

**THE EFFECTS OF THE 2008 XENOPHOBIC VIOLENCE ON FEMALE AFRICAN  
(FOREIGN) NATIONALS IN SOUTH AFRICA AND POSSIBLE SOLUTIONS: A CASE  
STUDY OF FEMALE STUDENTS AT UKZN.**

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment for the degree of Master's in Political Science in the Faculty of Humanities, Development and Social Science, University of Kwa-Zulu Natal, South Africa.

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## DECLARATION

I declare that *The effects of the 2008 xenophobic violence on female African (foreign) nationals in South Africa and possible solutions: A case study of female students at UKZN* is my personal and original work. I also declare that it has not been submitted for any degree or examination in any other institution. In addition, all loaned thoughts, references and citations have been duly acknowledged by means of absolute references. Finally, this thesis is being submitted in partial fulfillment for the degree of Masters in Politics in the Faculty of Humanities, Development and Social Science, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Howard College Campus.



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**November 2010**

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TO GOD BE THE GLORY

## **DEDICATION**

This work is dedicated to God who has done so many mysterious things in my life especially my academic attainment and stay in SA. I also dedicate it to my late mum Magaret Naye Kanjo (RIP), my dad Kanjo John Nchifor, as well as my sisters and brothers.



## ABSTRACT

Xenophobia in South Africa is a social-political ill. Despite the huge xenophobic attack that took place in May 2008 leaving so many people homeless, wounded and dead, xenophobia still continues to occur in several ways all over South Africa. Its roots can be traced back to the period of apartheid when black South Africans suffered various types of racial discrimination and other forms of subjugation from the hands of their white compatriots, who form a tiny minority of the country's population. It would appear that having forced their way out of the period of apartheid, Black South Africans have created a brutal culture of hostility towards 'foreigners' from the rest of Africa. In their search for higher education, students from the rest of the continent have been attracted to South Africa by its excellent social infrastructure and the relative buoyancy of its economy. These migrant students are faced with various challenges in their daily activities both on and off campus. The most salient of this would seem to be their experience of xenophobia. A case in point is the female African students at UKZN. This is in addition to the basic fact that women are, almost by definition, a vulnerable group. The violence that many women experience is caused by numerous identities such as race, class, sexual orientation, HIV status, disability and other markers of difference. These markers not only increase female vulnerability but they also limit their access to legal redress and health and psychosocial services. This phenomenon often gives men an advantage over women in society. Such forms of discrimination need to be investigated and interrogated within the context of xenophobia. Though there has not been any further major attack in the aftermath of the 2008 xenophobic violence, the sporadic experiences amongst, for example, foreign female African students at UKZN, if ignored, may gradually lead to a violent outbreak. This study attempts to capture and critically analyse the understanding of these students on the subject of xenophobia, their experiences and the probable effects xenophobia has, so far, had on their stay in South Africa. The study also seeks to understand how these students respond to the attacks and if they are aware of policies made by the government or university authorities to assist them. Based on the interviews, the study recommends how to eradicate xenophobia, given that existing policies seem to be working only in presumption. It further elaborates on the gender dynamics of xenophobia and concludes on the feelings of xenophilia (experience of love by foreigners from the local South Africans) by the students despite the existence of xenophobia in South Africa.

## **LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS**

UKZN	University of KwaZulu-Natal
SA	South Africa
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
SABC	South African Broadcasting Corporation
HIV	Human immunodeficiency virus
AID	Acquired immune deficiency syndrome
ILO	International Labour Office
IOM	International Organisation for Migration
OHCHR	Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
IMF	International Monetary Fund
WTO	World Trade Organisation
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
INT	International
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo

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# CHAPTER ONE

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1) Introduction

Culture and migration are an intrinsic part of humanity. When people migrate they may leave every other thing in their place of origin, but never their culture given that it is part of human history. Migration for education abroad has become a global phenomenon (Piper, 2005). An increasing number of students across the globe are migrating to foreign countries to study at higher educational institutions since education equips people with the knowledge and skills they need to increase income and expand opportunities for employment (Education: Key to success, 2009). Many youth migrate because they want to get better and quality education that will enable them to get good and well paid jobs either in their host country or back at home. They want to improve on their educational level so as to provide themselves with more employment and career opportunities (Education: Key to success, 2009). However the search for such better means of higher education in foreign lands is not without numerous challenges.

