on fire while they were trapped inside. One of the men died while in hospital. The other was fighting for his life (*IoL News*, 2000).

On 12 April 2015, attacks on foreign nationals continued in KwaZulu-Natal when shops in Umlazi and KwaMashu, outside Durban, were torched. In V-Section, a shop owned by a black non-South African was set on fire by a mob of suspects. There was another fire which was believed to have been set by local people at a foreign-owned property in G-Section. Almost 2,000 black non-South Africans from Malawi, Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Burundi have been displaced as a result of the violence. Five people have been killed (Wick, 2015).

On 14 April 2015, looting of black non-South African shops spread to Verulam, north of Durban, following a day of clashes between locals, black non-South Africans, and police in the city centre. About 300 local people looted black non-South African-owned shops, and only two people were arrested. A 14-year-old boy became the latest fatality. He was shot dead during looting in KwaNdlanzi, allegedly by two security guards. In Durban's central business district, a car was set alight and police fired rubber bullets, stun grenades and teargas canisters in clashes between looters and black non-South

Africans. Four refugee camps had been set up by the KwaZulu-Natal provincial government to house the displaced black non-South Africans who said they were destitute, with some saying they wanted to go home. At least 28 people were arrested on Sunday night during xenophobic violence in which Somali, Ethiopian and Pakistani people were attacked. A man from the Congo was attacked, and although he cried out, no one went to his assistance. After the thief had gone, bystanders said: "Because you cried out in English, we didn't help you. If you ask for assistance in Zulu, we will help you." When the victim went to the police he was told: "You are not our brother, we can't help you (Hook & Eagle, 2002)." Xenophobia cannot be separated from violence and physical abuse. In this sense xenophobia, as a term, must be expanded to incorporate the practical result of xenophobic incidents. It is not just an attitude; it is an activity. It is not just a dislike or fear of black non-South Africans: it is a violent practice that results in bodily harm and damage. More particularly, violence attributed to the influence of xenophobia must be further refined to include its specific victim or victimised group because, in South Africa, not all black non-South Africans are targeted; but black non-South Africans, particularly those from Africa, comprise the majority of victims. It is also important to explore reasons why "the unknown entity", represented largely by black non-South Africans, should necessarily attract repugnance, fear or aggression. These questions and a revised definition of xenophobia must be borne in mind throughout the chapter. They must provide an explanation for the phenomenon, and clarify issues surrounding the questions of who the victims are, and why xenophobia targets them (Hook & Eagle, 2002).

2.6 Xenophobia, racialization and violence in South Africa

According to the Southern African Migration Project (2008), South Africa displays one of the highest levels of xenophobia in the world. In South Africa, xenophobia appears to be racialized in that Black immigrants are the primary targeted victims. Black immigrants from other African countries in particular are at a greater risk of being victimised than white immigrants from other continents or Africa. Xenophobia in South Africa is not restricted to fear and dislike. Instead, it results in intense tension and even violence by South Africans toward African immigrants (Nicolson & Simelane, 2015).

2.7 Possible causes of xenophobia

Xenophobia may be driven by, among others, the following factors:

- Hostile beliefs and stereotypes, when black non-South Africans are perceived as endangering the existence of individuals, politically, economically and even physically.
- Perceived threats to culture or national identity.

- Religious doctrine.
- Competition for scarce resources (e.g. housing, health care, employment) (Wick, 2015).

2.8 Research findings from previous research studies about the causes of xenophobia

The first question provided a useful move towards understanding the transient lives of black non-South Africans, and exploring how they make sense of this dislocation. The second question was answered indirectly. Some participants quoted a list of the popularly disseminated reasons for xenophobia, often reproducing the perspectives and causes given by South Africans.

2.9 Identity and humanness

Firstly, participants explored notions of belonging and identity in South Africa. It is naïve to think that there is any single African metaphysics or a unifying worldview encompassing “African” meaning and being (Mkhize, 2004). The ruptures, differences and paradoxes within individual interviews and across the interview set bear this out. What does become clear across the interviews is a sense that South Africans have taken “humanity” from black non-South Africans. More often, though, it is camouflaged and comes through in the participants’ descriptions of the way South African’s think of them and define them.

Vale (2002) thought that something other than race would come as the replacement content of South African national identity, and it appears that a new category for difference has arisen, but perhaps it is not too removed from race. *Makwerekwere* is a derogatory word used to describe black non-South Africans who are unable to speak local South African languages, and who come from countries perceived to be economically and culturally backward.

The significance of this statement, and others like it across the interviews, become clear when considering Murray’s (2003) assertion that pejorative terms (such as *makwerekwere*) incorporate the unwanted other into a discourse of apocalypse and doom. This is a kind of naming and shaming. Positioning immigrants and refugees as rootless, identityless, cultureless, and therefore non-people without context or civilization further strengthens the (illusory) feelings on national identity and belonging. South Africans, whilst “denying entitlements to those ‘outsiders’ who ‘do not belong.’” As noted in the literature, these stereotypes and caricatures are reproduced in media and political commentary and amongst the public (McDonald & Jacobs, 2005).

The overwhelming sense across the data set is that xenophobia allows for a fundamental distinction to be drawn between South Africans and the rest of the continent. Africa is homogenized through “chaotic” stereotypes of war, famine, chaos, corruption, genocide, AIDS, coups and backwardness (Cejas, 2007). These stereotypes do not stem only from the public, but from media and scholarly representations which “revel in these cultural and political pathologies” (Robins, 2002), which portray Africa as a “basket case” and “fundamentally dysfunctional and ungovernable”. The SAMP surveys bear out this assertion, and Crush and Pendleton (2004) note that immigrants’ home countries are stereotyped as being in chaos, while South Africa remains “a haven of peace, calm and opportunity.”

2.10 Positive identification

In response to the negative stereotyping, the participants in the previous studies as in the SAMP survey work (Crush, 2001), see African countries in a remarkably positive light, subjectively rating them better than South Africa in terms of safety, crime, democracy and freedom.

The participant from Burundi described that country’s decades-long war, the lack of democracy, presidential assassinations, and lack of job opportunities, concluding that it is a “small and poor country in Africa”, and yet went on to describe an ordered and satisfactory way of life. The Democratic Republic of Congo, another one of Africa’s “chaotic” countries, was also portrayed in a positive light (Nyamnjoh, 2007).

Landau (2004) has proposed a speculative argument on new systems of belonging in African cities, which addresses the historical mobility and marginalization of these cities of “shifting sand” (Bauman, 2000). Landau describes how a growing diversity, new and shifting social formations and increased geographic mobility within African cities opens up possibilities for new belonging which transcends ethnic and nationalist boundaries. She terms this “tactical cosmopolitanism”, and the argument draws on a diversity of discourses and value-systems to describe how black non-South Africans negotiate partial inclusion without the obligations of belonging.

According to Landau (2004), in response to opposition and exclusion from “locals”, black non-South African draw on a language of belonging that embraces unrootedness as a form of superiority over those bound by and to local social and political obligations. They are in the city, but not of it; can claim the benefits of inclusion (e.g. the right to jobs and housing and human rights), while not having to assimilate to it.

As Landau found, the participants in the study drew on rhetoric of self-exclusion to mitigate the influence of xenophobia. Self-exclusion – a “counter-idiom of transience and superiority” – draws on discourses of non-belonging to position the black non-

South African always as the “permanent outsider”, and uses the same flaws which South Africans levy against them to reify difference. Participants overwhelmingly cast South Africans in a negative light. Out of the ten interviews, nine saw South Africans as lazy, eight as poor, six as closed-minded, six as dependent on government, five as poor, four as jealous, and three each as bad-hearted or heartless, childlike, and lacking a future. There is a strong sense that South Africans are uneducated and unappreciative of the opportunities afforded them. Landau indicated that this abusive typecasting serves to justify black non-South Africans’ right to partake in the benefits of South African society, and creates a sense of superiority which mitigates the destructive influence of xenophobia.

2.11 Fluid identity

Cejas (2007) has also suggested that as part of tactical cosmopolitanism, black nonSouth Africans cling to multiple identities, which allows them to shift within networks and across loyalties. The aim of this is the achievement of specific practical goals.

Within the interviews, participants shift between ethnic, national, “foreign”, African and human identities, drawing in turn on each to achieve specific goals.

As a typical example, one participant in Cejas’s study draws on black non-South African identity to justify the right to jobs. He then draws on Zimbabwean identity, which is instrumental in finding work and housing. Later he draws on African identity and human identity. He even talks of how he has tried to assimilate to South African identity, but has been hindered by their lack of love.

This demonstrates, as Landau (2004) suggests, the ease with which multiple identities are engaged, without being bound or under the obligations of any. By drawing on distinct identities at different times, participants gain access to the country and inclusion in the form of jobs or housing – but they are not bound to any locale or single identity which could become restrictive. Even the relationships or associations formed with other displaced black non-South Africans appear instrumental in nature and short-lived, and do not resurface in later discussion. Participants shift quickly and easily within the interviews between these multiple identities, avoiding “capture” by any single affiliation, responsibility or commitment – a perpetual non-belonging to survive. This shifting also allows participants to skirt the paradoxes and contradictions within their understandings of certain identities, such as pan-Africanism.

2.12 Sanctity of life

As was indicated in the previous discussion on the perceived tendency to dehumanize and delegitimize black non-South Africans, there is a strong opinion that South Africans disregard the value of life generally – an accusation which enhances black non-South Africans’ sense of superiority and “civilization” in their own eyes, while undermining South Africans. Cejas’s participants use several metaphors to describe South Africans’ attitudes towards human life, accusing them of “killing each other like they are killing chickens”; treating a human being’s life “just like a fly”; and lamenting to see “a human being killed, you see, slaughtered like a goat”. These ideas have been linked to a “culture of violence” idea. Several participants make the point that South Africans are embedded in violent ways of being, passed on from generation to generation, and endemic to their cultures (Cejas, 2007).

2.13 Autochthony and entitlement

The illusion of fixed and bounded space of belonging is not available to immigrants, especially in South Africa, where the discursive boundaries of belonging mean that black non-South Africans have no autochthonous right to social or political belonging. Comaroff and Comaroff (2001) suggest autochthony has come to replace racialized national identity in South Africa. Material and moral benefits and entitlements flow from “rootedness” or “place of birth”, and are a sufficient claim against any assertion aliens may make about the benefits of the nation – including basic human rights. The national sphere which naturalizes space and people into groups links to a “discourse of entitlements, rights, legitimation for citizens and powers to exclude others (Cejas, 2007).”

2.14 African unity: mythical, conditional or impossible

Alterity in the formation of a South African has undermined the premise of a shared humanity, and has contested the notion of a black essentialism and a pan-African consciousness. Landau (2004) writes that black non-South Africans often evoke panAfricanism to seek to erode the barriers that South Africa has set up, and that undermine the legitimacy of South African identity. This links to the previously discussed counteridiom of self-alienation which foreigners draw on.

This is perhaps the strongest theme produced across the interview set and the hardest to analyse. The participants vacillated between idealizing a unity based on African identity, expressing a belief in a current African unity or a conditional unity, and disallowing the possibility of any kind of shared identity. From the complexity of the interviews it would appear that black essentialism and pan-Africanism is not simply a mythology, but is just contested and more complex than it is popularly portrayed (Morris, 2008). The following quotation provides a useful piece for analysing the paradoxes of the understanding of African unity:

“The participant draws a crucial distinction between tribalism, which is normalized and naturalized as inherent differences in culture, passed on from generation to generation, and racism, which underlies xenophobia, and degrades or confiscates humanity from the individual and his tribal or cultural group. Interestingly, he refers to tribalism as the difference between Tutsi and Hutu in Rwanda and Burundi, and earlier in the interview he described the intertribal warfare and ethnic cleansing which has gone on between the two groups. Six other participants referred extensively to intertribal conflict within their home countries and within South Africa – between the Zulus and the Xhosas, Shona and Ndebele, Hutu and Tutsis in Rwanda, tribes in Malawi, two tribes in the Congo, and whites and blacks in South Africa. While it is premature to conclude that these instances of tribalism and “xenophobia” are normalized amongst the participants, there is a sense of fatalism and resignation when referring to them – that is, there were few expressions of condemnation for this tribalism; rather the incidents were referred to matter-of-factly, devoid of emotion and opinion. Only two of the participants condemned this violent tribalism outright. Reflections on xenophobia that do not adhere to traditional political views which claim the phenomenon is morally wrong are typically ignored in the literature. For many, it may seem reprehensible and even immoral inasmuch as it shatters Western humanist, rights-based, liberal, universalist sensibilities to consider a normalized view of xenophobia. Every participant referenced historical, political and social conflict in their home countries, drawing direct connections to the xenophobia exhibited in South Africa, suggesting that only when the “enemy” is dehumanized is this type of conflict condemned (Cejas, 2007, p. 30).”

2.15 Xenophobia as a social entity

Xenophobia is perceived by Delanty and Kumar (2006) as a social entity in which, it is argued, being different is a modern trend. Consequently local social norms are considered normal, but unfamiliar behaviour is not tolerated within the general community. In other, preindustrial, societies strangers are considered “strange” in the sense that they are unfamiliar or atypical. So, the preindustrial vocabulary of difference focuses on uniqueness. Delanty and Kumar (2006) believed that as society becomes more modern, more industrial, more differentiated, strangeness and strangers become a customary social phenomenon as well as a political problem. It is also emphasized that preindustrial social structures may coexist with modern forms of social and political

structures in contemporary societies. A social product of the development of markets is the first stranger who comes into a territory and forces the locals to define themselves. The locals must decide how they differ from the stranger and whether or not they should allow the stranger to live on their territory. In other words, they must be able to deal with the issues of trust in the face of difference. Strangeness always creates a need for incorporation and definition of the social and political space.

2.16 Xenophobia as pathology

According to Hook and Eagle (2002), the word “xenophobia” describes violent action against non-black South Africans, as well as negative social representations of immigrants, refugees and migrants. There are two striking features which appear repeatedly in media headlines. In the first, xenophobia is presented as something negative, ugly and unwanted. It is seen as a cause for worry and concern and something that has to be eradicated from South African society.

In the second, xenophobia as an entity is described in similar language and imagery to that used to describe black non-South Africans in xenophobic language. It is presented as a contaminant in South African society. It appears as an unstoppable and irrational fear or plague sweeping across the country. Through metaphors of disease, floods, and the laager mentality, xenophobia is pathologized. In other words, it is represented as something abnormal and unhealthy. This notion of pathology is strengthened by the phonetic confusion of the word xenophobia with the psychological phobias. The suffix “phobia” is regularly used in the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders*, 4th edition (DSM-IV) by psychology and medical practitioners. In that manual, a range of anxiety-depression disorders are listed under the phobias, e.g. agoraphobia, social phobia, and simple phobias such as claustrophobia and arachnophobia. A psychological phobia is diagnosed if exposure to the object of phobia results in intense anxiety. Xenophobia, as a violent practice, does not have the characteristics of psychological phobias. Although it is not listed in DSM-IV, it has the phonetic potential to be associated with the phobia, as a psychological pathology. That is why it is portrayed as something abnormal and unhealthy (American Psychiatric Association, 2001).

The pathologizing of xenophobia serves the African Renaissance discourse, which underplays nationalism and does not allow for hostility towards black non-South Africans. As pathology, xenophobia is neatly separated from the healthy objectives of the African Renaissance. It is postulated that the pathologization of xenophobia serves to disguise the implicit contradiction that exists at the point of nationalism between the “new South Africa”, on the one hand, and the “African Renaissance”, on the other. As pathology, xenophobia is portrayed as a major threat to the success of the post-apartheid project. It is represented as a disease and something that must be cured in order for the

new South Africa and the African Renaissance to function in harmony (Hook & Eagle, 2002).

2.17 The impact of xenophobia

According to Espanshade and Calhoun (2001), an atmosphere of hostility can shape the cultural discourse on immigration and can have a detrimental effect on those who are the targets of prejudice toward immigrants. Immigrants are likely to be portrayed in very stereotypical ways as lazy, criminal and uneducated. Contradictory perceptions held by native-born individuals often leave immigrants at impossible crossroads of expectation (Sue & Sue, 2008).

Emphasis is placed on the fact that immigrants who prosper are perceived to be a threat to the majority culture because the perception reinforces allegations that immigrants are depriving native individuals of employment and educational opportunities. On the other hand, immigrants, who are known to have a need for support in the form of social services, are attacked for becoming a burden on society and its native-born members. Several studies have shown that members of the host community tend to demand that immigrants adopt the local culture and leave their own cultural heritage behind. Espanshade and Calhoun emphasized that such demands may result in increased cultural confusion and isolation as immigrant individuals and groups attempt to hold on to their sense of cultural identity while making an effort to connect to their host community and create a home for themselves (Florack, Piontkowski, Rohmann, Balzer & Perzig, 2003).

Yakushko (2009) found that immigrants' perception of the host environment's hostile pressures to assimilate resulted in diminished psychological adjustment on the part of those immigrants. Horenczyk (2008) theorized that inconsistent and hostile treatment of immigrants results in their vulnerability to anxiety and related disorders.

Barry and Grilo (2003) found that some immigrants perceived both individual and group discrimination in their host community, and this perception disrupted their functioning. Perceived discrimination was related to psychological distress in a sample of 108 people. Several recent studies indicated that perceived prejudice and discrimination were detrimental to their psychological functioning. Because the pressure to acculturate is closely related to xenophobia, the studies of ethnic identity and acculturation may provide insight into the influence of anti-immigrant sentiments on newcomers. There is a strong link between experiences of acculturative stress, depression and suicide among recent immigrants. Migrants were found in the studies to have experienced greater acculturative stress, reported higher levels of anxiety, and were struggling with acculturation and cultural adjustment associated with mental health issues. The studies highlighted the fact that discrimination is a reality for many immigrant individuals, and

that discrimination has had a detrimental effect on their mental health. The destructive influence of perceived discrimination and prejudice may extend to the second generation of immigrants. Other studies found that the psychological and social functioning of immigrants declined from the first to the second generation across all immigrant groups. It is possible that one of the explanations for this finding is related to both the racist and xenophobic environments to which second generation immigrants are exposed in their host country. Similar to the effects of other forms of prejudice, xenophobic discrimination may be harmful to individuals who experience it. Significant expenditure becomes necessary in order to secure the wellbeing of affected immigrants. Counselling psychology allows us to challenge the societal milieu which seeks to justify xenophobia, and instead to address the unique needs of immigrant populations (Hovey, 2000).

2.18 The effects of xenophobia

The effects of xenophobia may be observed from three different viewpoints, viz. the personal level, the victim's viewpoint and that of society.

2.18.1 Personal level of xenophobic effects

These are the effects of xenophobia on the individual who is a xenophobe. The individual will manifest most of the signs and symptoms of anxiety disorder, of which phobia and xenophobia are subcategories. When the xenophobe is approaching known strangers or black non-South Africans, he or she becomes nervous, and tense, indicating a very strong desire to avoid them.

When in the midst of strangers or black non-South Africans, the xenophobe surely increased heartbeat, profuse sweating, dry mouth, a desire to urinate, trembling hands, quavering voice, inability to make eye contact and clumsy social interaction. The xenophobe may also show anger, distrust, aggression, discrimination, and hatred towards them (APA, 2001).

2.18.2 Victim level of xenophobia effects

Victims of xenophobia experience characteristic patterns of behaviour and feelings. The hostile attitudes which xenophobes display toward them cause victims to be confused, bewildered and astonished because they cannot fathom the reasons for the xenophobes' behaviour. They become angry, concerned and fearful when they begin to understand that the xenophobes' reactions are particularly targeted at them as a group (Amnesty International, 2004).

2.18.3 Societal level of xenophobia effects

These are the effects of xenophobia on the society or country at large where xenophobia is practised. When xenophobic attacks are rampant and intense, the communities and countries begin to attract critical publicity. The unfavourable attention of the international community results in the xenophobic countries' experiencing a loss of tourism, international trade and educational, cultural, political, economic, and scientific exchange programmes. These losses may in turn undermine the economy of such countries and increase the poverty of their citizens (Florack et al., 2003).