This chapter introduces the entire dissertation and outlines the research problem on how foreign female students from other African countries (such as Zimbabwe, Rwanda, Nigeria, Cameroon, Kenya, Sierra- Leone, and the Democratic Republic of Congo, [DRC]) who migrate from their home countries to study in South Africa are faced with the challenge of xenophobia. The chapter also presents the background of the study on xenophobia as a conflicting factor between foreign students and their host (local South Africans). It addresses key questions for a compromise to be reached between both parties. Broad problems addressed include if answers to existing questions are being made use of. The chapter also provides definitions and clarification of concepts and

word that are used in the course of the study. It explains the significance of the study, the limitations of the study and presents an overview of the thesis structure.

## **1.2) Background and outline of study**

This paper explores the effects of the 2008 xenophobic violence on (foreign) female African students at UKZN. It seeks to understand their experiences of xenophobia with possible suggestions towards its alleviation. The study further attempts to uncover how these students respond to such attacks and if they are aware of policies made by the SA government and/or UKZN authorities in assisting them during xenophobic crisis. This is due to the fact that women are generally vulnerable (Pillay, 2009). The violence that many women experience is caused by numerous identities (such as race, class, sexual orientation, HIV status, (disability, and other markers of difference), which not only increase vulnerability but also limit their access to legal redress, as well as access to health and psychosocial services (Shardow Report, 2010). This most often gives men an advantage over women in society. Such forms of discrimination need to be investigated upon even in the context of xenophobia.

Following the demise of apartheid and the subsequent democratisation of South Africa, there has been an influx of migrants into South Africa. A huge number of immigrants, estimated between three and eight million people (Ashton, 2010), migrate to SA for various reasons such as business, education, family and employment. In search of better education, students from the rest of the continent migrate to South Africa to further their studies given its excellent social infrastructures and the relative buoyancy of its economy. Recent data indicates that over two thirds of international students at South African universities originate from the African continent (Muthuki, 2010). The growth in the number of international students can be observed at the

UKZN which is currently the largest contact university in South Africa (Muthuki, 2010). Out of 332 foreign female students at the UKZN, about 246 of them are from Africa, accounting for the majority (contact International students office at the UKZN Howard campus). These African students face different challenges in their daily lives. One of the most salient of these challenges is their experience of xenophobia commonly known as the dislike of foreigners. According to Zambara (2010), there is an apparent rise in xenophobia in South Africa. His report states that refugee protection agencies have heard increasing reports of xenophobic violence threats. Foreigners of African descent living in South Africa have rarely felt as threatened as they do now. Since the hosting of the 2010 Football World Cup by South Africa, between June 11 and July 11, there has been an over-use of the term 'xenophobia'. Through word of mouth, it appears that some South Africans had threatened to send African migrants packing after the global fiesta in July 2010. Given that the threats have not been carried out since the end of the competition, they largely remain unproven. This does not, however, mean that different experiences (such as inability to speak the local language, physical and psychological abuse, embarrassment, fear and general insecurity) of xenophobia amongst female African students at the UKZN should be ignored. Thus, there is the need for more policies (and perhaps, more importantly, political education) to reconcile the foreign with the local with a view to preventing the outbreak of xenophobic violence. Such attacks continuously affect women as some migrants, especially women, face brutalities, sexual and gender-based violence during the 2008 xenophobic attack (Shardow Report, 2010).

### **1.3) Statement of research problem**

South Africa is relatively more developed compared to most other African countries. Its economy and geographical positioning on the continent place it at the core of Africa especially since the end of apartheid in 1994. This, to some foreigners, is a great opportunity despite the financial constraints and the presence of xenophobia. Clark, (1999) and Crush and McDonald (2002) explain how foreigners are victimised by xenophobic attacks. They argue that most African migrants are feeling the verbal and sometimes physical sting of rampant anti-foreign sentiment in South Africa. Such an indiscriminate xenophobic attitude stems from the idea that African foreigners appear to be a threat to South African economic and social life. Indeed, South Africans perceive foreigners as an economic threat and as people who have come to take their employment opportunities (Crush, 2008). With such stereotyping, interactions between South Africans and foreigners are often very tense and uncomfortable. This does not, however, prevent students in other African countries from migrating to study in South Africa's high educational institutions, particularly its well equipped universities, even though they are expensive.