2.19 Xenophobia: absence of theory, absence of politics

South African society has experienced a massive problem with xenophobia since its liberation in 1994, a problem which is particularly shocking given the massive international support for the struggle against apartheid, particularly during the 1980s. The xenophobia is directed overwhelmingly at Africans from all over the continent, with some nationalities, for example Nigerians and Mozambicans, being singled out, particularly in the press, as being associated with illegal activities (drugs and illegal immigration). An increase in xenophobic hostility directed at those who are deemed to be non-citizens amounts to a denial of rights and entitlements, expressed through prejudice and stereotypes. It manifests itself through incitement to and actions of obvious exclusion, hostility and violence against people just because of what is deemed to be, in the specific context, their “foreign” status. The fact that this exclusion and discrimination also impacts on South African citizens, simply because “foreign” status is declared on the basis of the crudest of racist stereotypes, suggests that the issue is not only one which is applicable to black non-South Africans, as defined by legal discourse. Migrants who come to the country for political or economic reasons (the two are often indistinguishable) are regularly associated, particularly in the state discourse emanating from the press, with crime and criminal activities, while their attempts to achieve economic survival is also criminalized. The use of the term “illegal” is often employed in conjunction with “immigrant” to intensify their dehumanization. This discriminatory treatment is, time and again, justified on the basis of the economic and social crises facing South Africa, where around half of the population is said to live in poverty. It is alleged to have resulted in the deepening social exclusion of, and violence towards, black non-South Africans. Just as it was viewed under apartheid, a “black non-South African” is apparently recognizable by physical characteristics, and the police force in particular is notorious for abusing its power in extorting funds from the politically vulnerable and powerless black non-South Africans (Neocosmos, 2003).

2.20 Citizenship and political identity

2.20.1 Xenophobia is a discourse and practice of exclusion from community

Xenophobia is a discourse concerned with a process of social and political exclusion of some groups of the population. This amounts to a process of social exclusion from the community (usually, but not exclusively, the nation) and citizenship (its resources, privileges, duties, etc., or some of these) of such groups. This exclusion is regularly seen as necessary for the existence of the community or nation, and the “other” must be excluded for the “we” to exist. This means that citizenship is reduced to indigeneity, while remaining in essence passive. This is because under such circumstances, citizenship is state-constructed, and the state sees citizenship as being concerned with populations within a territory under its control. In this form of indigeneity, citizenship is given by territory and birth, not by political agency, and is underlined by state power. Indigeneity implies an exclusive conception of nationality and citizenship, meaning that those perceived (in whatever way) to be outside territorial boundaries are excluded from rights and entitlements (Neocosmos, 2003).

2.20.2 The process of exclusion is a political process

The exclusion is a political process in that the state plays a central role in the process, however implicit or hidden, and only politically weak or marginalized groups (i.e. political minorities) can be socially excluded, although they may participate in state politics to various extents. The state, in relation to society, defines who is a citizen and who is not, who is included in community and who is not. Collective ideologies struggle more broadly over conceptions of the nation or community. Political discourses demarcate boundaries. It is these discourses then, the parameters of which are forged in debate between state and society, which form a state domain of politics which, in turn, provides the conditions for the formation of political identities (Florack et al., 2003).

2.20.3 Xenophobia is concerned with exclusion from citizenship, which denotes a specific political relationship between state and society

Exclusion from community means exclusion from citizenship, its rights and duties, as it is the latter which defines community membership of the nation in particular. Xenophobia is thus intimately connected to citizenship or, in other words, to the fact of belonging or not belonging to a community. This connection may also, often but not exclusively, apply to being part of a nation. It is important to stress this, given the pervasiveness of legalistic perspectives in studies of the phenomenon. Xenophobia is about the denial of social rights and entitlements to strangers; people considered to be strangers to the community (village, ethnic group as well as nation) not just to “foreigners” as defined by the law. It is thus about a certain perception of the community as being founded on indigeneity or autochthony. This, in turn, leads to the premise that the perception of community is necessarily essentialist and ahistorical, and therefore visualized as unchanging. Thus “belonging” must be understood in two senses: first political, so that it refers to access to rights, entitlements to various resources, etc. In the second sense it should be viewed subjectively; in other words in terms of the identity

of a group. It must be emphasized that “belonging” should be viewed, fundamentally, as a political identity rather than simply a personal one. This is because it is acquired owing to its relationship with the state and power, and is the result of power relations between state and society. Finally, in hegemonic (state) discourse, citizenship is reduced to passive citizenship and nationhood is reduced to indigeneity (Neocosmos, 2003).

2.20.4 Xenophobia is the outcome of a relationship between different forms of politics

In this sense, xenophobia (its existence, character, and extent) can be said to be the outcome of a relationship between two forms of politics, namely state politics and popular or subaltern politics. Alternatively, xenophobia exists at the interface between state and sociality, or state subjectivity and popular subjectivity. Although state nationalist politics in Africa have tended to be overwhelmingly “exclusive” and territorialized in the form of indigeneity, there have been struggles at the level of popular politics (within society) between exclusive and inclusive citizenship. The latter tends to be “popular-democratic” in content, and its orientation may be universal, particularly during periods of mass popular upsurge such as the struggle for independence (Barry & Grilo, 2003).

2.21 Xenophobic psychism

One group or more, representing people who have a phobia towards another group which is perceived by them to be different, is required in order for xenophobic behaviour to be manifested in such a way that it affects society. In the xenophobic phenomenology, the group is the protagonist of the whole affair, while the individual stays in the background. The xenophobic group has a xenophobic history. It consists of individuals whose development history is characterized by a deep malaise within the group, which is usually absorbed and contained, but sometimes acts against the designated victims. The xenophobic group has a rational objective and an unconscious one. The rational objective is to persecute the phobic object by every possible means; direct conflict, however, is quite rare. Xenophobia lives in an atmosphere of perennial waiting and constant rumination on the threat which the black non-South African poses to the group, and the values which the group embodies. Each individual occupies a personal matrix; the persecutory aspect of which is shared with the other members of the group. The group network hosting the members’ interaction is initially sparked by the persecutory impulse in each member’s personal matrix (Brown, 2010).

The illusion of persecution is the pretext for the formation of the group, and the core from which the dynamic matrix of the group originates and develops. The xenophobic group’s view of the world is clouded by fear of the black non-South African, or of the unusual. So, for example, every news reference to black non-South Africans is an

opportunity for the group to confirm and strengthen the justification of its concerns (Bemak & Chung, 2002).

In some cases the xenophobic group resorts to destructive behaviour, often in football stadiums, which are the preferred setting for such outbursts. In the stadiums, battles are simulated to a certain degree (Barry & Grilo, 2003). They expose, usually in a controlled manner, old transpersonal, municipal, regional and national differences among a long list of other imagined reasons for the hatred.

The hatred is kept alive by tales of ancient wrongs suffered, finding confirmation in the here and now of a foul play not penalized, or a penalty kick awarded to a rival team. The hatreds have come down through the centuries, existing in the transpersonal matrix of individuals, groups and communities, and ever available for manifestation in times of confrontation. So xenophobia is a dormant sentiment, carried within people who are connected as a group, irrespective of skin colour, nationality, religion, etc., which can in an instant assume the characteristics of the phobic object (Barry & Grilo, 2003).

The group's unconscious goal emanates from the individual's unconscious motivation to be associated with the group. As already mentioned, it is reasonable to suppose that individuals belonging to xenophobic groups have a developmental weakness, specifically the failure of the family network to limit physiological anxieties of development, including the fear of strangers, and a family matrix containing persecutory themes which have saturated the sense of life. It can therefore be said that each individual brings to the group and entrusts to it an uncontrolled and uncontrollable anxiety and, at the same time, a persecutory theme which dominates the person's sense of the unknown. For its members, the group plays a therapeutic role because, by taking on the anxiety of its members, it partially frees them. At the same time as it accepts the persecutory theme, the group makes individual members feel able to deal with the thing they fear at certain times and in certain situations. The group allows each member to respond to the anxiety generated by the phobic object, not by being paralysed or fleeing but by attacking. The result is an increase in self-esteem through the actions of the group. Xenophobic phenomenology, however, would still be confined to marginal sectors of the population, and would not be manifested so blatantly if not encouraged by a mass of cheering citizens (Crush, 2008).

In such cases, xenophobic phenomenology is characterized by the horrifying occurrences recorded in history, or revealed by the news of our times; mainly because of the presence of groups that do the dirty work (killing, torturing, raping, burning, etc.), and of a spontaneously formed mass of people who incite and support them, and sometimes participate directly (Gabbard, Beck & Holmes, 2005).

2.22 Migration and xenophobia

It is always important to note that social instability and social change are predominantly caused by political and socio-economic crises. They are often accompanied by migration, leading to differentiation between natives and black non-South Africans (Brown, 2010). In the face of these historical experiences, one might suppose that migration today is a normal phenomenon in South Africa. Unfortunately, this is not the case. On the contrary, faced with a new wave of migration, many Africans once again exhibit signs of anxiety, hostility and even violence.

2.23 Xenophobia and mental health

According to Chen and Park-Taylor (2006), xenophobia usually has a number of underlying conditions and overarching contexts. Since it involves prejudice against a nationality or ethnicity, it is usually associated with assumptions of cultural or ethnic or racial superiority. It is also often rationalized when a group of people is perceived as being a threat to the way of life of the person or the people who experience it. It is usually experienced and acted upon by individuals in daily life and in relationships in the workplace, schools, and other community settings. It is also used to justify warfare or other aggression against a group of people (which often disguises more utilitarian motivations). It can become a convenient device to project blame for adversity (including economic adversity, adverse social change, or even personal misfortune). Xenophobia is easily exploitable by narcissistic, charismatic leaders to mobilize public opinion and solidify or reinforce total control and power, which ultimately undermines democracy, free speech and choice. Xenophobia can be considered as a defence against individual or mass anxiety resulting from social or individual adversity. It involves the use of pathological defence mechanisms such as projection and displacement, and even splitting, with the other, hated group ending up on the negative side of the split, and the group enforcing it on the positive side. Xenophobia also involves a certain degree of depersonalization, with the individual characteristics of other people involved being blurred or subsumed by stereotypes. It contributes to mass hysteria or group-think, especially when it becomes incorporated into ideology (political, religious, nationalistic, etc.) (Chen & Park-Taylor, 2006).

There is some research basis in the social and even the biological sciences for understanding xenophobic behaviours. According to Rajecki, Ivins and Kidd (2006), animal models, such as baby chicks and monkeys, undergoing multiple separations can produce social discrimination and xenophobia. Research has shown that hostile prejudice is disruptive to social interactions and social prejudice (Jones, 2000). Prejudice has been shown to be common across cultures, time, languages and national boundaries (Brown, 2010).

Some research has supported the hypothesis that prejudice is an affective state and, as such, has motivational force, usually to discharge tension or anxiety (Brehm, 2006). Prejudice is associated with stereotypes, which are beliefs and categories that are readily available and established in children's minds before they are taught to critically evaluate perceptions. In most recent times, it has been shown that xenophobic prejudice has evolved from blatant prejudice to subtle prejudice, which has been shown to have a combination of genuine prejudice and social norms which proscribe blatant discrimination (Pettigrew & Meertens, 2006).

Researchers have proposed a justification suppression model of prejudice. This model proposes that several social, cultural, cognitive and developmental factors create a genuine prejudice, which is a powerful negative affective reaction. However, other countervailing forces suppress this prejudice (social norms, personal standards and values – what we would commonly call political correctness). Justification processes, however, can undo these suppressing factors and liberate public communication and private acceptance of normally suppressed prejudices without guilt or shame. Such justification can be provided by ideology, beliefs and attributions (Crandall & Eschelman, 2003). In xenophobia, ideology and mass media are usually the mechanisms through which prejudices are disinhibited to provide justification and release.

In South Africa, because its victims are primarily comprised of immigrants, xenophobia has led to many adverse psychosocial consequences. Apart from its fuelling of violence and bullying, a xenophobic environment inhibits assimilation into a new culture, and contributes to further marginalization of immigrant populations (Reynolds, 2004). This in turn adds to the discontent of xenophobic proponents. It has a significant adverse impact on child/adolescent ethnic identity formation, which can result not only in marginalization, but also in negative identity formation and deviant behaviour (Berry, Phinney, Sam & Vedder, 2006).

Xenophobia certainly leads to increased acculturation stress when different cultures clash negatively (Berry et al., 2006). It has also led to practices such as the incarceration of child and family asylum seekers and the separation of children from parents, thus aggravating post-traumatic stress and adverse mental health outcomes for immigrants.

For the non-immigrant, xenophobia leads to destructive behaviour which is not consonant with civilized culture, such as breaking the law and the perpetration of hate crimes in the heat of passion, with adverse consequences for the non-immigrant (Cemlyn & Briskman, 2003).

According to Gutheil and Gabbard (2003), psychological consequences affect both the victims and the oppressors. As a result they both suffer from different psychological disorders depending on the incidents and types of discrimination they experience. A list of psychological consequences experienced by victims of xenophobia is as follows:-

- a) Problems not being understood by others.
- b) A desire to be left alone owing to being spontaneously treated harshly and unfairly.
- c) A lack of desire to interact or cooperate with others.
- d) Fear of being in a crowd with other people, and not knowing when attacks will occur.
- e) Insomnia and eventual depression.

Gabbard et al. (2005), argued that victims of xenophobia become aware of other differences, more tension and concerns regarding occurrences within their surroundings. Living as unwelcome guests in their host country, and bearing in mind that xenophobic attacks were unpredictable, victims of such attacks were diagnosed with psychological reactions to planned covert attacks by xenophobic neighbours. One such reaction was evidence in the victims' behaviour of similar patterns of distrust and fear to those exhibited by the xenophobic groups, namely:

Emotional:

- Anxiety
- Panic disorder
- Post-traumatic stress disorder
- Fear, helplessness, hopelessness

Cognitive:

- Disorientation and confusion
- Intrusive thoughts, images and memories
- Hypervigilance (i.e. increased sense of risk)
- Impaired concentration and memory

Psychosocial:

- Withdrawal
- Irritability
- Loss of trust and faith, avoidant behaviour (Gabbard et al., 2005).

2.24 Anxiety and xenophobia

While physical violence is easier to recognize, other forms of violence are equally damaging. Victims of xenophobia suffer from anxiety. Black non-South Africans fear that their lives are always at risk because they know that they might be attacked at any time. Xenophobia makes black non-South Africans feel inferior and undermined, which leads to their losing self-confidence. According to Gutheil and Gabbard (2003), victims of xenophobia eventually internalize the dominant definitions of themselves. Powerless groups also construct for themselves an imagined ethno-racial superiority over others. The more powerless and threatened group members feel, the greater their need to criticize others whom they consider to be beneath them. According to Feldman (2009), this is what is referred to as displacement (which refers to the expression of unwanted feelings and thoughts) from a more threatening powerful person or group to a weaker one.

2.25 Post-traumatic stress disorder and xenophobia

The enormous stress of moving to a new country is bad enough. When combined with the loneliness and alienation of being an outsider, and the added stress of exploitation by employers (who take advantage of the fact that these illegal immigrants have no rights in the eyes of South African law), this can also lead to incredible anxiety, depression and substance abuse. All of these factors may result in post-traumatic stress disorder, a phenomenon in which a person has experienced a significantly stressful incident which has long-lasting effects, and may include vivid flashbacks, or dreams of the event (Amir, 2002).

2.26 Panic disorder and xenophobia

Victims of xenophobia are high risk candidates for becoming prone to panic disorder because of their irrational thoughts and a fear of losing control, going insane, or dying. Symptoms such as a racing heart, sweaty palms, shaking, gastrointestinal problems, difficulty with breathing, chest pains and dizziness are often experienced by sufferers from panic disorder (Feldman, 2009).

2.27 Depression, aggression and xenophobia

Excessive anxiety, often brought on by persistent sad or empty moods, feelings of guilt, hopelessness, weight issues and sometimes accompanied by depression, can lead to increased alcohol consumption, drug abuse (in the form of self-medication), and thoughts of death and suicide. Of all of these consequences, during incidents of xenophobic attacks, violence is the main concern. Victims tend to become aggressive when they experience torture at the hands of perpetrators. They develop hatred towards their attackers, or even generalize, believing that all people who are connected in any

way with the perpetrators are violent. The foregoing can lead to permanent aggression (Fein, Kassir & Markus, 2011). Of course, perpetrators also display symptoms of aggression, which manifest themselves in the perpetrators' dealings with their societies and families (Fein et al., 2011).

2.28 Summary

It should be realized, therefore, that xenophobia is a universal phenomenon which is found in some individuals in all countries of the world. However, xenophobic attacks are not universal. In Nigeria, both xenophobic and associated attacks have been known to occur. The multicultural status of Nigeria, with about 374 ethnic groups (Otitte, 2002), has produced a certain degree of mutual distrust between some of the groups. The distrust has led to a series of ethnic clashes, violent inter-boundary disputes, and discrimination in appointments to the Federal Civil Service (Adebayo, 2001).

To summarize, all cultures are subject to xenophobia, but cultural xenophobia is often narrowly directed, for instance, at foreign cultures inside or outside the country. It leads to aggression against any black non-South Africans within the country or outside the nation. Xenophobia can be based on various aspects. It includes fear and hatred of another race, nationality, religion, gender, status, culture, ethnicity, political belief, and so on. Generally, it is directed at people who look different or believe differently from oneself. Researchers will therefore confine themselves to the four most important elements which contribute to xenophobia. These four elements include nationalism, racism, ethnocentrism and religion.

In this chapter the literature was looked at, and the next chapter focuses on research methods.

Chapter 3

Theoretical framework

3.1 Introduction

Various explanations for xenophobia have been offered in literature and popular culture (magazines, speeches, documents, etc.). These explanations have been grouped into three hypotheses, namely: the “scapegoating hypothesis”, the “isolation hypothesis”, and the biocultural hypothesis”. It is important to realize that these hypotheses are not mutually exclusive, but rather offer different levels of explanation for xenophobia within contemporary South Africa. They operate as straightforward theoretical descriptions which do not question the term “xenophobia” itself, as much as examine its background, symptoms and indications (Hook & Eagle, 2002).

3.2 Theories (or perspectives) of xenophobia

Some authors emphasize economic, social and political explanations. Others tend to focus on cultural and psychological theories in providing other reasons for the fear of black non-South Africans. The assumption is that all of the explanations are indeed, to various degrees, relevant in the prediction of xenophobia or alienation of black nonSouth Africans. However, while explanations or theories regarding economic or political causes are influenced by factors such as the identity of the excluded group, the psychological aspect should remain stable, and not be affected by environmental factors (Landau, 2004).

Xenophobia, which has psychological origins, is more profound than any other type of prejudicial attitude (Glazer & Moynihan, 2008).

3.2.1 The scapegoating theory of xenophobia

The scapegoating hypothesis has largely emerged through sociological theory. It locates xenophobia within the context of social transition and change. Hostility towards black non-South Africans is explained as a product of limited infrastructure, resources and services such as housing, education, health care and employment, coupled with high expectations of development during transition. In the post-apartheid epoch, people’s expectations had been heightened. Realization that delivery was not forthcoming resulted in discontent and indignation, and angry protests were at their peak. People became more conscious of their deprivation than ever before. The situation provided

fertile ground for a phenomenon like xenophobia to take root and flourish. South Africa's political transition to democracy has exposed the unequal distribution of resources and wealth in the country. Generally, the scapegoating theory explains xenophobia in terms of broad social and economic factors, so a psychological level of explanation to supplement sociological interpretation was introduced. Some researchers conceptualize xenophobia in terms of frustration and relative deprivation. The relative-deprivation theory suggests that a key psychological factor in generating social unrest is the sense of relative deprivation that arises from a subjective feeling of discontent based on the belief that one is getting less than one feels entitled to. When there is a chasm between aspirations and reality, social discontent is likely to result. The anger caused by deprivation and perceived or real threats from immigrants as they relate to available resources does not directly cause the nationals to commit violence, but it frustrates them. Some political scientists have mentioned that frustration breeds anger, yet angry people do not always commit violence. Some nationals might turn their anger inwards and commit suicide. Alternatively, people may release their anger on the "frustration-scapegoat", usually the non-national minorities. In this study psychological theories of aggression and frustration are offered to explain that there is a causal link between relative deprivation, xenophobia and collective violence. This link is forged through the scapegoating of black non-South Africans. The "relative deprivation" theory offers a psychological explanation for scapegoating. Concepts of frustration and aggression are interpreted as subjective, intrapsychic processes. In this way, the theory explains xenophobia from the inside out (Barry & Grilo, 2003).

The psychoanalytic theory similarly offers an intrapsychic explanation of scapegoating as a projective and defensive process. The theory indicates that the cause of social unrest cannot be simply located within subjective perceptions of reality. The search for causes of social action must extend beyond the subjective psychological realm to include its complex interrelatedness with objective social reality. The psychological interpretation of scapegoating must not be divorced from the socio-economic realities of contemporary South Africa. The psychological process of relative deprivation rests on social comparison. This takes place at the level of employment, housing, education and even personal relationships; so much so that black non-South Africans are scapegoated for taking our jobs, taking our houses and stealing our partners. Politics, economics and patriarchy impact on the scapegoating process (Hook & Eagle, 2002).

3.2.2 The isolation theory of xenophobia

The scapegoating hypothesis of xenophobia states that the black non-South African is used as a scapegoat, someone to blame for social ills and personal frustrations. In this way, the foreigner becomes a target for hostility and violence. However, there is an implicit assumption that foreigners automatically become scapegoats. The hypothesis does not clarify why black non-South Africans, but not other social groups or individuals, are seen as the cause of unemployment, poverty and deprivation. It does not explain why nationality is the determining factor in choosing victims for

scapegoating. In contrast, the isolation hypothesis of xenophobia sets alien status at the heart of hostility towards black non-South Africans. The isolation hypothesis regards xenophobia as being a consequence of apartheid South Africa's exclusion from the international community. It is argued that apartheid insulated South African citizens from nationalities beyond Southern Africa. In this hypothesis, black non-South Africans represent the unknown to South Africans. With the political transition, however, South Africa's borders have opened up, and the country has become integrated into the international community. This has brought South Africans into direct contact with the unknown, i.e. with black non-South Africans. The isolation hypothesis suggests that the interface between previously isolated South Africans and unknown black non-South Africans creates the opportunity for hostility to develop: 'When a group has no history of incorporating strangers it may find it difficult to be welcoming'. The isolation hypothesis suggests that suspicion and hostility towards strangers in South Africa exists because of international isolation. The hypothesis also explains contemporary xenophobia due to internal isolation, the isolation of South Africans from

South Africans as a consequence of apartheid: "There is little doubt that the brutal environment created by apartheid with its enormous emphasis on boundary maintenance has also impacted on people's ability to be tolerant of difference" (Barry & Grilo, 2003). Owing to the creation of strict boundaries between South African citizens, as well as between the country and other nations, South Africans are unable to accommodate or, indeed, tolerate difference. According to the theory of isolation, South Africans find difference threatening and dangerous. In this theory, xenophobia exists because of the very foreignness of black non-South Africans. It exists because black non-South Africans are different and unknown' (Hook & Eagle, 2002).

3.2.3 The biocultural theory of xenophobia

The isolation and the scapegoating hypotheses of xenophobia provide a general explanation for the phenomenon. In the latter, black non-South Africans are scapegoats for social ills, and the difference (or foreignness), engendered by black non-South Africans accounts for the violence and hostility. In both theories, the black non-South African is treated as a homogeneous entity, and there is no scope for differentiation between various types of black non-South African. However, xenophobia in South Africa is not applied equally to all black non-South Africans. Some are at greater risk than others. Black non-South Africans seem to be particularly vulnerable to violence and hostility. The biocultural hypothesis of xenophobia offers an explanation for the asymmetrical targeting of black non-South Africans by South Africans. The biocultural hypothesis locates xenophobia at the level of visible difference, or otherness, i.e. in terms of physical biological factors and cultural differences exhibited by black non-South Africans in the country. For example, Nigerians and Congolese are easily identifiable as the "other". Because of their physical features, their bearing, their clothing style and their inability to speak one of the indigenous languages, they are in general clearly distinct, and local residents are easily able to pick them out and scapegoat them (Yakushko, 2009). These factors apply to the identification of Africans

from Southern Africa too. Consider, for example, the “identification” methods supposedly used by the internal tracing units of the South African Police Service: In trying to establish whether a suspect is an alien or not, members of the internal tracing units focus on a number of aspects. One of these is language or accent; the pronunciation of certain words (such as the Zulu for “elbow”, or “buttonhole”, or the name “meerkat”). Some are asked what nationality they are, and if they reply “Sud” African, this is a dead giveaway for a Mozambican, while Malawians tend to pronounce the letter “r” as “errow”. Appearance is another factor in trying to establish whether a suspect is alien – hairstyle, type of clothing worn, as well as actual physical appearance.

In the case of Mozambicans, a dead giveaway is the vaccination mark on the lower left forearm, while those from Lesotho tend to wear gumboots, carry walking sticks or wear blankets (in the traditional manner), and also speak slightly different Sesotho. The biological-cultural features of hairstyle, accents, vaccination marks, dress and physical appearance can be read as indexical markers or signifiers. They signify difference and point out foreignness in a way that is immediately visible. Reading physical features as signifiers of foreignness offers a valuable framework for understanding the significance of these features in xenophobic actions. Biological-cultural markers are significant in generating xenophobia because they point out whom to target, i.e. they indicate which particular group of black non-South Africans the South African public dislikes and initiates violence against. However, what they signify, and how they have come to signify this, must also be explained in order to comment on reasons for xenophobia and its asymmetrical application to certain black non-South Africans. Although the visible otherness of black non-South Africans seems to be an important factor behind local hostility, this is not sufficient as an explanation for the asymmetrical xenophobia directed towards this group. Biological-cultural factors may stand as indexical markers of difference, but then so do the language, accent, clothing and physical features of white and Asian people. This is not to suggest that these groups are automatically immune to xenophobia, but relative to black non-South Africans, they do appear to be at a lower risk for violence (Hook & Eagle, 2002).

While the three hypotheses discussed above offer important insights into xenophobia, they do not properly account for why the black non-South African – as the unknown other – evokes violence and aggression in South Africa. Similarly, unless they are read as an interconnected series of explanations, they risk presenting xenophobia as uniform or monolithic, whereas black non-South Africans usually bear the brunt of this phenomenon. They do not allow for degrees of hostility or foreignness. Taken together, these hypotheses do not explain the “whys” of xenophobia. One possible way of understanding why black non-South Africans are targets of violence is to postulate a new hypothesis, one that situates xenophobia within South Africa’s transition from a past of racism to a future of nationalism. At a most basic level, this involves looking at the role of broad social institutions, such as the media, in generating specific images of black non-South Africans in the country. More theoretically, this involves looking at the mechanisms of nationalism and the ways in which xenophobia itself has been represented (Yakushko, 2009).

The violence started on 11 May 2008 in Alexandra Township outside Johannesburg, when a mob invaded a disused factory allegedly inhabited by Zimbabweans. The mob chased the inhabitants into the township while looting shops, setting shacks alight and killing two people in the process. Within days, the violence spread to other townships on the East Rand, inner-city Johannesburg and Soweto, and then further afield to the provinces of KwaZulu-Natal and Mpumalanga; eventually reaching Cape Town and surrounding areas. The police responded to the violence by making arrests, and the army was brought in to stabilize the situation. Former President Thabo Mbeki received much criticism for his initial reluctance to comment on the violence, but broke his silence after two weeks to condemn it. On the same day, the president of the ruling African National Congress, Jacob Zuma, also denounced the violence. The following day, 26 May, the Minister of Safety and Security claimed that the xenophobic attacks were under control. He stated that 1,384 people had been arrested, 342 foreign-owned shops were looted, and 213 shops were burned down. The death toll stood at 56, later rising to 62.

Xenophobia is perceived as a feature affecting many societies which are under pressure. However, the events of May 2008 were uniquely shocking because of the incidence of mass violence, the intensity and sustainability of the violent campaigns, their rapid spread countrywide, and the government's initial reluctance to recognize them. Although unique in its scale and intensity, the xenophobic violence of May 2008 should not have been surprising because it resulted from widespread and long-standing hostility towards foreigners, and the state's failure to recognize the early warning signs (Mail & Guardian, 2008).

In 1995, the Southern African Migration Project (SAMP, 2008) surveys showed that 16% of South Africans, increasing to 37% in 2006, were in favour of a blanket prohibition on people migrating from other countries. SAMP has described South Africa as one of the most xenophobic countries in the world. In 1994, community organizations in Alexandra accused migrants from Mozambique, Zimbabwe and

Malawi of causing crime, sexual attacks and unemployment, and forcefully evicted them in a campaign called "Operation Buyelekhaya", meaning "go back home" (Mail & Guardian, 2008).

In 1997 local hawkers in central Johannesburg attacked their black non-South African counterparts. In September 1998 a mob murdered one Mozambican and two Senegalese asylum seekers who were selling sweets to passengers on the train between Pretoria and Johannesburg. In 2005 Zimbabwean and Somali refugees were beaten in the Free State after a community protest against the local municipality. In 2006, mobs in the townships around Cape Town robbed and looted the shops of Somali shopkeepers and killed 29 Somalis between July and September. Xenophobia can assume a variety of forms, ranging from derogatory language to violence (Handmaker & Parsley, 2001). More subtle forms of xenophobia also permeate South African society, whether in the townships, or in the ethos and operations of powerful state institutions. In March 2000

the South African Police arrested immigrants who were taken to deportation camps after loot and arms were seized. Civil servants, and particularly the Department of Home Affairs, have perpetuated and upheld stereotypes regarding African migrants and contributed to the intimidation and exploitation of asylum seekers and other migrants. In 1994, Home Affairs Minister, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, infamously accused illegal aliens of threatening the success of economic development and the safety and security of all South Africans. He alleged that there were explicit links between migrants and drug-trafficking, prostitution and money-laundering. Although the scale of events during May 2008 was unprecedented in geographical reach and intensity, antagonism amongst South Africans towards black non-South Africans was already embedded in their social lives and official political discourse. Post-apartheid xenophobia in South Africa has characteristics which make it particularly remarkable (Le Roux, 2006).

Firstly, violence is perpetrated largely by South Africans against black non-South

Africans, who are referred to as “*ámakwerekwere*”, meaning “person who speaks an unintelligible language”. According to McDonald and Jacobs (2005), South Africans of all races are xenophobic towards all black non-South Africans. Black non-South Africans are often treated differently, depending on their race. Peberdy (2001) emphasized that white illegal immigrants from Europe who have overstayed their entry permits are not treated or stereotyped in the way that African migrants are, and the state does not abuse and exploit them in the way that it does African migrants. In terms of race, migrants are also judged on the basis of nationality. South Africans view migrants from Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland as more desirable than Zimbabweans and Mozambicans, and much more than Africans from further afield (SAMP, 2008).

According to Morris (2008), black non-South Africans are identified by the languages they speak, darker skin colour and even the clothes they wear. During the apartheid years a remarkable feature of violence against African migrants was that it was overwhelmingly perpetrated by South Africans against black non-South Africans, when fellow Africans were integrated into black townships. The dynamics of African migration to South Africa changed when apartheid ended in the early 1990s. In the apartheid era, the white minority government actively discouraged black immigration.

Thousands of Africans from South Africa’s closest neighbouring countries entered the country as contract workers to provide cheap, unskilled labour to the mining and farming industries.

3.2.4 The socio-economic explanation

Glazer and Moynihan (2008) argued that much of the conflict could best be understood in terms of competition for scarce resources. This approach is also known as a realistic group conflict theory. The paradigm associated with this approach, among other propositions, views the strained relationships between groups as a reflection of their competitive positions, suggesting that the threat posed by one particular group to another is a cause of xenophobia.

According to Stephan and Stephan (2000), this theory suggests that competition for access to limited resources results in conflict between groups, leading to prejudice against the out-group whose members are viewed by the in-group as a threat to their livelihood. This theory also works in conjunction with the integrated theory of prejudice.

3.2.5 Integrated Theory of Prejudice

This theory expands the view of threat outside the economic area. It suggests that there are four types of threat that lead to prejudice: realistic threat, symbolic threat, intergroup anxiety and negative stereotypes.

3.2.5.1 Realistic threat

This is concern regarding both the economic and political power of the in-group, which is perceived to be challenged by the out-group (e.g. jobs being given to the members of the out-group).

3.2.5.2 Symbolic threat

This threat stems from differences in values, beliefs, morals and attitudes between ingroup and out-group members. The threat is directly related to conflict in which the worldviews, values, beliefs and attitudes of members of the in-group are being challenged by the newcomers.

3.2.5.3 Intergroup anxiety and negative stereotypes

These two types of threat focus on the avoidance of unpleasant interactions with others and the meaning of these interactions. Adepoju (2003) suggested that individuals in the in-group experience feelings of threat when interacting with members of the out-group in ways that challenge their self-image (e.g. being embarrassed when in contact with something unfamiliar, and this threat perception results in anxiety).

3.2.6 The political explanation

Another common explanation for xenophobia relates to political tension between groups of different social identities (e.g. ethnic identity, cultural identity). Individuals' social identities can be based upon nationality, ethnicity, age or gender, among other factors (Tajfel & Turner, 2009).

3.2.7 The psychological explanation

Although socio-economic and political explanations seem to be pivotal in explaining xenophobic tendencies, the role of psychological variables should not be ignored

(Danso & McDonald, 2001). One significant and still largely relevant psychological theory, relating to the adherence to extreme political attitudes, including xenophobia, was presented by Adepoju (2003). This is known as the authoritarian personality theory.

Authoritarianism suggested a number of individual differences between a so-called democratic person and an authoritarian person. This insight may be helpful in explaining the animosity of authoritarians towards those who are perceived as black non-South Africans, aliens or people from other cultures. Sidanius (2001) developed the concept of right-wing authoritarianism (RWA). This concept consists of three major components: authoritarian submission, authoritarian aggression, and conventionality. It is argued that authoritarians displace or direct their aggressive feelings against outgroup members, whom they regard with contempt.

3.2.7.1 The psychodynamic of fear

As with all human phenomena, xenophobia has multiple causes. It is in fact a phenomenon that can safely be called complex. It follows that the numerous studies conducted in different scientific domains, or within the same discipline, using different theoretical models, are an indispensable segment, though not the whole of what helps us to understand xenophobia. The etymological meaning of the term “xenophobia” is “fear of the stranger”, or “fear of the unfamiliar”. Danso and McDonald (2001) define it as “a feeling of generic aversion for black non-South Africans and for foreign things, manifested in attitudes and actions of intolerance and hostility towards the customs, culture, and inhabitants of other countries”. This definition focuses on what is evident about xenophobia. It addresses the feeling of aversion, the people it is directed against (black non-South Africans and foreign things), and the way it is expressed (actions of intolerance). Linking the etymology with the definition of the word “xenophobia”, it can be argued that the feeling of aversion is the evident manifestation of another feeling that precedes it, which is fear. It is, in other words, the aversion expressed by a group or by a community towards that which is foreign or unusual in its manifestation; or it is simply an expression of fear. People are xenophobic because they are afraid of the black non-South African, or in general terms, the unusual. It must be remembered that phobias (fears) are disorders which the American Psychiatric Association, in its statistical manual of mental disorders (DSM-IV), places on Axis I among the anxiety disorders. It is well known that underlying the DSM-IV there is the idea of constructing a language shared by clinicians and researchers, and this is why a descriptive theoretical approach is used in the manual. This involves leaving aside the “sense” given to psychopathology, which, in contrast, is typical of psychodynamic research. On a strictly descriptive level,

therefore, xenophobia certainly has a place among the anxiety disorders; however, it is necessary to delve deeper in order to understand and make sense of a phenomenon which accompanies the (known) history of humanity (Sidanius, 2001).

There is one scientific tradition which endeavours to differentiate between the two terms by seeing fear as a state of mind, emanating from perception of a real external danger, and anxiety as a state of mind similar to fear, but without the perception of external danger. On this point, Freud distinguished a real anxiety from a neurotic one; attributing to the former the sense of a state of mind justified by external events, and to the latter, one still justified by a danger, but this time an unconscious danger. Adepoju (2003) gives a description of anxiety and fear considering the different phenomenologies. The first indicates a sudden, or continued, feeling of confusion and foreboding (of imminent disaster) which contains something indeterminate and freefloating. Fear, on the other hand, bears witness to a state of mind, an emotional expression, directed more to a real, concrete situation. Anxiety is therefore an emotion, devoid of meaning, which tirelessly emerges from within; unlike fear, which is a meaningful reaction to a situation of recognizable risk. In the case of phobic experience, the difference between anxiety and fear, based on whether or not there is a danger, is irrelevant since anxiety is manifested anyway because of a perceived danger. In an unconscious way, the ego focuses on an external object, in an endeavour to prevent unacceptable thoughts and feelings from reaching the conscious awareness. In psychodynamic research, Freud showed that the phobic object (the symptom which instils fear) is deprived of its characteristics of reality following intense, organized, intrapsychic activity through which the phobic person transfers other characteristics onto it to justify the fear and the consequent reaction. Since the foreigner is a phobic object, it is therefore onto him/her that the individual's inner world is transferred. The black non-South African is thus excluded, and bears the brunt of the unbearable inner phantasms projected onto him by individuals, groups and communities in an attempt to free themselves. Removed from real dimension and condemned to live as an illusion created by others, the non-black South African becomes a scapegoat. Clinical experience shows that in those social networks (family, groups, organizations) where the phenomenon of the scapegoat (or designated patient) exists, the entire network becomes problematic. As a defense it projects its problematic nature onto one of its members, who will then become the scapegoat. Furthermore clinical experience shows that, to be successful, the therapeutic intervention must concern the whole network, and not just the designated patient. It is a well-known fact that the network reacts, at times violently, when an attempt is made to involve it, showing that the problem does not concern just one person, but all of them (Gabbard et al., 2005).

It can be said that the phobic object, in whatever situation, is a scapegoat, paying for faults which are not its own. This dynamic is paradoxically identical both in instances of individual phobias and in social manifestations such as xenophobia. In both cases, inner conflicts are shifted to the outside in the hope that they will dissipate. The elimination of phobic objects from the field of perception is an endless task that all who are affected by a phobia perform in their daily lives. The same thing happens in a

community affected by xenophobia that uses its resources in the persecution of its phobic object, the black non-South African, in order to exclude him from its field of perception, instead of dealing with the real problems afflicting it (Brown, 2010).

3.2.8 The socio-biological explanation

Crush and Ramachandran (2009) propose that human beings are biologically predisposed to favour their own and discriminate against outsiders. They use the analogy of an infant shying away from strangers when arguing that xenophobia is an innate form of behaviour, and central to human nature. The conditions of economic and emotional insecurity therefore simply exacerbate these “natural” tendencies, and violence against outsiders is consequently a spontaneous, inevitable aspect of the human condition. Disturbing results may therefore be expected in future because of increasing levels of immigration. So, in this context, social contact between migrant and non-migrant groups can produce positive or negative results. Gutheil and Gabbard (2003) argued that Allport’s original approach held that certain types of contact between groups can diminish prejudice. He outlined four broad conditions under which contact between groups would result in greater harmony and understanding between them:

- The groups in question should have or perceive equal status.
- The contact should be effective in that the groups must work together, relying on each other to achieve a common goal.
- He emphasized the need for intergroup cooperation rather than competition.
- He then suggested that intergroup contact would be more effective if supported by authorities. Guidelines which shape these interactions are clearly provided.