Though there are principles (such as equality and democracy for all in South Africa), foreign female African nationals (students at UKZN) still experience different types of xenophobic attacks. The study investigates the various types of xenophobic violence faced by these students (or other African foreigners close to them and reported by them, to serve as a control variable or factor) from a gender based perspective. It explores the effects of the attacks, and how they deal with such attacks, and suggests possible ways out of the impasse. This is due to the fact that women have been very influential in most conflict situations around Africa (Pillay 2009). Their suggestions in this case may also be considered very significant in the struggle to eradicate

xenophobia in SA. The study further interrogates the feelings of xenophilia (love for foreigners) which these students get from their South African hosts- as well as the joy of being in South Africa that sometimes makes them neglect experiences of xenophobia.

South Africa's anti-apartheid struggle gave birth to liberal democracy underscored by one of the most liberal constitutions in the world covering a wide spectrum of human rights. The research examines if the students in question are aware of university and government policies that guarantee their rights and if these policies are implemented during xenophobic attacks. Key questions include: to what extent are these students covered by the provisions of the constitution, particularly its opening statement that 'South Africa belongs to all that live in it'? What is the hiatus, on the ground, between theory and practice? What are the key attitudinal and cultural stumbling blocks to the usefulness or relevance of constitutional rights to aliens? Given the gulf between the constitution that accords the 'right to life' and the macro-economic policies that deny the majority of South Africans the 'means to live', how is the case of foreign students regarded as *sui generis* (that is, unique or special)?

#### **1.4) Research problem and objectives: Key questions asked**

- 1) What are the experiences and effects of the 2008 xenophobic attacks on foreign female African students coming into UKZN before and after the attacks?
- 2) How are the foreign female African students responding to xenophobia?
- 3) How are the SA government and the UKZN authorities assisting foreign female African students in SA to deal with both latent and manifest xenophobia?
- 4) Do the foreign female African students feel assisted by the government or the university?
- 5) What is the gendered nature of xenophobia for foreign female African students at UKZN?

6) Drawing mainly on insights and perspectives from foreign female African UKZN students, what can be done to eradicate xenophobia in SA?

7) What are the feelings of xenophilia and the joy of being in SA for the foreign female African students in UKZN?

### **1.5) Research problem and objectives: Broader issues investigated**

Drawing on views and opinions from the field, in combination with studies on xenophobia (both preliminary and documented), South Africa undoubtedly needs greater efforts to guide the region in providing policies that encourage free movement, and the protection of people to encourage livelihood and discourage further xenophobic attacks (Mcconnel 200). This study investigates students' awareness and use of existing policies (by the government or university) to fight against xenophobia. This is due to the fact that existing policies like the declaration on human rights and equality for all appear to be honored more in the breach than in the observance.

According to Sharp (2008), South Africa needs politics which openly fosters the non-racialism espoused by the South African Constitution, that rejects and resists the power of identity politics, and that strives for a cosmopolitanism that values the contributions of all human beings while ensuring the freedom of association and of cultural and linguistic expression of all. The study investigates the extent to which South Africans and their guests alike are politically educated in terms of their socialising spirit (segregation and stereotyping) as a way forward for the fight against xenophobia.

The study also investigates if students take courses or attend conferences, seminars and presentations in and out of the university that helps in their understanding of violence and alternative ways of dealing with it especially in the case of xenophobia.

## **1.6) Principal theories upon which the research is constructed**

### **1.6.1) Psychological theories**

Psychological theories explain prejudice and discriminations as a means through which people express hostility arising from frustration. These are theories relating mostly to human beings and deal principally with human behaviour. They include a whole range of other theories, including power theory, power conflict theory, the normative theory, bio-cultural approach and isolation hypothesis (Osman 2009). These theories further explain power relationships, how conflicts emerge and the factors that engender, drive and exacerbate them. They also explain normative and bio-cultural happenings, as well as the effects of isolation.

According to Marger (1991), cited in Osman, (2009), psychological theories are also referred to as scape-goating. In essence, the theories explain how somebody becomes so frustrated in a struggle to achieve a goal. This frustration makes the person respond with aggression. Since the source of the frustration is unknown but very powerful, a substitute is therefore found on whom the aggression is released. Harris (2001, cited in Osman, 2009), contends that the new phenomenon of xenophobia in SA is explained by the scape-goating hypothesis.

This theory helps to explain why foreigners (in this case female African students in UKZN) are faced with the challenges of xenophobia and why they are blamed for limited resources, unemployment and service delivery. The main factor, being poverty, is then directed to the



foreigners on the pretext that they are taking jobs which are meant for South Africans. Researchers at the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation in South Africa note that prejudice against foreigners takes place in many societies, particularly in countries experiencing economic or political upheaval (Osman 2009). Within this context, foreigners become an easy target (suitable scape-goats) for those experiencing the reality of poverty that has worsened since the arrival in the country of hundreds of mainly unskilled migrants from southern Africa in general and Zimbabwe in particular. Targeting foreigners is a function of proximity because many foreigners seem to have little choice but to reside in areas that are characterised by poverty and a lack of service delivery. This is an instigator of xenophobic attitudes which tend to encourage hostility, conflict and violence, as more and more people compete for meagre and scarce resources (Alarape, 2008, cited in Osman 2009).

This theory is a suitable theory for this study since it clearly explains why and shows the conflict that exists between foreigners and South Africans. In the event of frustration, the individual looks for a solution, which is xenophobia. Relating to this study and considering that xenophobia as a whole needs a solution (just like an individual who is frustrated), the study interrogates suggestions from the participants. Considering the fact that xenophobia occurs due to frustration, the participants who may be considered un-frustrated but suffering from the hands of those who are frustrated and practicing xenophobia, in this case, they are able to come up with suggestions that may be helpful in the fight against xenophobia, bearing in mind that they do not want to continuously suffer from it.

### **1.6.2) The gender/feminist theory (first, second and third wave feminism)**

Feminist theories and practices are concerned with the structural inequalities that emerge in the age of globalisation, and the need to safeguard women's interest, dignity and well-being amidst the dissemination of mixed and fast changing ethnic, racial, national and religious identities (Braidotti, 2005). They focus on patriarchy and cite the patriarchal system as the root cause of gender inequalities in society. Reynoso's (2004) approach to these inequalities takes into account the lived realities of individuals and the social context of discrimination. Feminism also seeks to understand these inequalities by conceptualising societal change as a means for the realisation of equality. Feminist theorists include the first, the second and the third wave feminism.

To briefly define the first and second waves is to be outrageously reductionist, given the complexities of each, not to mention significant national differences within. They both inspire women to be paradoxical creatures, as well as to piece together and dole out their contradictory identity in any way possible, forgetting that there needs to be equality and a balance between men and women. In addition, both waves were decisively white, protestant, middle-to-upper class women, with their main objective being to interrogate the many years of subjugation (Buszek, 2000).

By contrast, third wave feminism has been comfortable with redefining feminism to include any woman who believes that inequality between men and women exists and affects their lives, and acts towards balancing the scales (Buszek, 2000). It examines not only "the intersection between race, class, culture, and sexuality, but also the celebration – (and coalition politics, to destabilise the philosophy that undermine and subvert the system of domination-subordination that affects both men and women) – of multiple identities such as ethnicities, cultural and class experiences"

(Hammer and Kellner, 2009, p.7). Third wave feminism is necessary in this regard because it looks at the extent to which gender permeates a variety of practices, identities and institutions (both the identities and practices of, for instance, the locals as well as the foreigners in SA, in the context of xenophobia). Issues like globalisation, religious practices and values, ethnic enclave businesses, citizenship, sexuality and ethnic identity become interrogated in daily operations, as well as in institutional, political and economic structures (Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2005). Third wave feminism celebrates these diversities and deliberates on women's efforts at building meaningful identities in the contemporary world.

Third wave feminism also struggles to accommodate differences and conflicts (xenophobia) that exist between people like the local South Africans and the African foreigners (Heywood and Drake, 1998). This means that third wave feminism favours neither women nor men, groups and classes, but tries to present them as equals in society, with gender portrayed as a fundamental and relational act (Von Feigenblatt, 2009). Third wave feminism studies gender, groups and class at a broader level, unlike the first and second waves that appear largely specific and informal.

This is a suitable theory for this study since foreign female African students have unique vulnerability and are more likely to experience multiple forms of discrimination due to their multiple identities. Mainstreaming feminism/gender also ties in the study as it promotes equality for all, irrespective of race, gender, sex, or ethnicity. According to Steeves (cited in Ebere, n.d., p.4), the gender feminist theory "seeks to understand human behaviour and through that understanding, to change social life". This shows full support against the social and cultural structures which subjugate women, and encourages equality for all. Since more women suffer the effects of violence (USAID, 2007), the gender/feminist theory is important as it seeks to present

equal treatment to both males and females in a violent situation. This theory helps in explaining some forms of xenophobic experience common to women which are uncommon to men. Since the theory also deals with social change, it is fascinating because xenophobia is a recurring event in daily life. There is the need to turn against its existence. The theory further helps in analysing the suggested solutions from the field in a more constructive and imaginative manner.