Allport’s approach indicates that people project their frustration onto convenient targets, thereby obscuring the actual causes of their anxiety. In the context of xenophobia, immigrants, migrants and refugees become convenient scapegoats. They are unfairly and erroneously blamed for various problems such as housing shortages, unemployment and crime. Gutheil and Gabbard (2003) argued that migrants are held responsible for housing shortages by local communities, who allege that migrants receive preferential treatment by local authorities who provide accommodation.

Another common social ill in which migrants become scapegoats is crime. In many countries there is an enduring belief that migrants are responsible for increasing levels of crime. However, these perceptions are often divorced from reality. Scapegoating tendencies and public rhetoric promoting fear and loathing collectively shape and define the contours of symbolic threat posed by immigrants. When migrants are blamed for social ills, negative and biased stereotypes are produced, reproduced and accepted as common sense. This rhetoric not only instigates fear and loathing by demonizing migrants as the other, it also excuses the poor treatment of migrants. It creates divisions

between citizens. They are ascribed qualities that are repulsive, and which dehumanize, debase, and degrade them (Cheong, Edwards, Goulbourne, & Solomos, 2007). They are viewed as, somehow, inferior and not worthy of equal or fair treatment. Differences between migrant and native populations are exaggerated, while similarities are overlooked, thereby maintaining social distance between migrants and native groups.

Grillo (2005) asserts that xenophobia has also been tied to the exclusionary impulse of the nation-building process and nationalism. Immigration and the presence of immigrants may simply exaggerate this impulse. In South Africa, the rise in the incidence of xenophobia has been attributed to the redefinition of insiders and outsiders who participated in the post-apartheid nation-building project. A related perspective links the growth of xenophobic sentiments to the development of aggressive forms of nationalism, in which the tendency to eliminate or prohibit is much more strongly evident. In particular, the new right has espoused notions of ethno-nationalism which include only people belonging to their own nationality, excluding immigrants and other ethnic minorities. This form of nationalism constructs the idealized notion of a geographical area being occupied by people from certain races or ethnicities. The restrictive notion of national community is formed through birth and descent.

3.2.8.1 Anthropological and social components of xenophobia

It is often assumed that insufficient information and awareness regarding these historical factors is the main cause of xenophobia. Ethnological studies show that, even today, former refugees manifest similar adverse attitudes toward black non-South Africans to those exhibited by natives who have never changed their domicile. It is also assumed that xenophobia is an uncontrollable affective reaction of people who, in specific social situations, are confronted with foreign objects or black non-South Africans. Xenophobia thus constitutes a form of emotion. It surfaces whenever unknown and negatively evaluated persons, events or objects appear, and becomes a defensive mobilization, perhaps even preparation for an offensive attack. In social systems, xenophobic reactions additionally reflect a fear of loss. This fear concerns social status, the inscription of rights and privileges, and the allocation of and access to scarce resources. In this context xenophobia includes two components: an anthropological and a social component (Heinrichs & Hoffman, 2001).

3.2.8.1.1 Anthropological component

In terms of this component, the central assumption is the differentiation between the inside and the outside. This differentiation has two aspects: a subjective psychological and an objective geographical aspect. The subjective psychological component concerns familiarity. From the beginning of their lives, people tend to establish a familiar world around themselves. They assimilate and sometimes accommodate their external environment, become acquainted with it and internalize it. In that way people

exert ever-increasing control over their world, establishing which people, in which positions, belong in their social environment. They learn to read telltale signs: what kind of behaviour should be expected from people in their environment, and which eventualities are predictable. Eventually, their familiar environment is a small world which they take for granted. It has become a place of safety. The acquisition of a familiar world is associated with choice, and the familiar world is selected and restricted. It is constituted by way of a selection of possibilities which is valid for a restricted number of people in a restricted area. Selection and restriction are based on choice and mediated through consensual negotiations which are the main prerequisites of security, control and expectation. People assume that their familiar world endures, that it is reproduced, and that it will continue to exist in the future. In this sense, the continuous familiar world is the main source of one's identity (Gutheil & Gabbard, 2003).

Besides the subjective subcomponent, the familiar world also has a geographical extension (Hettman, Neale & Kendler, 2001). Hence there has always been a struggle about territorial boundaries. The word "boundary", in its fundamental spatial sense, describes the extremities of a territory which is determined by its name. A boundary cannot be described without reference to spaces which are divided, and a space cannot be determined without reference to its environment. Here is the connection to political power: Separation and division of geographical spaces, in the sense of different ethnic regions or national territories, always imply acts of power, and boundaries are the result of a conflict between internal and external forces. This aspect of power is the basis of the more repulsive meaning of the word "boundary". A space is closed by boundaries, and entrance is forbidden by agencies of force. Boundaries hinder a free exchange of people, ideas and goods (Heinrichs & Hoffman, 2001).

This fundamental concept of a limited space is the crucial one concerning xenophobia. For the insiders, there is always a fear of the territorial hunger of outsiders, of their eagerness and readiness for a violent invasion of one's own territory. There is a fear of an acute occupation or a silent infiltration, which would lead to a weakening of the inner forces, thus decreasing their defensive power and increasing their risk of being overpowered. This fear is epitomized in the picture of a boat as a limited space of safety in a threatening environment. Xenophobia, as an anthropological constant with all its affective concomitants, will therefore surface when the boundaries of the geographical and political system are trespassed, and the territory of a social unit is threatened (Gutheil & Gabbard, 2003).

3.2.8.1.2 Social component

Boehnke (2001) emphasized that an anthropological component describes affective reactions on the basis of some kind of interpersonal competition. The social component, however, concerns more protective mechanisms of social organizations, the aim of which is a reduction in interpersonal hostility. In this case, the social component is the

first step toward decreasing affective reactions. However, in a second step, when the protective functions are endangered, the social component might contribute to a further increase in xenophobic reactions. Social systems are seen as restrictive entities. These restrictions concern not only boundaries which limit the geographical extent of the system, leading to a differentiation of the inside and the outside, but also concern personal freedom and access to resources. The two forms of restriction inside the social system constitute dual main subcomponents: the normative and the evaluative.

The normative subcomponent describes restrictions of personal freedom which are exerted upon norms and traditions. These represent obligations of a different kind and strictness, which restrict the actions and options of each member. At the same time, they are the basis of social security and predictability. During socialization the majority identifies with these norms and they become accepted. This acceptance of the system's norms is the main precondition for the achievement of membership status, and the inscription of specific rights and privileges by which members are distinguished from non-members. Normally, black non-South Africans from outside the system are excluded from these rights and privileges. As they are not obliged to observe the norms and traditions of the host system, because they are not bound by the self-imposed restrictions to which the natives subscribe, they are again perceived to be a potential threat to the whole system and its organization. With their unfamiliar views of the world, their unusual behaviour and their coping strategies, they might disturb the accepted traditional standards to which the natives subscribe. Consequently their world, which has been taken for granted until that moment, might lose its normality and self-evidence.

The evaluative subcomponent concerns access to social resources. Members of social systems adopt stances which offer a different approach to resources which form the basis of their individual welfare. This leads to differentiation of top and bottom, of superior and inferior groups or strata with a high or low status. Similar to the way in which the entire system operates within its own environment, the socially evaluated groups inside the system are also distinguished from each other by a similar mechanism of social exclusion. This mechanism can be described as a strategy adopted by social groups to maintain or even to increase their own rights and privileges through subordination of other groups. By using this exclusive mechanism, differential access to resources is granted to members, whereas non-members are denied rights and privileges. Psychologically, the exclusion guarantees the positive self-esteem and social identity of members. In a nutshell, xenophobia has both anthropological and social roots (Boehnke, 2001).

3.3 Research hypotheses on xenophobia

The research postulates that South Africa's strained socio-political relations with some

African countries are not unconnected with the xenophobic assaults against black nonSouth Africans residing in South Africa.

3.4 Summary

The theoretical framework of this chapter consisted of theories that seem to be interrelated. The explanations of these theories were grouped in three hypotheses: scapegoating, isolation, and a biocultural hypothesis. Other authors advanced economic, social and political explanations.

Chapter 4 Research Methodology

4.1 Introduction

This chapter deals with research fundamentals in the study, highlighting important steps covered in the planning stages. It also details research procedures, including ethical considerations, endeavouring to clarify the researcher's motivation and the methods which he would adopt in order to attain his objectives.

4.2 Research design

A research design is a plan or a blueprint that guides and informs how the study will be conducted (Babbie & Mouton, 2008). This implies the procedures by which we approach problems and arrive at answers. It also provides control over those factors that could influence the outcome of the study. In this study, the researcher used qualitative and descriptive survey research to explore and describe the experiences of the people who have experienced xenophobic attacks in South Africa. According to Cohen and Manion (2011), a survey study helps to gather data at a particular point in time with the intention of describing the nature of existing conditions, identifies standards against which existing conditions may be compared, and determines the relationships which

exist between specific events. The survey describes the existing phenomena in the University of Zululand by questioning participants regarding their attitudes, values and practice, hence enabling the researcher to identify the challenges which face South Africa, and possible solutions to problems which are thus identified. Surveys are also excellent vehicles for measuring the characteristics of a large population.

4.2.1 Qualitative research

Denzin and Lincoln (2011) define qualitative research as a multimethod that involves an interpretive, naturalistic approach to its subject matter. This implies that qualitative researchers study phenomena in their natural setting, attempting to interpret them in terms of the meanings people make of them. Qualitative research also involves the use of a variety of materials, case studies, personal experience, introspective, life story interviews, and observational, historical, interactional and visual texts that describe experiences and meaning in individuals' lives. Creswell (2003) defines qualitative research as an inquiry process of understanding based on distinct methodological traditions of inquiry that explore a social human problem. The researcher builds a complex, analyses words, reports detailed views of informants, and conducts the study in a natural setting. The themes of qualitative research are naturalistic (studying real world situations as they unfold naturally); holistic (the whole of the phenomena under study are understood as a complex system that is more than the sum of its parts); and inductive, which entails immersion in the details and specifics of the data to discover important categories, dimensions and interrelationships. Qualitative research is also defined as the interpretive study of a specified issue or problem in which the researcher is central to the sense that is made. Terre Blanche et al. (2006) argue that a definition can be viewed on two different levels; i.e. it should have a sense that lies within, and that structures; what we say about what we do. It is also an exploration, elaboration and systematization of the significance of an identified phenomenon.

This study embraces a qualitative method of inquiry. The rationale for using it in this study is the nature of the phenomena that are under investigation, which are the people's experiences and descriptions of the xenophobic attacks. The intention of this study is to gain a rich and complex understanding of specific social phenomena. The researcher used this method to receive descriptions of the people about the xenophobic attacks they had experienced, and the meanings they made of them. This was done by allowing them to explore their experiences through questionnaires.

4.3 Target population

The researcher targeted black non-South Africans at the University of Zululand, who had come from rural and urban areas which were hardest hit by xenophobic incidents during the past two to three years. These were areas in which people could provide both qualitative and quantitative data, based on actual experience, through questionnaires.

The participants' countries of origin included Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Swaziland, Malawi and Somalia. There was no age limit. The sample consisted of both male and female participants.

4.4 Sampling method

4.4.1 Sampling design and sample size

The study used a purposive sampling method, which is a type of non-probability sampling design. The study used this design in its selection of participants. Black nonSouth Africans from areas hardest hit by xenophobia were purposively sampled, whereas random sampling was used to select areas where participants were likely to be found. Participants in both the latter areas and the university were chosen randomly.

The total number of completed questionnaires was 69.

A study population may be too big to be investigated in its entirety, or may for various reasons be costly or impossible to be studied. When this is the case, a smaller subset of the entire research population is selected to be studied in the place of the study population. The selected subset of the study population is called a sample (Babbie, 2005). This selection of a subset needed for investigating the research question is known as sampling. In this study, sampling is the selection of research participants from an entire population, and involves decisions about which people, settings, behaviour, and social processes to observe. In this study, the units of analysis were the experiences of the people about xenophobia (Terre Blanche et al., 2006).

A non-probability sampling procedure was undertaken because the researcher wanted to demonstrate that particular traits exist in the victims of xenophobia. The purposive method was used in the study to ensure that the respondents met the criteria for becoming research volunteers. Participants chosen by this method would be able to provide relevant information on the influence of xenophobia on student volunteers and employees who had brief encounters with the phenomenon. According to Gravetter and Forzano (2009), the sampling method is based on factors such as common sense or ease, with an effort to maintain representativeness and avoid bias. The researcher did not use an unbiased method of selection.

4.5 Data collection instrument

4.5.1 Questionnaire as research instrument

Questionnaires are a form of structured interviewing where all the respondents are asked the same questions, and are often offered the same options in answering them (yes/no, ranked on a scale, etc.). Questionnaires may include open questions, which respondents answer in their own words. Individuals differ in their ability and willingness to write answers, and answers to open-ended questions can be difficult to interpret and/or analyse. Some researchers recommend that a few open-ended questions should be asked as this puts respondents at ease and thus able to express themselves in their own words. As a consequence thereof, this gives them a sense of control. Additionally, it also allows for more in-depth answers when required. Notably, therefore, the researcher has to consider his/her needs and those of the sample group to make a decision in this regard.

The researcher opted for the questionnaire as a method of data collection, given its reliability and validity as a research instrument. According to Creswell (2003), the term reliability means that measurements made are consistent; that is, if the same experiment is performed under the same conditions, the same measurement will be obtained. The term validity means that the measurements are correct; that is, the instrument measures what is intended to be answered, and that this is measured correctly. It is for these reasons that the researcher looked at the principles that determine whether the questionnaire was well designed or not. Thus it is necessary to draw distinctions between questionnaire content, question format, question order, type of questions, formulation of questions and validity and reliability of questions.

The questionnaires were preferred tools for this study because they enabled the researcher to obtain views from a large number of respondents within a short time, thus making it easier to collect relevant information. It was also felt that they were time saving; hence the respondents would have time to study each item. The questionnaires were developed based on the objectives of the study and research questions.

A questionnaire including both closed- and open-ended questions was used for the purposes of data collection. The closed-ended questions were designed to obtain the exact information qualitatively, while the open-ended items were used to elicit the opinions and views of respondents. Questions focused on the causes, influence and prevention of xenophobia, as well as the trauma experienced during xenophobic attacks.

Some questions asked were self-constructed items, and other questions were taken from the previous study done at Vhembe District in Limpopo. Research participants were informed regarding the implications of being involved as volunteers in a study, and they consented to the completion of questionnaires. According to Creswell (2003), a researcher is always required to respect the participants and the sites for research.

Researchers must not put participants at risk, and they need to protect participants against human rights violations.

4.6 Transferability and dependability of the questionnaire

In this study, the researcher ensured that the results of the study were transferable to an alternative context by providing a detailed account of the environment in which the research was done. A brief description of that environment was included in his final report. He also described changes which occurred during his investigation, and how those changes affected his approach to the study, thus making allowance for ever-changing conditions.

4.7 Reliability of the measuring instrument

Reliability refers to the dependability of a measurement instrument, which is the extent to which the questionnaire or instrument yields the same results on repeated trials. Reliability is the extent to which the scores are accurate, consistent or stable. Test-retest reliability was applied to determine the extent to which the questionnaire responses were reliable over time (Terre Blanche et al., 2006). This form of reliability is tested by measuring research participants on the same questionnaire on different occasions, and determining whether the scores/responses correlate. The measuring instrument also maintained an internal consistency, as the responses given by participants on two different occasions would be expected to have slight changes in response. The slight changes were expected to show that the questionnaire was reliable, as the influence of xenophobia on the social and psychological wellbeing of black non-South Africans in South Africa may have been remembered on the second occasion (Terre Blanche et al., 2006).

Reliability Statistics

Cronbach's Alpha	Cronbach's Alpha Based on Standardized Items	N of Items
.728	.753	37

A reliability test instrument can be done by using Cronbach's alpha (De Vellis, 2003), based on the given reliability statistics table, which provides the value for Cronbach's alpha, which in this case is .728 and reflects the measuring instrument. It can be concluded that the research instrument was reliable, although a level of internal consistency is questionable with respect to the sample. Refer to Appendix C tables.

4.8 Validity of the measuring instrument

The questionnaire was valid as it measured what it was intended to measure. It was usable for the purpose for which it was designed, which was to investigate the influence of xenophobia on the social and psychological wellbeing of black non-South Africans in South Africa. The following measurement validity was assessed to test the validity of the questionnaire: criterion-related validity and content validity. The researcher undertook the task of determining that the research questionnaire was related to other measures of influence. The content validity of the questionnaire reflected a specific domain of content in this research, which is the influence of xenophobia on the social and psychological wellbeing of black non-South Africans in South Africa. The language used in the measuring instrument was well understandable by research participants, and the questions were fair. The measuring instrument was not biased as it accommodated all the participants without considering their level of education, gender and race (Creswell, 2003).

4.9 Data analysis and interpretation of findings

Both quantitative and qualitative analyses were used in conceptualizing the data in the study. Quantitative analysis was used for the research participants' biographical data such as age, education, employment and marital status. Data were presented in frequency tables for easy interpretation.

Qualitative data analysis is an approach to making sense of social research observations by using methods of examining social research data without converting them to a numerical format (Babbie & Mouton, 2001). It is an inductive process of organizing data into categories, and identifying patterns and relationships among categories. In addition, qualitative data analysis affords the researcher an opportunity to move into a deeper understanding of the data, and make an interpretation of the larger meaning of them (Cresswell, 2003).

In this study, the first stage of qualitative data analysis involved the transcription of all the data obtained during the administration of the questionnaire. The raw data were then organized into categories, and themes were created. The summaries of the data were presented in the form of tabulation to facilitate the organization of ideas, and systematically investigate relations in the data.

Data obtained from the respondents were quantitatively and qualitatively analysed. After collection, encoding was done in order to ensure that the data would be

meaningful. Frequencies and percentages through both thematic and SPSS analysis were used to interpret the data after encoding.

4.10 Practical and ethical considerations

Research participants were informed that data collected from them would be treated in strictest confidence, and that they had a fundamental right to withdraw from participation should they, at any juncture, feel uncomfortable. According to Gravetter and Forzano (2009), the general concept is that participants should be given complete information about the research and their roles in it. They should understand the information, and then voluntarily decide whether or not to participate. They were requested to sign a written consent form before participating in the study, and confidentiality was maintained throughout the study. Participants were not required to reveal their identities. The procedure for obtaining informed consent varies from study to study depending, in part, on the complexity of the information presented, and the actual degree of risk involved in the study. Oliver (2010) advises that a researcher should obtain permission from the relevant authority before conducting research.

Free counselling would have been provided should any participant have been perturbed as a result of questions asked during the course of the study.

4.11 Summary

Information obtained from research participants was considered to be sufficiently substantial to warrant analysis. The research methods employed provided answers to the most basic questions posed in the study, and assisted the researcher in his analysis of information obtained from participants.

To sum up the contents of this chapter, the researcher was able to identify volunteers who qualified as research participants, decide which sampling method to adopt and which research instruments to use, and then evaluate the reliability and validity of the questionnaire. Lastly, the chapter provided an indication of how the researcher would approach participants regarding ethical considerations.

Chapter 5 Results and discussion

5.1 Introduction

This chapter involves the systematic recording of information obtained from research participants. It also outlines data analysis done in order to uncover certain research patterns and trends in data sets. Data interpretation is also employed to explain some of those patterns, based on the research participants' knowledge and experience of the xenophobic violence that took place in May 2008.

Table 1: Age

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	18 years and below	3	4.3	4.3	4.3
	19-25 years	50	72.5	72.5	76.8
	26-35 years	13	18.8	18.8	95.7
	36-45 years	3	4.3	4.3	100.0
	Total	69	100.0	100.0	

Table 1 indicates that those research participants from the age group of 18 years and younger comprised 4% of the total; those from 19 to 25 years old comprised 73%; those from 26 to 35 years old comprised 19%; and those who were 36 to 45 years old comprised 4%. This meant that the majority of black non-South Africans who were part of this study were young, and were here in South Africa to find work. They had ideas that as young people, they needed to be visionary about their futures, while they were still energetic. The targeted population had a lot of young people who were there to provide relevant information on xenophobic issues.