In analysing xenophobia, its causes and effects in various parts of SA, it is erroneous to believe that continued attention should be paid to the complete elimination of its contemporary manifestations. Consequently, it can be argued that xenophobia on women, as traditionally conceptualised in relation to democratic and political rights of all within a given polity, is successful if it encompasses continuous attention with acknowledgement that the little traces, if not taken care of, may gradually lead to violence. Old policies that appear to have worked need to be revisited and strengthened where necessary, while new ones need to be formulated in light of recent experiences in all domains and organisations to fight against this veritable social scourge.

### **1.7) Clarification of concepts or use of words**

- **Patriarchy:** According to Chris Weedon (cited in Hodgson-Wright, 1999:3), patriarchy refers to:

power relations in which women's interests are subordinated to the interests of men. These power relations take on many forms, from the sexual division of labour and the social organization of procreation to the internalized norms of femininity by which we live. Patriarchy power rests on social meaning given to biological sexual difference.

The term patriarch generally is used to project ways and areas in which men dominate women. It is a practice that describes women in a box (she bears children, she is good for domestication) limiting them to perform certain duties. Apart from the philosophical view, there is the notion of prejudice. This prejudice is some sort of a bias against womanhood which comes from the notion of morality and religion. For example the Jewish Orthodox prays to God each morning thanking Him, that he is not a woman (Hook, 1982). This is because Eve in the Bible is seen as the first woman (temptress and seductive). This has been the foundation for the bias of womanhood. Some common characteristics distinguishing man and woman are;

- a) Woman is nature, flesh, organic, domestic, child bearing and emotional
  - b) Man is courage, reason, cultured, spirit, rational, self discipline and domineering.
- **Apartheid:** A concept that means ‘separateness’ and, invariably, ‘separate development’, used in South Africa to distinguish the black people from the white people. It was a period in South African history, during which the white minority discriminated against the black majority.
  - **Amakwerekwere:** A derogatory and negative word used to describe some foreigners. It is often used to mock non-South African nationals, though it can sometimes also be used for ordinary identification.
  - **Globalisation:** The struggle by individuals and countries all over the world to meet up with recent developments such as technology, new policies and new ways of doing things with the intention of being unique. Students from other parts of Africa in this study migrate to SA to become globalised, especially as far as access to university education is concerned.

- **Sexism;** Forms or ways, (race, class and religion) of discrimination against women. It most often favours men.
- **Migration:** The movement of people from one country to another in search of a better and more enabling life. In this study it relates to the movement of foreign (female African) nationals from other parts of Africa into South Africa in quest of higher degrees and perhaps also better economic and social life.
- **Xenophilia:** It is the opposite of xenophobia and generally explains the feeling of love and happiness which foreigners get from being in a strange land (in this case vis-à-vis their South African hosts).
- **Violence:** Physical brutalisation, beating and fighting but in some cases ordinary insult by word of mouth or action like in the case of xenophobia.
- **Conflict:** Disagreement between two or more people as well as disagreement between countries.
- **Culture:** People's beliefs and ways of doing things particularly people from the same continent like Africa.
- **Students:** The word students throughout the dissertation is used mostly to refer to foreign female African students at UKZN, the participants in this study, unless in cases where these students are being compared to the local students (during socialisation). In this case however, clear distinctions and specifications are made.
- **Foreign female students.** The word foreign female students refer principally to those from Africa and in some case only to participants in this study.

### **1.8) Ethical consideration**

This study was approved by the Higher Degrees Ethics Committee of the University of KwaZulu-Natal. To ensure anonymity, participants were reminded of the UKZN ethical clearance which covers their rights in the study so that they could respond freely. As participants in the study are not minor children, and are able to make informed decision on whether or not to participate in the study, their consent was sought and the purpose of the research was explained to them. Where interviews were recorded, it was with the full knowledge of the student-interviewees. Though participants gave the researcher their real names and countries of origin, they were told that the data would be confidential and anonymity of the sample would be maintained. They were also told their identities will remain anonymous as was agreed upon. They were free to withdraw at any point during the interview if they choose to and they had the right not to answer questions that may have been displeasing to them.