Table 2: Gender

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Male	22	31.9	31.9	31.9
	Female	47	68.1	68.1	100.0
	Total	69	100.0	100.0	

Table 2 reveals that female research participants comprised 68% and males the remaining 32%. This means that the majority of black non-South African males come to South Africa with their wives, or love partners. Nonetheless, black non-South African females do come on their own for whatever opportunities are available here.

The research study had more females than males.

Table 3: Education

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	None	4	5.8	5.8	5.8
	Secondary school but not matric	1	1.4	1.4	7.2
	Matric	9	13.0	13.0	20.3
	Tertiary	55	79.7	79.7	100.0
	Total	69	100.0	100.0	

Table 3 revealed that those who did not receive formal education comprised 6% of the participants; those with a secondary level education comprised 1%; those with matric comprised 13%, and those who had progressed to the tertiary level comprised 80%. This could mean that the researcher used a university context to target most of the research participants who participated in this study. The researcher found it easier to get information from the university community.

Section A

5.2 Theme 1: Some of the causes of xenophobia

Table 1: South Africans fear that black non-South Africans will take away their country

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly agree	26	37.7	37.7	37.7
	Agree	18	26.1	26.1	63.8
	Somewhat	8	11.6	11.6	75.4
	Disagree	11	15.9	15.9	91.3
	Strongly disagree	6	8.7	8.7	100.0
	Total	69	100.0	100.0	

Table 1 indicates that 38% of research participants felt strongly that most South Africans feared that black non-South Africans would take their country away; 26% agreed with the statement; 12% were unsure; 16% disagreed, and 9% disagreed strongly. The majority of the research participants felt that South Africans were constantly afraid of losing their country to black non-South Africans. This revealed the perception that most local people distrust black non-South Africans.

Table 2: Black non-South Africans take jobs meant for South Africans

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly agree	21	30.4	30.4	30.4
	Agree	13	18.8	18.8	49.3
	Somewhat	10	14.5	14.5	63.8
	Disagree	18	26.1	26.1	89.9
	Strongly disagree	7	10.1	10.1	100.0
	Total	69	100.0	100.0	

Table 2 shows that 30% of the research participants felt strongly that black non-South Africans take jobs meant for South Africans; 19% agreed with this statement; 15% were unsure; 26% disagreed, and 10% disagreed strongly. This table is in line with the impression recorded in Table 4 that South Africans do not trust black non-South Africans at all.

Table 3: Black non-South Africans provide cheap labour since they work for low pay

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly agree	32	46.4	46.4	46.4
	Agree	17	24.6	24.6	71.0
	Somewhat	8	11.6	11.6	82.6
	Disagree	9	13.0	13.0	95.7
	Strongly disagree	3	4.3	4.3	100.0
	Total	69	100.0	100.0	

Table 3 indicates that 46% of the respondents agreed strongly that black non-South Africans provide cheap labour since they accept lower wages; 25% agreed with the statement; 12% were undecided; 13% disagreed, and 4% disagreed strongly. This could indicate that the rate of unemployment is one of the causes of xenophobia in South Africa. It makes local people perceive that jobs are taken by black non-South Africans. The other findings from the previous study in Limpopo Province revealed that an overwhelming proportion (84%) of local people agreed that unemployment causes xenophobia. These findings show that local people believe that local farmers' labour preference is black non-South Africans because they are seen as being cheap.

Table 4: Black non-South Africans steal the belongings of South Africans

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly agree	14	20.3	20.3	20.3
	Agree	17	24.6	24.6	44.9
	Somewhat	13	18.8	18.8	63.8
	Disagree	17	24.6	24.6	88.4
	Strongly disagree	8	11.6	11.6	100.0
	Total	69	100.0	100.0	

Table 4 indicates that 20% of the respondents believed that black non-South Africans steal the belongings of local people; 25% agreed; 19% were not sure; 25% disagreed, and 12% disagreed strongly. It is clear that it is not true to say that black non-South Africans are the only people who are stealing in South Africa. Although they are seen as people who are stealing, they are in South Africa to find jobs.

Table 5: Black non-South Africans have love affairs with local women

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly agree	20	29.0	29.0	29.0
	Agree	22	31.9	31.9	60.9

	Somewhat	15	21.7	21.7	82.6
	Disagree	6	8.7	8.7	91.3
	Strongly disagree	6	8.7	8.7	100.0
	Total	69	100.0	100.0	

Table 5 indicates that 29% of the respondents strongly agreed that black non-South Africans have love affairs with local women; 32% agreed; 22% were not sure; 9% disagreed, and a further 9% disagreed strongly. This data should be viewed in conjunction with the data in Table 7.

Table 6: Belief that crime rates are worsening and are committed by black nonSouth Africans

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly agree	14	20.3	20.3	20.3
	Agree	16	23.2	23.2	43.5
	Somewhat	11	15.9	15.9	59.4
	Disagree	13	18.8	18.8	78.3
	Strongly disagree	15	21.7	21.7	100.0
	Total	69	100.0	100.0	

Table 6 indicates that 20% of the respondents agreed strongly that crime rates are worsening because of crime committed by black non-South Africans; 23% agreed; 16% were undecided; 19% disagreed, and 22% disagreed strongly. Some experiences related to experiences with xenophobia can be placed into crime-related categories.

5.3 Theme 2: Some of the influence of xenophobia

Table 1: Most black non-South Africans are still depressed by xenophobia

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly agree	24	34.8	34.8	34.8
	Agree	35	50.7	50.7	85.5
	Somewhat	6	8.7	8.7	94.2
	Disagree	3	4.3	4.3	98.6

Strongly disagree	1	1.4	1.4	100.0
Total	69	100.0	100.0	

In Table 1, 35% of the respondents agreed strongly that most black non-South Africans are still experiencing depression because of xenophobia; 51% agreed that some black non-South Africans experienced lasting effects after xenophobic violence; 9% were not sure; 4% disagreed, and 1% disagreed strongly. The findings indicated that some black non-South Africans remained with the effects of depression, or trauma, which means the South African government should consider helping them.

Table 2: Black non-South Africans have high levels of anxiety

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly agree	11	15.9	15.9	15.9
	Agree	36	52.2	52.2	68.1
	Somewhat	15	21.7	21.7	89.9
	Disagree	6	8.7	8.7	98.6
	Strongly disagree	1	1.4	1.4	100.0
	Total	69	100.0	100.0	

Table 2 indicates that 16% of black non-South Africans experience high levels of anxiety; 52% agreed that there are high levels of anxiety; 22% were undecided; 9% disagreed, and 1% disagreed strongly. This proves that anxiety, as a psychological illness, is one of the remaining effects after xenophobic violence.

Table 3: Some black non-South Africans perceived no evidence of discrimination and prejudice

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly agree	19	27.5	27.5	27.5
	Agree	36	52.2	52.2	79.7
	Somewhat	9	13.0	13.0	92.8
	Disagree	3	4.3	4.3	97.1
	Strongly disagree	2	2.9	2.9	100.0

Total	69	100.0	100.0
-------	----	-------	-------

Table 3 indicates that 26% of the respondents agreed strongly that some black nonSouth Africans perceived no evidence of discrimination and prejudice; 53% agreed; 13% were not sure; 4% disagreed, and 3% disagreed strongly. This can indicate that some black non-South Africans assume that their way of life is no less important than the other culture.

Table 4: Black non-South Africans have a greater acculturative stress

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly agree	9	13.0	13.0	13.0
	Agree	22	31.9	31.9	44.9
	Somewhat	23	33.3	33.3	78.3
	Disagree	13	18.8	18.8	97.1
	Strongly disagree	2	2.9	2.9	100.0
	Total	69	100.0	100.0	

Table 4 revealed that 13% of the respondents agreed strongly that black non-South Africans experience a high degree of acculturative stress or “culture shock”; 32% agreed; 33% were not sure; 19% disagreed, and 3% disagreed strongly. Apparently, some black non-South Africans do not experience adjustment disorder, although the majority of the respondents were not sure about the statement.

Table 5: Discrimination has detrimental effects on black non-South Africans’ mental health

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly agree	11	15.9	15.9	15.9
	Agree	35	50.7	50.7	66.7
	Somewhat	14	20.3	20.3	87.0
	Disagree	6	8.7	8.7	95.7
	Strongly disagree	3	4.3	4.3	100.0
	Total	69	100.0	100.0	

Table 5 indicates that 16% of the respondents agreed strongly that discrimination has a detrimental effect on the mental health of black non-South Africans; 51% agreed; 20%

were unsure; 9% disagreed, and 4% disagreed strongly. Discrimination can be based on simple hatred of a race, or gender, but also on a certain group, either because of personal experience or stereotype. The effects of discrimination can be physical, emotional or social. Among these effects, there can be a long-term effect that remains with black non-South Africans.

Table 6: Xenophobia has resulted in significant costs for the wellbeing of black non-South Africans

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly agree	16	23.2	23.2	23.2
	Agree	25	36.2	36.2	59.4
	Somewhat	15	21.7	21.7	81.2
	Disagree	10	14.5	14.5	95.7
	Strongly disagree	3	4.3	4.3	100.0
	Total	69	100.0	100.0	

Table 6 reveals that 23% of the respondents agreed strongly that xenophobia has resulted in significant costs to the wellbeing of black non-South Africans; 36% agreed; 22% were not sure; 15% disagreed, and 4% disagreed strongly. Black non-South Africans' wellbeing remained affected; this could include a reflection of mental, emotional and social aspects. Most black non-South Africans are not happy; they lack confidence owing to xenophobic violence.

Table 7: Black non-South Africans use fake identity documents to protect themselves from local people

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly agree	43	62.3	62.3	62.3
	Agree	14	20.3	20.3	82.6
	Somewhat	7	10.1	10.1	92.8
	Disagree	1	1.4	1.4	94.2
	Strongly disagree	4	5.8	5.8	100.0
	Total	69	100.0	100.0	

Table 7 indicates that 62% of the respondents agreed strongly that black non-South Africans use forged identity documents to protect themselves from local people; 20% agreed with this statement; 10% were undecided; 1% disagreed, and 6% disagreed strongly. Black non-South Africans are afraid of being attacked again, which leads them to change their identity.

Table 8: In some workplaces, xenophobia leads to an increased rate of absenteeism

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly agree	22	31.9	31.9	31.9
	Agree	25	36.2	36.2	68.1
	Somewhat	13	18.8	18.8	87.0
	Disagree	7	10.1	10.1	97.1
	Strongly disagree	2	2.9	2.9	100.0
	Total	69	100.0	100.0	

Table 8 shows that 32% of the respondents agreed strongly that xenophobia may lead to an increased rate of absenteeism; 36% agreed; 19% were undecided; 10% disagreed, and 3% disagreed strongly. Absenteeism does not only affect an individual; it reflects on other black non-South Africans who are working in South Africa.

Table 9: South African employees threaten and assault their fellow black nonSouth African employees

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly agree	22	31.9	31.9	31.9
	Agree	29	42.0	42.0	73.9
	Somewhat	7	10.1	10.1	84.1
	Disagree	9	13.0	13.0	97.1
	Strongly disagree	2	2.9	2.9	100.0
	Total	69	100.0	100.0	

Table 9 indicates that 32% of the respondents agreed strongly that South African employees threaten and assault their fellow black non-South African employees; 42% agreed with the statement; 10% were unsure; 13% disagreed, and 3% disagreed strongly. The results indicate that even at a workplace employing black non-South Africans, they were affected by xenophobic violence.

5.4 Theme 3: Some experiences during xenophobic attacks

Table 1: People were killed

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly agree	56	81.2	81.2	81.2
	Agree	10	14.5	14.5	95.7
	Somewhat	1	1.4	1.4	97.1
	Disagree	2	2.9	2.9	100.0
	Total	69	100.0	100.0	

Table 1 suggests that 81% of the respondents strongly agreed that people were killed during xenophobic violence; 15% agreed with the statement; 1% were undecided, and 3% disagreed. This is evidence that the majority of black non-South Africans who died in communal violence were killed by black South Africans.

Table 2: People were beaten all the time

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly agree	43	62.3	62.3	62.3
	Agree	14	20.3	20.3	82.6
	Somewhat	4	5.8	5.8	88.4
	Disagree	5	7.2	7.2	95.7
	Strongly disagree	3	4.3	4.3	100.0
	Total	69	100.0	100.0	

Table 2: The above table indicates that 62% of the respondents agreed strongly that people were beaten regularly in some areas in South Africa; 20% agreed; 5% were undecided; 7% disagreed, and 4% disagreed strongly. There is evidence that some local people had an anger and aggression towards black non-South Africans.

Table 3: Black non-South Africans were forced to stay in the bush

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly agree	22	31.9	31.9	31.9

Agree	18	26.1	26.1	58.0
Somewhat	15	21.7	21.7	79.7
Disagree	11	15.9	15.9	95.7
Strongly disagree	3	4.3	4.3	100.0
Total	69	100.0	100.0	

Table 3: This table indicates that 32% of the respondents agreed strongly that some black non-South Africans were forced to live in the bush; 26% agreed; 22% were unsure; 16% disagreed, and 4% disagreed strongly. This means that some black nonSouth Africans lost their homes, and lived in the wild because of xenophobia.

: Black non-

Table 4 South Africans ate from dustbins

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly agree	7	10.1	10.1	10.1
	Agree	13	18.8	18.8	29.0
	Somewhat	15	21.7	21.7	50.7
	Disagree	18	26.1	26.1	76.8
	Strongly disagree	16	23.2	23.2	100.0
	Total	69	100.0	100.0	

Table 4 indicates that 10% of the respondents agreed strongly that black non-South Africans ate from dustbins; 19% agreed; 22% were unsure; 26% disagreed, and 23% disagreed strongly. The majority of the participants disagreed with the statement, but there were problems about where to get food, since it was difficult for black non-South Africans to go shopping freely.

Table 5: Most black non-South Africans lost their jobs and accommodation

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly agree	35	50.7	50.7	50.7
	Agree	22	31.9	31.9	82.6
	Somewhat	6	8.7	8.7	91.3
	Disagree	5	7.2	7.2	98.6
	Strongly disagree	1	1.4	1.4	100.0
	Total	69	100.0	100.0	

Table 5 shows that 51% of respondents strongly agreed that most black non-South Africans lost their jobs and accommodation; 32% agreed; 9% were unsure; 7% disagreed, and 1% disagreed strongly. Losing jobs and accommodation was part of the remaining effects of xenophobia, because it was even difficult for the migrants to use public transport to get to their workplaces. They could not stay at home because they were afraid of being killed.

: Black non-

Table 6 South Africans were raped

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly agree	8	11.6	11.6	11.6
	Agree	14	20.3	20.3	31.9
	Somewhat	24	34.8	34.8	66.7
	Disagree	14	20.3	20.3	87.0
	Strongly disagree	9	13.0	13.0	100.0
	Total	69	100.0	100.0	

Table 6 reveals that 12% of the respondents agreed strongly that black non-South Africans were raped; 20% agreed with the statement; 35% were unsure; 20% disagreed, and 13% disagreed strongly. Although some were not sure about the statement, but others indicated that there were incidents of rape during xenophobic violence, showing that rape was not only xenophobic, but criminal.

Table 7: People carried dangerous weapons all the time

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly agree	16	23.2	23.2	23.2
	Agree	24	34.8	34.8	58.0
	Somewhat	18	26.1	26.1	84.1
	Disagree	8	11.6	11.6	95.7
	Strongly disagree	3	4.3	4.3	100.0
	Total	69	100.0	100.0	

Table 7 indicates that 23% of the respondents agreed strongly that people carried dangerous weapons at all times; 35% agreed with the statement; 26% were not sure; 12% disagreed, and 4% disagreed strongly. The table's statement was proven when black non-South Africans got murdered by local people. Some black non-South Africans lost their lives in xenophobic violence, but others did so because of crime.

Table 8 South Africans were thrown out of moving trains

: Black non-

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly agree	13	18.8	18.8	18.8
	Agree	15	21.7	21.7	40.6
	Somewhat	17	24.6	24.6	65.2
	Disagree	17	24.6	24.6	89.9
	Strongly disagree	7	10.1	10.1	100.0
	Total	69	100.0	100.0	

In Table 8, it is revealed that 19% of the respondents agreed strongly that black nonSouth Africans were thrown from moving trains; 22% of the respondents agreed; 25% were unsure; 25% disagreed, and 10% of the respondents disagreed strongly. This finding suggests that black non-South Africans were at high risk from xenophobic violence that took place in South African townships connected by rail.

Table 9: Black non-South Africans were chased out of the community

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly agree	37	53.6	53.6	53.6
	Agree	24	34.8	34.8	88.4
	Somewhat	4	5.8	5.8	94.2
	Disagree	1	1.4	1.4	95.7
	Strongly disagree	3	4.3	4.3	100.0
	Total	69	100.0	100.0	

Table 9 indicates that 54% of the respondents agreed strongly that black non-South Africans were chased from the community; 35% agreed; 6% were undecided; 1% disagreed, and 4% disagreed strongly. During xenophobic violence, some black nonSouth Africans were chased from the communities of their choice, so the South African government arranged temporary accommodation for them. This was an emotional experience for black non-South Africans.

Table 10: Black non-South Africans were desperate to make money at the expense of local people

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly agree	22	31.9	31.9	31.9
	Agree	18	26.1	26.1	58.0
	Somewhat	14	20.3	20.3	78.3
	Disagree	8	11.6	11.6	89.9
	Strongly disagree	7	10.1	10.1	100.0
	Total	69	100.0	100.0	

Table 10 indicates that 32% of the research respondents agreed strongly that black nonSouth Africans were desperate to make money at the expense of local people; 26% agreed; 20% were unsure; 12% disagreed, and 10% disagreed strongly. Black nonSouth Africans are desperate to make money, but the fact is that they make an economic contribution to the South African market.

5.5 Theme 4: How can xenophobia be prevented?

Table 1: People should be taught that we are all Africans

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly agree	51	73.9	73.9	73.9
	Agree	16	23.2	23.2	97.1
	Somewhat	1	1.4	1.4	98.6
	Disagree	1	1.4	1.4	100.0
	Total	69	100.0	100.0	

Table 1 indicates that 74% of the respondents agreed strongly that people should be taught that we are all Africans; 23% agreed; 1% were undecided, and a further 1% disagreed. In other words, the majority of the participants believe that educational campaigns should be provided to educate all Africans about diversity and unity in this country.

Table 2: People should forgive each other

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly agree	47	68.1	68.1	68.1
	Agree	17	24.6	24.6	92.8
	Somewhat	4	5.8	5.8	98.6
	Disagree	1	1.4	1.4	100.0
	Total	69	100.0	100.0	

Table 2 indicates that 68% of the respondents agreed strongly that people should forgive each other; 25% supported this statement; 6% were undecided, and 1% disagreed. The majority of black non-South Africans still feel that forgiveness among black non-South Africans and local people is a solution to get rid of xenophobia in South Africa.

Table 3: Black non-South Africans should have proper documents

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly agree	32	46.4	46.4	46.4
	Agree	24	34.8	34.8	81.2
	Somewhat	2	2.9	2.9	84.1
	Disagree	8	11.6	11.6	95.7
	Strongly disagree	3	4.3	4.3	100.0
	Total	69	100.0	100.0	

Table 3 indicates that 46% of the respondents think that black non-South Africans should have legal documents; 35% agreed; 3% were undecided; 12% disagreed, and 4% disagreed strongly. In other words, if having identity documents proves to anybody that their stay in South Africa is legal, the respondents feel that this can minimize xenophobic violence.

Table 4: Black non-South Africans should be given a place to stay

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly agree	22	31.9	31.9	31.9

Agree	22	31.9	31.9	63.8
Somewhat	11	15.9	15.9	79.7
Disagree	10	14.5	14.5	94.2
Strongly disagree	4	5.8	5.8	100.0
Total	69	100.0	100.0	

Table 4 indicates that 32% of the respondents agreed strongly that black non-South Africans should be given a place to stay; 32% supported this statement; 16% were undecided; 15% disagreed, and 6% disagreed strongly. They feel that if they can be given their own chosen place, they will be much more secured.

Table 5: Educational campaigns and workshops for both black non-South Africans and local people should be conducted

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly agree	33	47.8	47.8	47.8
	Agree	23	33.3	33.3	81.2
	Somewhat	10	14.5	14.5	95.7
	Disagree	1	1.4	1.4	97.1
	Strongly disagree	2	2.9	2.9	100.0
	Total	69	100.0	100.0	

Table 5 reveals that 49% of the respondents agreed strongly that educational campaigns and workshops should be conducted for both black non-South Africans and local people; 33% agreed; 15% were unsure; 1% disagreed, and 3% disagreed strongly. This indicates that most of the respondents see a need for educational programmes to teach about diversity and unity in South Africa.

Table 6: Local people should learn to accept black non-South Africans

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly agree	47	68.1	68.1	68.1
	Agree	16	23.2	23.2	91.3
	Somewhat	3	4.3	4.3	95.7

Disagree	2	2.9	2.9	98.6
Strongly disagree	1	1.4	1.4	100.0
Total	69	100.0	100.0	

Table 6 indicates that 68% of the respondents agreed strongly that local people should learn to accept black non-South Africans; 23% agreed; 4% were not sure; 3% disagreed, and 1% disagreed strongly. The majority of the respondents confirm that black nonSouth Africans need to be accepted unconditionally.

Table 7: Local people should respect lives and stop killing black non-South Africans

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly agree	53	76.8	76.8	76.8
	Agree	13	18.8	18.8	95.7
	Somewhat	2	2.9	2.9	98.6
	Disagree	1	1.4	1.4	100.0
	Total	69	100.0	100.0	

Table 7 indicates that 77% of the research participants agreed strongly that local people should respect lives and stop killing black non-South Africans; 19% agreed; 3% were unsure, and 1% disagreed. It seems very clear that the moral issue should be seen as the most important one by the local community – that black non-South Africans are our brothers and sisters; they deserve to live as the local community live.

Table 8: Black non-South Africans should follow the laws of the country

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly agree	59	85.5	85.5	85.5
	Agree	5	7.2	7.2	92.8
	Somewhat	3	4.3	4.3	97.1
	Disagree	2	2.9	2.9	100.0

Total	69	100.0	100.0
-------	----	-------	-------

Table 8 indicates that 86% of the research participants agreed strongly that black non-South Africans should abide by the laws of the country; 7% agreed; 4% were undecided, and 3% disagreed. This could mean that for black non-South Africans to be protected they need to compromise, and judge themselves as an integral part of this country by following South African laws.

Table 9: Leaders must make and implement firm decisions

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly agree	37	53.6	53.6	53.6
	Agree	25	36.2	36.2	89.9
	Somewhat	4	5.8	5.8	95.7
	Disagree	1	1.4	1.4	97.1
	Strongly disagree	2	2.9	2.9	100.0
	Total	69	100.0	100.0	

Table 9 indicates that 54% of the respondents believed strongly that leaders of the country must make and implement firm decisions; 36% supported this statement; 6% were undecided; 1% disagreed, and 3% disagreed strongly. South African leaders should be firm when implementing decisions in order to get rid of xenophobia in various communities, including rural and urban communities. These leaders may include local government councillors, or headmasters.

Table 10: Laws to protect black non-South Africans should be introduced

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly agree	28	40.6	40.6	40.6
	Agree	26	37.7	37.7	78.3
	Somewhat	11	15.9	15.9	94.2
	Disagree	1	1.4	1.4	95.7
	Strongly disagree	3	4.3	4.3	100.0
	Total	69	100.0	100.0	

Table 10 revealed that 41% of the respondents agreed strongly that laws should be introduced in South Africa to protect black non-South Africans; a further 38% agreed; 16% were unsure; 1% disagreed, and 4% strongly disagreed. Black non-South Africans think that the South African government should come up with laws to protect them from being killed.

Table 11: Black non-South Africans should return to their own countries

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly agree	17	24.6	24.6	24.6
	Agree	6	8.7	8.7	33.3
	Somewhat	13	18.8	18.8	52.2
	Disagree	19	27.5	27.5	79.7
	Strongly disagree	14	20.3	20.3	100.0
	Total	69	100.0	100.0	

Table 11 suggests that 25% of the respondents agreed strongly that black non-South Africans should return to their own countries; 9% agreed; 19% were unsure; 28% disagreed, and 20% disagreed strongly. According to the information presented on in this table, it is clear that some black non-South Africans cannot go back to their countries of origin because they have families, and see great job opportunities in South Africa.

Table 12: Black non-South Africans should be given residential areas that are separate from those occupied by locals

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly agree	8	11.6	11.6	11.6
	Agree	4	5.8	5.8	17.4
	Somewhat	3	4.3	4.3	21.7
	Disagree	23	33.3	33.3	55.1
	Strongly disagree	31	44.9	44.9	100.0
	Total	69	100.0	100.0	

Table 12 indicates that 12% of the respondents agree strongly that black non-South Africans should be given residential areas which are separate from those occupied by

locals; 6% agreed; 4% were unsure; 33% disagreed, and 45% disagreed strongly. Most of the participants think that it is not a very good idea to separate black non-South Africans' places, as they gave evidence that they formed relationships where they stay, and some are even married to local women.

5.6 Relationship between influence and causes

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymptotic Significance (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	398.887 ^a	357	.062
Likelihood Ratio	219.425	357	1.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	3.442	1	.064
N of Valid Cases	69		

a. 396 cells (100.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .01.

In the above table, it is indicated that there is significant relationship between causes and influence. Refer to Appendix C tables.

5.7 Reliability test

Reliability Statistics

Cronbach's Alpha	Cronbach's Alpha Based on Standardized Items	N of Items
.728	.753	37

A reliability test instrument can be done by using Cronbach's alpha (De Vellis, 2003), based on the given reliability statistics table, which provides the value for Cronbach's

alpha, which in this case is .728 and reflects the measuring instrument. It can be concluded that the research instrument was reliable, although a level of internal consistency is questionable with respect to the sample. Refer to Appendix C tables.

5.8 Validity test: Factor analysis

KMO and Bartlett's Test

Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy.		.460
Bartlett's Test of Sphericity	Approx. Chi-Square	1252.961
	Df	666
	Sig.	.000

In the statistical validity of factor analysis samples, there is an indication of high probability that there are significant relationships between the variables. Refer to Appendix C tables.

Section B

5.9 What do you understand about xenophobia?

Results indicated that 39% of research participants knew xenophobia to be a phenomenon in which black non-South Africans or people of different cultures are treated badly or violently. *“It is an act of discrimination within different people, races and their cultures. Thus, this results in disastrous situations of death and destruction of property.”* 29% view it as discrimination against people because of skin colour. 16% of participants suggested that it was a case of local people taking possessions from people, abusing them, attacking them or brutally murdering them if they were not from South Africa. A further 16% of participants understood xenophobia to be unfair treatment of black non-South Africans as a result of strong feelings of dislike. They assume that this could be because black non-South Africans are in South Africa without permission, or without the necessary documents.

5.10 Do you think xenophobia is closely related to racism?

In response to this question, 40% of the participants thought that xenophobia is closely related to racism. Some agreed that it is related because racism was practised between people of different races who lived in the same country, whereas xenophobia is a phenomenon experienced by people from different countries. *“Yes, it is closely related – they work hand-in-hand because in racism there is violence, and also in xenophobia. Discrimination is a major issue in both of these practices.”* 25% felt that racism and

xenophobia are similar in that both involve discrimination. *“It has a direct relation with racism. For example, Zulu people kill Zimbabweans who are looking for jobs.”* 35% thought that they are similar in the sense that black non-South Africans are not accepted by the local people, especially Africans, whereas white non-South Africans are not viewed in the same light.

5.11 How would you describe your emotional experience regarding xenophobia?

45% of the participants described their emotional experience of xenophobia as traumatic, having had to deal with loss of life, friends, family and property. The trauma extended to fear of divulging their true identities and countries of origin. *“Xenophobia did not affect me a lot, but at some point it did. A lady who lived next door was chased away by the community. She was a very kind lady, and never had any misunderstanding with anyone.”* 13% viewed this as a painful phenomenon, feeling that xenophobia was detrimental to South Africa in that black non-South African investment in the country promotes economic growth for all South Africans. *“I felt hurt and unwanted, especially by people of the same colour as me. I felt like whatever I did was wrong in their eyes, hence I felt damaged by xenophobia.”* 1% were unsure of their feelings on the subject. 41% felt emotionally damaged by the actions of foreign people of the same colour. *“It is a disturbing issue as one cannot stand the loss of life, all African. We should unite.”*

5.12 What must be done to eliminate xenophobic attacks in South Africa?

56% of the participants believed that there should be introductory programmes which could promote unity between different races, populations and cultures. *“I think the best way to get rid of xenophobic attacks is to run educational campaigns with South Africans, and the foreigners as well.”* It was also believed that black non-South Africans should be encouraged to obey the laws of the country by acquiring proper immigration documents. *“As an introduction for uniting different races, different people and their cultures, there should be an organization standing for such issues, and the government should introduce new laws.”* In addition, local people should be taught how to interact with and treat black non-South Africans. People should learn to unite and understand that it is not important which country others come from, or what colour their skin happens to be. Regardless of where they were born the blood which runs in their veins is always red. 35% of the participants thought that local people who were guilty of xenophobic acts should be arrested immediately in order to stem the violence. 9% emphasized that South African people must learn to welcome people from other countries, and treat them with respect, insisting that educational programmes are essential in order to assist South Africans in doing so.

5.13 How are you affected by xenophobia and what are your feelings regarding its causes and preventative measures which could be taken?

47% of the participants thought that some black non-South Africans came to South Africa with false identity documents, in the hope that they would find employment and somewhere to settle, and then never returned to their home countries. 4% of the participants were not sure how to respond to this question. 21% thought that local people became jealous when black non-South Africans were presented with job opportunities, or received other preferential treatment. *“I think the effects are just being jealous of opportunities, and not being well trained about forgiveness.”* In their opinion, local people are unforgiving. Respondents mentioned several other ways in which they were affected, having experienced trauma, or other emotional disturbance. The majority felt unsafe in the country. They emphasized that South African laws should be implemented to assist both black non-South Africans and local people who wish to live in harmony and peace. 28% of the participants mentioned that advertisements on television would assist in providing insight into the causes, effects and preventive measures relating to xenophobia.

5.14 Summary

This chapter has dealt with data analysis and interpretation, with special reference to the literary review. Data were obtained from a sample of 69 research participants at the University of Zululand, as well as in other areas where black non-South Africans were available to provide quality information on xenophobia. The findings of the previous study, which was done in 2009, are similar to those of the current study, although the former was done in Limpopo Province.

Chapter 6 Discussion of findings

6.1 Introduction

This chapter synthesizes and discusses the results in the light of the study's research questions, literature review, and conceptual framework. Overall, this chapter offers the researcher an opportunity to reflect thoroughly on the study's findings, and the practical and theoretical implications thereof.

6.2 Findings of the study

With regard to the data analysis in this project, a large percentage of the targeted population who provided relevant information on xenophobia were young people from 19 to 25 years of age. Also, more females than males participated. The study focused on university students who, when questioned regarding xenophobia, displayed an element of distrust where black non-South Africans were concerned. There were 55 participants from the University of Zululand and 14 from outside the university.

The major problem encountered by local people was, whereas the locals protested against low salaries paid by government institutions or companies, black non-South Africans were content to receive less, and accepted whatever their employers chose to pay them. Other studies revealed that 85% of local people believed that black non-South Africans take jobs which are meant for local people. It was also revealed that 89% of local people and 92% of black non-South Africans agreed that black non-South Africans are exploited, since they are exposed to dangerous work, although they are paid less money. It meant that the proportion of unemployed local people was much higher than that of black non-South Africans (Francis et al., 2009). This tolerance for exploitation could be due to the economic conditions they were accustomed to in their home countries, because South Africa's economic status cannot be regarded as comparable to that of, say, Swaziland's or Mozambique's. The local people feel that they deserve the support of black non-South African employees when strikes are organized.

Theories, offered by locals, indicate a belief that black non-South African-run businesses encroach on their domains, and that black non-South Africans threaten their possessions. It is suspected that black non-South Africans enter into relationships with locals for the sole purpose of obtaining South African identity documents. Similarly, the previous study indicated a significant difference in perception between local people (60%) and black non-South Africans (74%) regarding the suspicion that black non-South Africans are taking local people's wives.

Another impression is that the South African government displays favouritism in its support for black non-South Africans. The data appears to support the views expressed by local participants.

Most participants also indicated that anxiety, as a psychological disorder, was one of the lasting effects of xenophobic violence. There is a persistent fear that a reoccurrence of xenophobic violence will shatter the tenuous calm. Many black non-South Africans have packed their few remaining belongings and left volatile areas.

Black non-South Africans often feel that their culture is secondary to that of the locals, and lapse into a form of self-denial. Most indicate that self-exposure and the free expression of pride in their cultures may provoke the locals and encourage antagonism.

Adjustment problems are another lasting effect after an episode of xenophobic violence. Discrimination, which is based not only on simple hatred of race or gender, but also on personal experience with certain groups or stereotypes, frequently occurs.

The researcher has found that the ill-effects of discrimination can be physical, emotional or even social. Among the long-term effects, black non-South Africans listed a reduced sense of wellbeing, as well as other mental, emotional and social effects. Because of xenophobic violence, black non-South Africans often lack confidence in their day-to-day activities. Their fear of recurring violence prompts them to change their identities and absent themselves from work when trouble is brewing. Their absenteeism affects them and their integrity personally, but also inconveniences those who depend upon their regular presence at work. Places where mainly black non-South Africans were employed were more likely to be subjected to xenophobic violence. Results in this study indicated that, wherever xenophobic violence occurred, more black non-South Africans than South Africans were killed. Significant differences were detected between the findings of this and the previous study.

Regarding those who thought that people were killed, 89% of local people and 95% of black non-South Africans concurred.

Regarding the perception that people carried dangerous weapons, a lower proportion of local people (78%) compared to 84% of black non-South Africans agreed that this was the case (Francis et al., 2009). This can be seen as evidence of accumulative anger and aggression among local people, which was directed at black non-South Africans, resulting in many losing their homes and having to live in the wild like animals.

When asked about possible preventative measures with respect to xenophobia, black non-South Africans suggested that they be given identity documents. This concession would prove to locals that they are legal residents, and in turn minimize xenophobic violence. They would also feel more secure if land or housing were allocated to them as a group.

Again, educational programmes were suggested in order to explain the need for unity, diversity and moral values, together with unconditional acceptance of immigrants as fellow citizens. Black non-South Africans are faced with the dilemma of not being an integral part of South African society, while also being unable to return to their countries of origin.

6.3 Summary

This chapter has dealt with discussion of results obtained from data analysis and interpretation. Analysis is essentially about searching for patterns and themes that emerge from the findings. The goal is to discover what meaning one can make of them by comparing one's findings. Interpretation that is thoughtful and compelling will provide the opportunity to make a worthwhile contribution to academic disciplines. The next chapter focuses on the limitations of the study, conclusion and recommendations.

It was hoped that the study would assist in determining how xenophobia affects the psychological wellbeing of black non-South Africans, and provide information needed in order to address the increased incidence of violence in both rural and urban areas. It could also lead to similar studies in the wider South African context.

Chapter 7 Limitations, conclusion and recommendations

7.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the limitations of the study, its conclusion, and recommendations for possible future research.

7.2 Limitations of the study

The study was limited to international students at the University of Zululand, and some black non-South Africans who were found in rural and urban areas which were hardest hit by xenophobia during the past two to three years. These were areas in which people could provide qualitative data through questionnaires. There was no age limit. The sample consisted of male and female participants, the latter being in the majority.

7.3 Recommendations

- It is imperative that we consider the need to ensure the early detection of threats of xenophobic violence in our communities. This may involve the allocation of an exclusive national emergency telephone number to be used by South Africans or black non-South Africans, specifically when threats of racial or xenophobic violence are observed.
- Let us support government efforts to address xenophobia and discriminatory practices in public institutions. Donors and civil society should encourage and support government's efforts towards eliminating xenophobic and discriminatory practices in public institutions. Efforts to counter these practices can begin with sensitization of public officials.

□

The South African government must ensure that South Africans are given the opportunity to attend educational programmes which will assist them in understanding the importance of having international people in the country. Seminars could be presented at the University of Zululand. Such seminars would be designed to enlist the services of young people to lead an anti-xenophobia crusade.

- Government should consider opening more channels for legal migration. Such an approach would not only encourage legal migration and help reverse clandestine practices, it could also help in counteracting the “Us” vs “Them” mentality which contributes to the attacks. Furthermore, official immigration procedures would contribute toward reducing corruption, labour exploitation and other practices which undermine the rights and welfare of both South Africans and black non-South Africans.
- Other avenues which should be pursued are both the electronic and the print media. In this respect, it would be necessary to introduce radio talk shows, debates and other educational platforms. It is unlikely that such projects will ever succeed if the mindset of journalists is not altered, since irresponsible reporting could do a lot of damage.
- New laws, which would be clear to all of the country's people, should be passed to govern interaction between people of different nationalities, and spell out how they should behave toward each other. Failure to abide by the new laws should result in severe punishment, which would discourage inappropriate action. Specific attention should be given to the issue of identity documents, and black non-South Africans should be encouraged to apply for such documents through the correct channels.

□

Let us promote a human rights culture among the people of South Africa. Leaders, citizens and black non-South Africans should be made aware of the rights, entitlements and responsibilities of various categories of black non-South Africans. Effective interventions should not be limited to appeals for tolerance, but should also draw attention to the country's laws, the rights of different groups, mechanisms for countering discrimination, and the serious consequences of not respecting the law and the rights of others.

- Cultural diversity should be explained at school level to enable South Africans to grasp at an early age the concept of prejudice and its implications.
- Health care professionals, such as psychologists, social workers and nurses, should be an integral part of health education programmes in order to assist the South African government in dealing with xenophobic incidents or related violence.
- Both black non-South Africans and South Africans should be informed about the short-term and long-term effects of xenophobia, such as depression, anxiety, stress, discrimination, prejudice, and even absenteeism at different workplaces. This can be done through instruments such as educational campaigns, the media and televised talk shows.
- People in South Africa, including black non-South Africans, should be encouraged to share their individual experiences of xenophobic violence through hotlines, so that they can provide insight which will enable government to provide preventive measures.
- Government could simplify the educational campaigns by merely operating within and coordinating three levels, i.e. primary, secondary and tertiary. If coordinated effectively, ongoing instruction on these levels would deal with social conflict and ensure social cohesion.

Media should be sensitized and capacitated to undertake responsible reporting on migrants and migration issues – the different categories of migrants, the various aspects of migration, and the rights and responsibilities of migrants – in order to promote responsible and factual reporting about migrants and migration, based on proper investigation. This would help to reduce prejudice and stereotypes which are

□

fostered by irresponsible media reporting that tends, for example, to refer to migrants generally as “illegal immigrants”.

- Future studies should involve all South Africans.

7.4 Summary

The purpose of this study was to investigate the influences of xenophobia on the social and psychological wellbeing of black non-South Africans. This chapter discussed the findings and limitations of the study, and offered possible solutions for the prevention of xenophobia in South Africa. Results obtained from the research made it abundantly clear that most South Africans believe that black non-South Africans pose a real risk to the economic status of locals, their available employment opportunities, and even their country as a whole. They believe that the provision, by black non-South Africans, of cheap labour keeps them employed at the expense of the locals. Xenophobia has thus resulted in severely harmful influence on the wellbeing of both black non-South Africans and local South Africans. The study focused on the prevention of xenophobia, and many participants mentioned a need for education. There is also a need to realize that pain felt by locals is also felt by black non-South Africans; that we are all brothers and sisters, and that forgiveness is called for on both sides.