### **1.9) Limitations of the study**

Since individual feelings and emotions cannot be scientifically tested or verified, the researcher was forced to analyse the data directly as presented by the participants. There were certainly some points which she would have considered irrelevant as experiences of xenophobia were it possible to prove the participants wrong.

The study would perhaps have been qualitatively better and richer if South African students were involved in order to understand their perceptions of foreign (female Africans in this study) students since identity negotiation does not occur in a vacuum. Both parties needed to be present so that they could be easily compared before reaching a conclusion.

Xenophobia is a general problem that accompanies large-scale migration. It is not limited to specific groups of people (Crush and Ramachandran, 2009). The absence of male participants who experience xenophobia does not give a balance to its subject. From time to time I wrote in a general format (covering males and females) only to remind myself that the focus is on females only. However, due to special consideration which was accorded to females as highest sufferers in violent situations, the limitations were worth bearing.

Considering that the participants are students, they were sometimes very busy with their studies even when appointments had been made. Some of them misplaced questionnaires and I had to replace them. It was also difficult collecting the questionnaires back due the cost of phoning them and, in some cases, transporting myself to where they may be at any point in time.

#### **1.10) Significance of the study**

To the best of my knowledge, a study on the experiences of xenophobia by foreign female African students (only) at UKZN has hardly been done before now. The findings of this study will enable me to highlight and document critical insights generated by these students in the area of xenophobia and hence contribute to knowledge production.

Many of the scholars writing on xenophobia have been too general, focusing mostly on skilled and unskilled foreigners, with only a nodding attention given to students. Where studies have been carried out that include students on xenophobia (Osman: 2009), very few of such are directed to female students only. It is important to note that special attention needs to be paid to females (especially students in this case) as they are aspiring and have proven to be people that can contribute positively, through their efforts towards peace building in post-conflict situations



in Africa, to make our world a better place (Pillay:2009). This is because there are some forms of violence- ‘sexual’ in particular- used more on women than men. Though there has been more focus on skilled and unskilled people from townships with regards to xenophobia, there has been little focus on educated students in the cities. This study attempts to bridge this gap by examining students who are victims with a view to contributing to the eradication of xenophobia.

This study is also significant in that it seeks to include students’ ideas in the fight against xenophobia in their community. This is not just an ordinary group of people but a group of future leaders with the potential to make positive changes that society needs. I consider them as such following an example of one of them who during the UKZN 2010 student leadership course received a certificate for being the most active and most influential participant.

Finally, this study is important because most research on xenophobia confirms that African foreigners suffer more from xenophobia compared to foreigners from the rest of the globe. The study gave room to be able to tell if these students still suffer as such. To this end, I have focused on these students in order to get suggestions for the eradication of xenophobia since it is generally believed that experience is one of the best ways of learning. Having experienced and felt the effects of xenophobia, these students have been considerate in coming up with better solutions since they do not want to suffer the same plight in the future.

## **1.11) Structure of dissertation**

### **Chapter 1) Introduction**

The chapter provides a background to the thesis. It states the research problem and the research questions. It also provides definitions and clarification of concepts relating to the objectives of

the study and the theories on which the research is grounded. It concludes with the limitations of the study, the ethical consideration, the significance of the study and the overall structure of the thesis.

## **Chapter 2) Contextualising xenophobia**

This chapter provides a relevant and contemporary literature review; situating the study of xenophobia in a political context and female experiences. It also generates theories and concepts upon which the research is based, directs how the research will be investigated and the models to be used.

## **Chapter 3) Research methodology and method**

This chapter provides qualitative research methods used in collecting and analysing data in this study. It motivates the use of multiple research methods to enhance the richness of the data in this study. The chapter also locates the area of study and elaborates on the sample group and sample techniques used in the study.

## **Chapter 4) Analysis on xenophobia, its forms and its effects from the students' perspective**

This chapter analytically and qualitatively grapples with the experiences and effects of xenophobia on foreign female nationals on the UKZN Howard College Campus. It discusses both empirical and qualitative findings of the research. It explains the fact that xenophobia does not only exist due to the lack of policies but also due to the lack of political education on the part of both the locals and the foreigners. The chapter also accepts the existence of xenophobia but suggest that foreigners as well as locals need to work in collaboration towards the abolition of xenophobia.