References

- Adebayo, S.O. (2001). *Social psychology of ethnic group relations*. Lagos: Psychomotor Communication.
- Adepoju, A. (2003). Continuity and changing configurations of migration to and from the Republic of South Africa. *International Migration*, 41(1), 3 -25.
- American Psychiatric Association (APA). (2001). *Diagnostic and statistical manual of mental disorders* (4th ed.). *Text revision DSM-IV-TR*. Washington, DC: APA.
- Amir, S. (2002). Overseas foreign workers in Israel: Policy aims and labor market. *International Migration Review*, 36(1), 41-57.
- Amnesty International. (2004). Haitian workers face deportations, rights violations in Dominican Republic. *Amnesty International Investigation Finds*.
- Babbie, E.R. (2005). *The basics of social research* (3rd ed.). New York: Wadsworth.
- Babbie, E., & Mouton, J. (2001). *The practice of social research*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Babbie, E., & Mouton, J. (2008). *The practice of social research*. Cape Town: Oxford University Press.
- Barry, D.T., & Grilo, C.M. (2003). Cultural, self-esteem, and demographic correlates of perception of personal and group discrimination among East Asian immigrants. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 73, 223-229.
- Bauman, Z. (2000). *Globalization: Its human consequences*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Bemak, F., & Chung, R.C. (2002). *Counselling and psychotherapy with refugees: Counselling across cultures* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.

- Berry, J. (2006). *Stress perspectives on acculturation. The Cambridge handbook of acculturation psychology*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Berry, J., Phinney, J., Sam, D., & Vedder, P. (2006). *Immigrant youth in cultural transition: Acculturation identity and adaptation across national contexts*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Bihr, A. (2006). *The path of xenophobia: From heterophobia to resentment*. Mulhouse: University of Haute-Alsace Press.
- Boehnke, K. (2001). International migration, racism, discrimination and xenophobia. *Proceedings of the World Conference on Migration and Xenophobia*.
- Brehm, J. (2006). The intensity of emotion. *Personality and Social Psychology Review*, 3, 2-22.
- Brown, R. (2010). *Prejudice: Social psychology*. London: Basil Blackwell.
- Cejas, M.I. (2007). Racial discrimination in post-apartheid South Africa: A new irreducible "other"? *Safundi*, 8(4), 473-487.
- Cemlyn, S., & Briskman, L. (2003). Asylum children's rights and social work. *Child and Family Social Work*, 8(3), 163-178.
- Chen, E., & Park-Taylor, J. (2006). The intersection of racism and immigration: Implications for educational and counselling practice. In M. Constantine & D. Sue (Eds).
- Cheong, P.H., Edwards, R., Goulbourne, H., & Solomos, J. (2007). Immigration, social cohesion and social capital: A critical review. *Critical Social Policy*, 27(1), 24-49.
- Cohen, L., & Manion, L. (2011). *Research methods in education*. London: Routledge.

- Comaroff, J., & Comaroff, J.L. (2001). Naturing the nation: Aliens, apocalypse, and the postcolonial state. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 27(3), 627-651.
- Compton, W.C., & Hoffman, E. (2013). *Positive psychology: The science of happiness and flourishing* (2nd ed.). Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, Cengage Learning.
- Crandall, C., & Eschelman, A. (2003). A justification-suppression model of the expression and experience of prejudice. *Psychological Bulletin*, 129(3), 414-446.
- Creswell, J.W. (2003). *Research design : Qualitative, quantitative and mixed method* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.
- Crush, J. (2000). The dark side of democracy : Migration, xenophobia and human rights in South Africa. *International Migration*, 38,103-131.
- Crush, J. (2001). *Immigration, xenophobia and human rights in South Africa* (Migration Policy Series No. 22). Cape Town: Southern African Migration Project.
- Crush, J. (2008). *The perfect storm: Xenophobia in contemporary South Africa*. Cape Town: IDASA.
- Crush, J., & Pendleton, W. (2004). *Regionalizing xenophobia? Citizen attitudes to immigration and refugee policy in Southern Africa* (Migration Policy Series No. 30). Cape Town: Southern African Migration Project.
- Crush, J., & Ramachandran, S. (2009). Xenophobia. *International Migration*, 38(6), 10-20.
- Danso, R., & McDonald, D. (2001). Writing xenophobia: Immigration and the press in post-apartheid South Africa. *Africa Today*, 48(3), 115-137.
- Delanty, G., & Kumar, K. (2006). *The SAGE Handbook of nations and nationalism*. London: SAGE.
- Denzin, N.K., & Lincoln, Y.S. (2011). The landscape of qualitative research.

Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.

De Vellis, R.F. (2003). *Scale development*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.

Espanshade, T.J., & Calhoun, C.A. (2001). An analysis of public opinion toward undocumented migration. *Population Research and Policy Review*, 12, 189-224.

Essess, V.M., Dovidio, J.F., Jackson, L.M., & Armstrong, T.L. (2001). The immigration dilemma: The role of perceived group competition, ethnic prejudice and national identity. *Journal of Social Issues*, 57, 389-412.

Fein, S., Kassin, S., & Markus, H.R. (2011). *Social psychology* (8th ed.). Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, Cengage Learning.

Feldman, R.S. (2009). *Understanding psychology* (9th ed.). New York: McGraw-Hill.

Fisher, R. (2007). *Race*. Cape Town: CTP Book Printers.

Florack, A., Piontkowski, U., Rohmann, A., Balzer, T., & Perzig, S. (2003). Perceived intergroup threat and attitudes of host community members toward immigrant acculturation. *Journal of Social Psychology*, 143, 633-648.

Francis, J., Monyahi, L., Chitapa, T., & Kilonzo, B. (2009). The state of re-integration of foreign nationals. Vhembe District, Limpopo Province. Unpublished document.

Gabbard, G., Beck, J.S., & Holmes, J. (2005). *Oxford textbook of psychotherapy*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Glazer, N., & Moynihan, D. (2008). *Beyond the melting pot*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Gutheil, T.G., & Gabbard, G.O. (2003). Misuses and misunderstandings of boundary theory in clinical and regulatory settings. 1, 415-421.

Gravetter, F.J., & Forzana, L.B. (2009). *Research methods for the behavioural sciences*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, Cengage Learning.

- Grillo, R. (2005). Saltdean can't cope: Protest against asylum-seekers in an English seaside suburb. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 28(2), 235-260.
- Handmaker, J., & Parsley, J. (2001). Migration, refugees and racism in South Africa. *Refuge*, 20(1), 40 -51.
- Hassim, S., Kupe, T., & Worby, E. (2008). *Go home or die here: Violence, xenophobia and the reinvention of difference in South Africa*. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press.
- Heinrichs, N., & Hoffman, S.G. (2001). Information processing in social phobia: A critical review. *Clinical Psychology Review*, 21, 751-770.
- Hettman, J.M., Neale, M.C., & Kendler, K.S. (2001). A review and meta-analysis of the genetic epidemiology of anxiety disorders. *American Journal of Psychiatry*, 1158, 1568-1578.
- Hook, D., & Eagle, G. (2002). *Psychopathology and social prejudice*. Cape Town: University of Cape Town Press.
- Horenczyk, G. (2008). Immigrants' perceptions of host attitudes and their reconstruction of cultural groups. *Applied Psychology: An International Review*, 46, 34-38.
- Hovey, J.D. (2000). *Acculturative stress, depression, and suicidal ideation in Mexican immigrants*. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 6, 134-151.
- Jones, J. (2000). *Prejudice and racism* (2nd ed.). New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Laher, H. (2008). *Antagonism toward African immigrants in South Africa: An integrated threat theory (ITT) approach*. Unpublished master's dissertation. University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.

- Landau, L.B. (2004, October). *Democracy and discrimination: Black African migrants in South Africa. Global Migration Perspectives No. 5*. Geneva: Global Commission on International Migration (GCIM).
- Le Roux, M. (2006, 17 September). Somali refugees fear deadly violence in Cape Town, *Mail and Guardian online*. Retrieved 18 December 2008 from <http://www.mg.co.za/article/2006-09-17-somali-refugees-fear-deadly-violence-incape-town>.
- IoL News*. (2000). Xenophobic attacks: Seven die in one month. Retrieved 15 April 2015 from <http://www.iol.co.za/news/south-africa/xenophobic-attacks-seven-die-in-one-month-1.45733#.VS4-LPCROYM>
- Mail & Guardian*. (2008, 26 May). Minister: Xenophobic violence under control. Retrieved from 1 June 2009 from. <http://www.mg.co.za/article/2008-05-26minister-xenophobic-violence-under-control>.
- McDonald, D.A., & Jacobs, S. (2005). Rewriting xenophobia: Understanding press coverage of cross-border migration in Southern Africa. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, 23(3), 295-325.
- Misago, J.P. (2009). Violence, labour and displacement of Zimbabweans in De Doorns, Western Cape. *Migration Policy Brief 2*. Forced Migration Studies Programme, University of Witwatersrand.
- Mkhize, N. (2004). Sociocultural approaches to psychology: Dialogism and African conceptions of the self. In D. Hook (Ed.), *Critical Psychology* (pp. 53-83). Cape Town: University of Cape Town Press.
- Morris, A. (2008). Our fellow Africans make our lives hell: The lives of Congolese and Nigerians living in Johannesburg. *Ethnic and Racial studies*, 21(6), 1116-1136.

- Murray, M.J. (2003). Alien strangers in our midst: The dreaded foreign invasion and “fortress South Africa”. *Canadian Journal of African Studies*, 37(2/3), 440-466.
- Neocosmos, M. (2003). The contradictory position of tradition in African nationalist discourse: Some analytical and political reflections. *Africa Development*, 28(1 & 2),
- Nicolson, G., & Simelane, B.C. (2015). *Xenophobia rears its head again: Looting, shooting, dying in Soweto*. Retrieved 15 April 2015 from <http://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2015-01-22-xenophobia-rears-its-headagrain-looting-shooting-dying-in-soweto#.VS4eg-CROYM>
- Nyamnjoh, F.B. (2007). From bounded to flexible citizenship: Lessons from Africa. *Citizenship Studies*, 11, 73-82.
- Oliver, P. (2010). *Understanding the research process*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.
- Otite, O. (2002). *Ethnic pluralism and ethnicity in Nigeria*. Ibadan: Shaneson C.I.
- Peberdy, S. (2001). Imagining immigration: Inclusive identities and exclusive policies in post-1994 South Africa. *Africa Today*, 48(3), 15-32.
- Pettigrew, T., & Meertens, R. (2006). Subtle and blatant prejudice in Western Europe. *European Journal of Social Psychology*, 25, 57-75.
- Rajecki, D., Ivins, B., & Kidd, R. (2006). Affiliation xenophobia and the behavioral organization of the young domestic chicken. *Behavioural Biology*, 21, 364-379.
- Reynolds, A.L. (2004). *Challenges and strategies for teaching multicultural counselling courses*. *Handbook of multicultural counselling*. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.
- Robins, S. (2002). At the limits of spatial governmentality: A message from the tip of Africa. *Third World Quarterly*, 23, 665-689.

- Southern African Migration Project (SAMP). (2008). *The perfect storm: The realities of xenophobia in contemporary South Africa*. (Migration Policy Series). Cape Town: Idasa.
- Sidanius, J. (2001). Intolerance of ambiguity, conservatism and racism – whose fantasy, whose reality: A reply to ray? *Political Psychology*, 9, 309-316.
- Soyombo, O. (2001). *Culture and national integration in Nigeria*. Paper presented at a Training of Trainers Workshop for Secondary School Principals at the St Kizito Clinic, Ilasan-Jakande Estate, Lekki, organized by the Volunteers Association for the International Service (AVSI), 22 October 2001.
- Stephan, W.G., & Stephan, C.W. (2000). *An integrated threat theory of prejudice. Claremont symposium on applied social psychology*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Sue, D.W., & Sue, D. (2008). *Counselling the culturally different: Theory and practice*. New York: Wiley.
- Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. (2009). *An integrative theory of intergroup conflict. The social psychology of intergroup conflict*. Monterey, CA: Brooks-Cole.
- Terre Blanche, M., Durrheim, K., & Painter, D. (Eds). (2006). *Research in practice: Applied methods for the social sciences (2nd ed.)*. Cape Town: University of Cape Town Press.
- Vale, P. (2002). Migration, xenophobia and security-making in post-apartheid South Africa. *Politikon*, 29, 7-29.
- Wicks, J. (2015). *KZN xenophobic violence spreads to KwaMashu*. Retrieved 14 April 2015 from <http://www.news24.com/SouthAfrica/News/KZN-xenophobicviolence-spreads-to-KwaMashu-20150413>

Yakushko, O. (2009). Xenophobia: Understanding the roots and consequences of negative attitudes toward immigrants. *The Counselling Psychologist*, 37(1), 36-66.

Appendix A

Research Participant's Informed Consent Letter Title

of the study:

The influence of Xenophobia on the Social and Psychological wellbeing of black nonSouth Africans in South Africa

Principal researcher's details:

Name: Mr V.C. Mathe

Department: Psychology

Address: University of Zululand, P/Bag x 1001, KwaDlangezwa 3886

Phone: 035 902 6606

Email: mathev@pan.uzulu.ac.za

Dear Research Participant

You are kindly invited to take part in a research study. Before you decide to participate in this study, it is important that you understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take the time to read the following information carefully. Please ask the researcher if there is anything which is not clear or if you need more information.

Your expected time commitment for this study is 10 – 15 minutes. The risks of this study are minimal. These risks are similar to those you experience when disclosing work-related information to others. This study may upset some respondents. You may terminate your involvement at any time if you so choose. Your participation in this study is voluntary. It is up to you to decide whether or not to take part in this study. If you do decide to take part then you will be asked to sign this letter. There are no costs to you for your participation.

The purpose of the study is to determine the influence of xenophobia on the social and psychological wellbeing of black non-South African people and ascertain the reasons for black non-South Africans' becoming the victims of xenophobia in South Africa. Please do not write any identifying information on your questionnaire. Your responses will be anonymous.

By signing this consent form, I confirm that I have read and understood the information and have had the opportunity to ask questions. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving a reason and without cost. I understand that I will be given a copy of this consent letter. I voluntarily agree to take part in this study.

Thanking you in advance for considering this informed consent note.

Signature: _____

Date:

Appendix B

QUESTIONNAIRE ON XENOPHOBIA

1. Name of area: _____

Background information of respondent

2. Age:

- 18 and below
- 19 – 25 years 26 – 35 years 36 – 45 years 46 – 55 years 56 years and above

3. Gender:

- Male Female

4. Highest level of education:

- None
- Primary school Secondary school but not matric Matric

- Tertiary

Instruction: For each of the following, please tick (x) in the box that corresponds to what you believe is the truth.

Section A

Some of the causes of xenophobia					
Items	Strongly agree	Agree	Somewhat	Disagree	Strongly disagree
1. South Africans fear that the black non-South Africans will take away their country.					
2. Black non-South Africans take jobs meant for South Africans.					
3. Black non-South Africans provide cheap labour since they work for low pay.					
4. Black non-South Africans steal the belongings of South Africans					
5. Black non-South Africans have love affairs with local women.					

6. Belief that crime rates are worsening and are committed by black nonSouth Africans.					
Some of the influence of xenophobia					
Items	Strongly agree	Agree	Somewhat	Disagree	Strongly disagree
1. Most black non-South Africans are still depressed by xenophobia					
2. Black non-South Africans have high levels of anxiety.					
3. Some black non-South Africans perceived no evidence of discrimination and prejudice.					
4. Black non-South Africans have a greater acculturative stress.					
5. Discrimination has detrimental effects on black non-South Africans' mental health.					

6. Xenophobia has resulted in significant costs for the wellbeing of black non-South Africans.					
7. Black non-South Africans use fake identity documents to protect themselves from local people.					
8. In some workplaces, xenophobia lead to an increased rate of absenteeism.					
9. South African employees threaten and assault their fellow black non-South African employees.					
Some of the experiences during xenophobic attacks					
Items	Strongly agree	Agree	Somewhat	Disagree	Strongly disagree
1. People were killed.					
2. People were beaten all the time					

<p>3. Black non-South Africans were forced to stay in the bush.</p>					
<p>4. Black non-South Africans ate from dustbins</p>					
<p>5. Most black non-South Africans lost their jobs and accommodation.</p>					
<p>6. Black non-South Africans were raped.</p>					
<p>7. People carried dangerous weapons all the time.</p>					
<p>8. Black non-South Africans were thrown out of moving trains.</p>					
<p>9. Black non-South Africans were chased out of the community.</p>					
<p>10. Black non-South Africans were desperate to make money at the expense of local people.</p>					

How can xenophobia be prevented?					
Items	Strongly agree	Agree	Somewhat	Disagree	Strongly disagree
1. People should be taught that we are all Africans.					
2. People should forgive each other.					
3. Black non-South Africans should have proper documents.					
4. Black non-South Africans should be given a place to stay.					
5. Educational campaigns and workshops for both black non-South Africans and local people should be conducted.					
6. Local people should learn to accept black non-South Africans.					

<p>7. Local people should respect lives and stop killing black non-South Africans.</p>					
<p>8. Black non-South Africans should follow laws of the country.</p>					
<p>9. Leaders must make and implement firm decisions.</p>					
<p>10. Laws to protect black non-South Africans should be introduced.</p>					
<p>11. Black non-South Africans should return to their countries.</p>					
<p>12. Black non-South Africans should be given separate residential places from locals.</p>					

Section B

1. How would you describe xenophobia?

.....

.....

.....

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

2. Do you think xenophobia is closely related to racism?

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

3. How would you describe your emotional response to xenophobia?

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

4. What must be done to halt xenophobic attacks in South Africa?

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

5. How are you affected by xenophobia? What are your feelings regarding its causes and preventative measures which could be taken?

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

Appendix C

Relationship between influence and causes

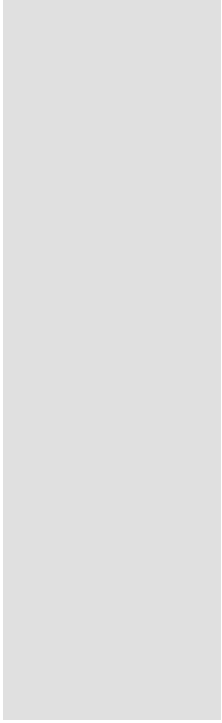
Causes of Xenophobia * Influence of Xenophobia Cross tabulation

Influence of Xenophobia

	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28		
Causes of Xenophobia	6	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
	7	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
	8	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	4
	9	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1
	10	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
	11	0	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	8
	12	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	1	0	0	0	5
	13	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	4
	14	0	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	4
	15	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	3	0	1	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	8
	16	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	5

Total

17	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
18	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	5
19	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
20	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
21	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	0	2
22	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
23	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2
24	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
25	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
28	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	2
29	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	1
Total	1	2	2	3	6	1	6	8	8	5	5	5	3	3	6	3	1	1	69



Age * Influence of Xenophobia

		Influence of Xenophobia																	Total	
		11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	
Age	18 Yrs and below	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	3
	19 - 25 Yrs	1	2	1	1	4	1	6	5	4	5	3	4	2	2	5	3	1	0	50
	26 - 35 Yrs	0	0	1	2	2	0	0	3	1	0	2	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	13
	36 - 45 Yrs	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	3
	Total	1	2	2	3	6	1	6	8	8	5	5	5	3	3	6	3	1	1	69

Gender * Influence of Xenophobia

		Influence of Xenophobia																		Total
		11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28	
Gender	Male	0	2	0	1	4	0	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	3	0	0	1	1	22
	Female	1	0	2	2	2	1	4	6	6	4	4	4	2	0	6	3	0	0	47
Total		1	2	2	3	6	1	6	8	8	5	5	5	3	3	6	3	1	1	69

Education * Influence of Xenophobic

		Influence of Xenophobic																	Total		
		1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8		
Education	None	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	4
	Secondary school but not matric	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
	Matric	0	0	0	0	1	0	3	0	0	1	0	0	1	1	2	0	0	0	0	9
	Tertiary	1	2	2	3	3	1	3	8	6	4	5	5	2	2	4	3	1	0	0	55
Total	1	2	2	3	6	1	6	8	8	5	5	5	3	3	6	3	1	1	1	69	

Reliability test

Item Statistics

	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
South Africans fear that the black non-South Africans will take away their country	2.32	1.356	69
Black non-South Africans take jobs meant for South Africans	2.67	1.411	69
Black non-South Africans provide cheap labour since they work for low pay	2.04	1.230	69
Black non-South Africans steal the belongings of South Africans	2.81	1.353	69
Black non-South Africans have love affairs with local women	2.35	1.258	69
Belief that crime rates are worsening and are committed by black non-South Africans	2.99	1.460	69
Most black non-South Africans are still having depression due to xenophobia	1.87	.856	69
Black non-South Africans have high levels of anxiety	2.25	.946	69
Some black non-South Africans remained with negative influence of perceived discrimination and prejudice	2.01	.947	69
Black non-South Africans have a greater acculturative stress	2.65	1.055	69
Discrimination has detrimental effects on black non-South Africans' mental health	2.35	.997	69
Xenophobia has resulted in significant costs for the wellbeing of black non-South Africans	2.41	1.129	69

Black non-South Africans use fake identity documents to protect themselves from local people	1.68	1.105	69
In some workplaces, xenophobia led to an increased rate of absenteeism	2.16	1.080	69
South African employees were assaulting and threatening their fellow black non-South African employees	2.13	1.097	69
People were killed	1.26	.634	69
People were beaten all the time	1.46	1.357	69
Black non-South Africans were forced to stay in the bush	2.32	1.254	69
Black non-South Africans ate from dustbins	3.32	1.334	69
Most black non-South Africans lost their jobs and accommodation	1.77	.987	69
Black non-South Africans were raped	3.03	1.188	69
People carried dangerous weapons all the time	2.38	1.126	69
Black non-South Africans were thrown out of moving trains	2.84	1.302	69
Black non-South Africans were chased out of the community	1.68	.978	69
Black non-South Africans were desperate to accumulate money from the local people	2.41	1.343	69
People should be taught that we are all Africans	1.30	.577	69
People should forgive each other	1.41	.671	69
Black non-South Africans should have proper documents	1.93	1.167	69
Black non-South Africans should be given a place to stay	2.30	1.228	69
Educational campaigns and workshops for both black non-South Africans and local people should be conducted	1.78	.953	69

Local people should learn to accept black non-South Africans	1.46	.833	69
Local people should respect lives and stop killing black non-South Africans	1.28	.616	69
Black non-South Africans should follow laws of the country	1.23	.689	69
Leaders must make and implement firm decisions	1.61	.927	69
Laws to protect black non-South Africans should be introduced	1.88	1.051	69
Black non-South Africans should return to their countries	3.09	1.502	69
Black non-South Africans should be given separate residential places from locals	3.91	1.411	69

Validity test

Communalities

	Initial	Extraction
South Africans fear that the black non-South Africans will take away their country	1.000	.690
Black non-South Africans take jobs meant for South Africans	1.000	.765
Black non-South Africans provide cheap labour since they work for low pay	1.000	.674
Black non-South Africans steal the belongings of South Africans	1.000	.757
Black non-South Africans have love affairs with local women	1.000	.722

Belief that crime rates are worsening and are committed by black non-South Africans	1.000	.662
Most black non-South Africans are still having depression due to xenophobia	1.000	.671
Black non-South Africans have high levels of anxiety	1.000	.742
Some black non-South Africans remained with negative influence of perceived discrimination and prejudice	1.000	.758
Black non-South Africans have a greater acculturative stress	1.000	.753
Discrimination has detrimental effects on black non-South Africans' mental health	1.000	.699
Xenophobia has resulted in significant costs for the wellbeing of black non-South Africans	1.000	.704
Black non-South Africans use fake identity documents to protect themselves from local people	1.000	.663
In some workplaces, xenophobia led to an increased rate of absenteeism	1.000	.812
South African employees were assaulting and threatening their fellow black non-South African employees	1.000	.771
People were killed	1.000	.789
People were beaten all the time	1.000	.808
Black non-South Africans were forced to stay in the bush	1.000	.776
Black non-South Africans ate from dustbins	1.000	.699
Most black non-South Africans lost their jobs and accommodation	1.000	.696

Black non-South Africans were raped	1.000	.739
People carried dangerous weapons all the time	1.000	.737
Black non-South Africans were thrown out of moving trains	1.000	.734
Black non-South Africans were chased out of the community	1.000	.819
Black non-South Africans were desperate to accumulate money from the local people	1.000	.830
People should be taught that we are all Africans	1.000	.812
People should forgive each other	1.000	.910
Black non-South Africans should have proper documents	1.000	.670
Black non-South Africans should be given a place to stay	1.000	.780
Educational campaigns and workshops for both black non-South Africans and local people should be conducted	1.000	.840
Local people should learn to accept black non-South Africans	1.000	.838
Local people should respect lives and stop killing black non-South Africans	1.000	.829
Black non-South Africans should follow laws of the country	1.000	.775
Leaders must make and implement firm decisions	1.000	.842
Laws to protect black non-South Africans should be introduced	1.000	.860
Black non-South Africans should return to their countries	1.000	.566
Black non-South Africans should be given separate residential places from locals	1.000	.864

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

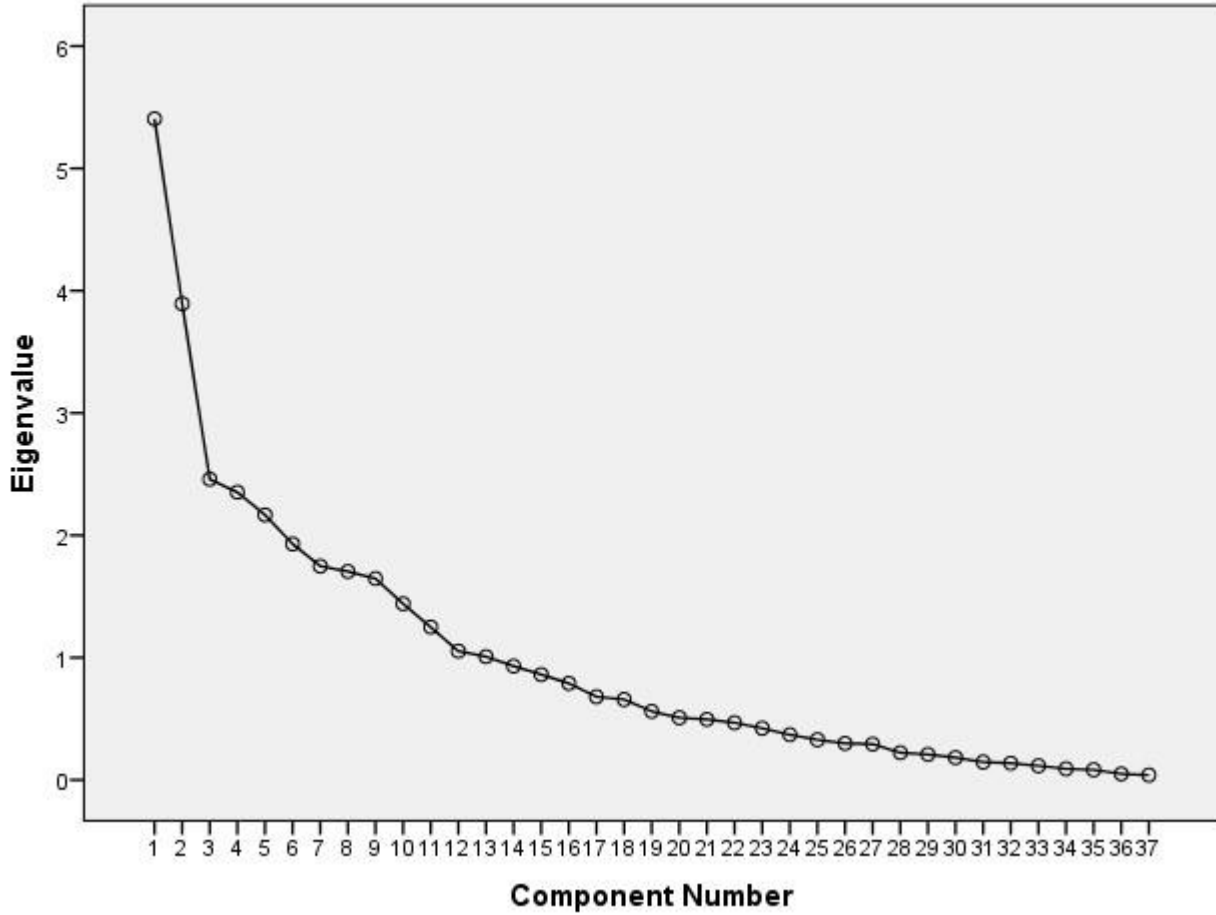
Total Variance Explained

Component	Initial Eigenvalue			Action Sums of Squared Multiple Correlation Coefficients		
	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Total	% of Variance	Cumulative %
1	5.405	14.609	14.609	5.405	14.609	14.609
2	3.894	10.523	25.132	3.894	10.523	25.132
3	2.459	6.646	31.777	2.459	6.646	31.777
4	2.353	6.358	38.136	2.353	6.358	38.136
5	2.167	5.857	43.992	2.167	5.857	43.992
6	1.930	5.215	49.207	1.930	5.215	49.207
7	1.748	4.724	53.931	1.748	4.724	53.931
8	1.704	4.607	58.538	1.704	4.607	58.538
9	1.647	4.450	62.988	1.647	4.450	62.988
10	1.440	3.893	66.881	1.440	3.893	66.881
11	1.250	3.377	70.259	1.250	3.377	70.259
12	1.053	2.847	73.106	1.053	2.847	73.106
13	1.008	2.725	75.831	1.008	2.725	75.831
14	.931	2.516	78.347			
15	.861	2.328	80.675			
16	.790	2.135	82.810			
17	.680	1.838	84.648			
18	.658	1.778	86.426			
19	.561	1.516	87.942			
20	.509	1.375	89.317			
21	.495	1.339	90.656			
22	.467	1.263	91.919			
23	.423	1.143	93.062			
24	.370	.999	94.061			
25	.328	.887	94.948			
26	.299	.808	95.757			

27	.293	.791	96.548		
28	.222	.601	97.149		
29	.209	.565	97.714		
30	.182	.493	98.207		
31	.146	.396	98.603		
32	.137	.371	98.974		
33	.116	.313	99.287		
34	.091	.246	99.533		
35	.083	.225	99.758		
36	.050	.134	99.892		
37	.040	.108	100.000		

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

Scree Plot



Component Matrix^a

	Component												
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
People were beaten all the time	.639							-.388					
People were killed	.599				-.353						-.319		
People carried dangerous weapons all the time	.587		-.319										
Black nonSouth Africans were forced to stay in the bush	.572		-.355					-.323					

Educational campaigns and workshops for both black nonSouth Africans and local people should be conducted	.561				.472			.345				
Black nonSouth Africans should be given a place to stay	.554	-.311			.397			.303				
Black nonSouth Africans should have proper documents	.549											
Local people should learn to accept black non-South Africans	.548	-.307					-.366				.312	
Black nonSouth Africans were raped	.494										-.324	
Black nonSouth Africans should return to their countries	-.472											
Most black nonSouth Africans are still having depression due to xenophobia	.462		.416							-.400		

Black nonSouth Africans were thrown out of moving trains	.431		-.410			.384													
Black nonSouth Africans have love affairs with local women		.673																	
Black nonSouth Africans provide cheap labour since they work for low pay		.669																	
Black nonSouth Africans use fake identity documents to protect themselves from local people		.583																	
Black nonSouth Africans take jobs meant for South Africans		.556																	
Black nonSouth Africans steal the belongings of South Africans		.535																	

Black nonSouth Africans were chased out of the community		.517		-.369		-.383							
Belief that crime rates are worsening and are committed by black nonSouth Africans	-.374	.430							.423				
Discrimination has detrimental effects on black non-South Africans' mental health		.409				.311		-.310					.333
South Africans fear that the black nonSouth Africans will take away their country		.374				.320		.320					
Local people should respect lives and stop killing black non-South Africans		.300	.568	-.460									
Laws to protect black nonSouth Africans should be introduced			.535		.398					-.350	.322		

Black nonSouth Africans have high levels of anxiety	.332		.428	.390			.368					
Black nonSouth Africans were desperate to accumulate money from the local people	.498	.353		.502								
Some black non-South Africans remained with negative influence of perceived discrimination and prejudice				.500			-.365	.314				
Black nonSouth Africans should be given separate residential places from locals			.312	.475				-.440				.345
Xenophobia has resulted in significant costs for the wellbeing of black nonSouth Africans				-.441	.335				.412			
Most black nonSouth Africans lost their jobs and accommodation	.369			-.418								

People should be taught that we are all Africans	.445				-.533			.329				
Leaders must make and implement firm decisions				.337	.475		-.448					
Black nonSouth Africans should follow laws of the country						.315	-.524		-.370			
Black nonSouth Africans have a greater acculturative stress						.395	.467			.405		
Black nonSouth Africans ate from dustbins	.430		-.301				.450					
South African employees were assaulting and threatening their fellow black nonSouth African employees	.344				-.338	.353			-.358			-.308
In some workplaces, xenophobia led to an increased rate of absenteeism		.308	.310						.357	-.404		-.414
People should forgive each other				.411	-.354				.330			.452

Extraction Method: Principal Component
Analysis. a. 13 components extracted.

Appendix D

UNIVERSITY RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE

(Reg No: UZREC 171110-30)



UNIVERSITY OF ZULULAND

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

Private Bag X1001
KwaDlangezwa 3886

Tel: 035 902 6887
Fax: 035 902 6222
Email: ManqeleS@unizulu.ac.za

ETHICAL CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE

Certificate Number	UZREC 171110-030 PGD 2013/41					
Project Title	The effects of Xenophobia on Social and Psychological wellbeing of African foreigners in South Africa					
Principal Researcher/ Investigator	VC Mathe					
Supervisor and Co- supervisor	Prof. J Thwala					
Department	Psychology					
Nature of Project	Honours/4 th Year	Master's	Doctoral	x	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 proposal and the documents listed on page 2 of this Certificate. Special conditions, if any, are also listed on page 2.

The Researcher may therefore commence with the research as from the date of this Certificate, using the reference number indicated above, but may not conduct any data collection using research instruments that are yet to be approved.

Please note that the UZREC must be informed immediately of

- Any material change in the conditions or undertakings mentioned in the documents that were presented to the UZREC
- Any material breaches of ethical undertakings or events that impact upon the ethical conduct of the research

The Principal Researcher must report to the UZREC in the prescribe format, where applicable, annually and at the end of the project, in respect of ethical compliance.

The table below indicates which documents the UZREC considered in granting this Certificate and which documents, if any, still require ethical clearance. (Please note that this is not a closed list and should new instruments be developed, these may also require approval.)

Documents	Considered	To be submitted	Not required
Faculty Research Ethics Committee recommendation	X		
Animal Research Ethics Committee recommendation			X
Health Research Ethics Committee recommendation			X
Ethical clearance application form	X		
Project registration proposal	X		
Informed consent from participants	X		
Informed consent from parent/guardian			X
Permission for access to sites/information/participants			X
Permission to use documents/copyright clearance			X
Data collection/survey instrument/questionnaire	X		
Data collection instrument in appropriate language		Only if necessary	
Other data collection instruments		Only if used	

Special conditions: Documents marked "To be submitted" must be presented for ethical clearance before any data collection can commence.

The UZREC retains the right to

- Withdraw or amend this Certificate if
 - Any unethical principles or practices are revealed or suspected
 - Relevant information has been withheld or misrepresented
 - Regulatory changes of whatsoever nature so require
 - The conditions contained in this Certificate have not been adhered to
- Request access to any information or data at any time during the course or after completion of the project

The UZREC wishes the researcher well in conducting the research.



Professor Rob Midgley
 Deputy Vice-Chancellor, Research and Innovation
 Chairperson: University Research Ethics Committee
 11 November 2013

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

11-11-2013

RESEARCH & INNOVATION OFFICE

CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that I edited Vusi Clearence Mathe's thesis entitled The Influence of Xenophobia on the Social and Psychological Wellbeing of Black non-South Africans in South Africa.

A. N. Bell

A.N. Bell BA (Hons) (Cape Town) MA (Rhodes)

Research Associate, University of Zululand

Consulting Editor, Echoing Green Press (Fish Hoek, Cape Town) Ph. 072
237 6617

Email: alannigelbe11123@gmail.com

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Content	Page/s
Chapter 1: Overview of the study	
1.1 Introduction	1
1.2 Motivation for the study	2
1.3 Statement of the problem	2
1.4 Aim of the study	3
1.5 Definition of terms	3
1.6 Research methodology and design	4
1.7 Value of the study	7
1.8 Summary	8
Chapter 2: Literature review	
2.1 Introduction	9
2.2 Review of relevant literature on xenophobia	9
2.3 The scope and nature of xenophobia among South Africans	12
2.4 Xenophobia in South Africa and problems related to it	16
2.5 Cases of xenophobic attacks in democratic South Africa	17
2.6 Xenophobia, Racialization and violence in South Africa	21
2.7 Possible causes of xenophobia	22
2.8 Research findings from the other previous research study about the causes of	

xenophobia	22
2.9 Identity and Humanness	22
2.10 Positive identification	23
2.11 Fluid identity	25
2.12 Sanctity of life	26
2.13 Autochthony and Entitlement	26
2.14 African Unity: Mythical, Conditional or Impossible	26
2.15 Xenophobia as a social entity	28
2.16 Xenophobia as pathology	28
2.17 The impact of xenophobia	29
2.18 The effects of xenophobia	31
2.19 Xenophobia: absence of theory, absence of politics	32
2.20 Citizenship and political identity	33
2.21 Xenophobic psychism	35
2.22 Migration and xenophobia	37
2.23 Xenophobia and mental health	37
2.24 Anxiety and xenophobia	40
2.25 Post-traumatic stress disorder and xenophobia	41
2.26 Panic disorder and xenophobia	41
2.27 Depression, aggression and xenophobia	41
2.28 Summary	42

Chapter 3: Theoretical framework

3.1. Introduction	43
3.2. The scapegoating theory of xenophobia	43
3.3 Research hypotheses on xenophobia	59
3.4 Summary	59

Chapter 4: Research methodology

4.1 Introduction	60
4.2 Research design	60
4.3 Target population	61
4.4 Sampling method	62
4.5 Data collection instrument	63
4.6 Transferability and dependability of the questionnaire	64
4.7 Reliability of the measuring instrument	64
4.8 Validity of the measuring instrument	65
4.9 Data analysis and interpretation of findings	65
4.10 Practical and ethical considerations	66
4.11 Summary	67

Chapter 5: Results and discussion

5.1 Introduction	68
5.2 Theme 1: Some of the causes of xenophobia.	70
5.3 Theme 2: Some of the effects of xenophobia.	73
5.4 Theme 3: Some of the experiences during xenophobia.	77
5.5 Theme 4: How can xenophobia be prevented?	82
5.6 Relationship between effects and causes	88
5.7 Reliability test	89
5.8 Validity test	89
5.9 What do you understand about xenophobia?	89
5.10 Do you think xenophobia is closely related to racism?	90
5.11 How can you describe your emotional experience about xenophobia?	90
5.12 What must be done to eliminate xenophobic attacks in South Africa?	91
5.13 How are you affected by xenophobia and what are your feelings regarding its causes and preventative measures which could be taken?	91
5.14 Summary	92

Chapter 6: Discussion of findings

6.1 Introduction	93
6.2 Finding of the study	93
6.2 Summary	95
Limitations, conclusion and recommendations	Chapter 7:
7.1 Introduction	97
7.2 Limitations of the study	97
7.3 Recommendations	97
7.4 Summary	100
References	101
Appendix A	110
Appendix B	112
Appendix C	121
Appendix D	137
Editor's certification	