## **Chapter 5) Students' knowledge on policies and the gendered nature of xenophobia at UKZN**

This chapter basically articulates and discusses the question on why xenophobia continues to happen and how the students think xenophobia can be eradicated. Finally, the chapter presents the gendered nature of xenophobia for students at UKZN.

## **Chapter 6) Conclusion**

This chapter provides a summary of the overall findings from the field and makes recommendations for further research work. The chapter explains the reflective stance of the researcher, the contributions that the study has made, and demonstrates that some locals are fond of foreigners through the feeling of xenophilia explained by the foreigners, as well as their joy of living in SA as a whole.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW AND CONTEXTUALISATION OF STUDY**

#### **2.1) Introduction**

This chapter gives a brief background to South African history. It lays the foundation on how to locate the cause of the subject (xenophobia) in this study. This according to some writers is the driving force towards the existences and continuity of xenophobia. It also reviews previous studies in the area of xenophobia and politics in general. The chapter further contextualises the study by anchoring xenophobia in a political context. Finally, it presents a brief over-view of women in politics and grapples with forms (or areas) of discrimination against women.

#### **2.2) A brief background to South African history**

South Africa has a long history of discrimination and oppression (apartheid) against certain groups of people (Ndlela, 2005). For approximately 46 years (1948 when apartheid was formally instituted to 1994 when it ended), the white minority discriminated against the black majority. This led to racial discrimination in virtually all sectors of South African life- the economic sector, education, health and social life with memorable and enduring scars of inequality and poverty. In the 1980s, the black majority intensified their struggle against these forms of discrimination (apartheid). During that time, various social movements and civil society organisations played exceptional roles in putting pressure on the ruling government. After a long struggle, apartheid officially ended in 1994. Since the end of apartheid, South Africans have made significant progress towards a free and democratic society based on respect for the human rights of its own citizens. However, foreigners, especially blacks, do not fully benefit from these

developments and remain subject to serious abuses such as xenophobia. Some South Africans perceive foreigners as people who have come to take away all their opportunities towards a better economic and social life. Even sections of the media as well as some SA politicians join the fray, blaming black foreigners for generating social problems such as rising crime, unemployment and the spread of diseases like HIV/AIDS (Nchabeleng, 2003). These accusations generate and make constant the existence of xenophobia in SA. Maharaj (2004, p.7), citing Wood (1994), argues that xenophobia thrives when there is competition for employment and social problems increase: illegal immigrants "become tempting scape-goats for alienated citizens".

The history of xenophobia in SA can be traced back to the transition from apartheid to a democratic government. In 1994, the end of apartheid came with the ideology that the country must be protected from 'outsiders'. In light of this, it is reasonable that the country needed to put its citizens first for this change to be applicable (McConnell, 2009). This somehow led to xenophobic violence. In May 2008, there was a major xenophobic violence in SA that began in Alexandra. If one considers what had happened between 1994 and 2008, one wonders if the violence in 2008 arose unexpectedly and without warning. Perhaps there were their pointers and factors that eventually snowballed into the events of May 2008. Another question is why there has not been another major outbreak since then. Xenophobia conceivably a low-intensity, creeping conflict that builds until it explodes in a violent outbreak. Over 70 black migrants (several of them locals), were killed and tens of thousands were expelled from their homes and communities by South Africans. Foreign owned businesses were destroyed, amounting to over R1.5 billion in damages (McConnell, 2009). Though foreign-national businesses contributed about 25% of the gross domestic product (GDP) in South Africa at that time, the South African

government offered neither compensation nor any other assistance for businesses that were destroyed during the attacks. This generally poor response from government appears to have reinforced public participation in the xenophobic attacks against fellow Africans (McConnell, 2009).

With the numerous declarations on human rights and equality for all in SA, there has since been no further well-organised violent xenophobic attack as was the case in 2008- even though sporadic and limited attacks against targeted sections of the African population seem to have continued unabated in some parts of the country. This perception is reinforced by some recent media publications and individual experiences. Zambara (2010), for instance, notes that the refugee protection agencies have heard increasing reports about violent xenophobic threats. This has already claimed casualties from foreign nationals such as Zimbabweans and Mozambicans who, having suffered similar attacks in the past, are beginning to look for defensive means. This perhaps explains why the Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University in August 2010, established a programme on its campus with the goal of reducing xenophobia amongst students and communities. The institution called on other universities and schools to set up a similar programme to help fight against xenophobia within South African communities (morning Live News 19 August 2010).

### **2.3) On the concept of politics**

The concept of politics can be analysed multi-dimensionally. It can be looked at as both an art and a discipline. However it is viewed, politics is a concept which has not been free from disputations ranging from academic and ideological to philosophical. Thus, one can argue that

one of the complex problems often encountered is the lack of consensus regarding the actual concept of politics.

This tendency has generated various understanding of politics. These understandings range from ‘politics is a dirty game’, and ‘government by deceit’ to the conception of politics as the ‘process at work everywhere’. In short, the concept of politics and its scientific study- political science- has never been free from both ignorant and intellectual disputations. Generally, the historical development of politics as an art and as a discipline can be retrospectively traced to the ancient Greek period of city-states during which Plato, Aristotle and some of their Greek contemporaries deemed the affairs of the *polis* – due to the intricacies of human political relationship - worthy of a master science (Political Science). During this classical period, Aristotle claimed that human self-realisation is dependent on political relationships (Brennan, 1984). By the same token, he claimed that ‘man is a political animal’ and that politics forms the basis of human social existence because the interaction of two or more people is synonymous to a political relationship (KOF Index of Globalisation, 2010). Various other scholars (Daği, 2001, Robert, 2009) have equally addressed the issue of politics vis-à-vis human existence in society. Dahl (1976) defines politics as any persistent pattern of human relationships that involves, to a significant extent, control, influence, power or authority.

In spite of these disputations, it is an empirical fact that politics (as an art) structures our lives, explains man’s existence as a member of organised human society, determines our socio-political, psycho-socio-economic, geo-political and ethno-cultural positions and dictates our options due to its all-embracing characteristics (Hebert, 1995 citing Darwin). This being the case, it follows that politics involves competition for public goods, authoritative decisions, compliance

and distribution and use of power over human activities in our societies. Crane and Moses (1983) have, for instance, analytically and practically defined politics. For these authors, analytically, politics deals with the state as an organism for the concentration and distribution of political powers of the nation and, practically, it deals with the form and substance of actions.

Further, De Grazia (1965) states that politics as an art happens around us the decision-making centre of government, while the study of these connotes his own definition of Politics as a discipline. In addition to the above, Easton (1957) explicates politics as the authoritative allocation of scarce societal values. His view tallies with Roberts (1971), who sees politics as ‘the authoritative allocation of resources’, while for Lasswell (1958), politics is little more than the determination of who gets what, when, where, how (how much), and why. The materialists, on the other hand, view politics as the struggle between social classes for the control of the state or institutions of the state. This conception of politics tends to emphasise the role of economic interest and class conflict in the practice of politics and in the actions of political actors.

Thus, to all intents and purposes, politics is empirical and it deals with the shaping and sharing of power and the benefits accruing from the use (as well as abuse and misuse) of power (Orji, 2008). Not minding the divergent views, politics is omnipresent and it is actually the relationship between the ‘rulers’ and the ‘ruled’ that ranges from conflict to compliance (Akindele et al, 2005). It does not exist in a vacuum but within a political system. It is on this basis that political life is taken to mean a system of activities ranging from support and demands or feedback from the environment to policy outputs or governmental decisions. The concept of power is very crucial to the ordering of priorities involved in politics. This explains why Apter (1977) claimed that politics requires the learning of power because human lives take shape and meaning within



authoritative boundaries. This shows that politics includes “the procedures through which governments, groups and individuals decide how to spend the money of the state and how behaviour will be limited” (Danziger, 1994:5). Even Heywood (2002:4) looks at politics, in its broadest sense, as “the activity through which people make, preserve and amend the general rules under which they live”. Politics as a concept is therefore ubiquitous and is a victim of definitional pluralism.

In sum, common definitions of politics include the following:

- Politics is the exercise of power
- Politics is the authoritative allocation of social values and public good
- Politics is the resolution of conflict
- Politics is the competition among individuals and groups pursuing their interests
- Politics is the sum of organisations and people who make and implement public policies
- Politics is the determination of who gets what, when, how (how much), where, and why.

#### **2.4) The concept of xenophobia: An explanatory note**

Xenophobia is a multifaceted term. The word “xenophobia” is derived from a Greek word “Xeno” meaning stranger or foreigner, and “Phobia” meaning “fear” (Oxford Dictionaries, 2010). According to a publication jointly produced by the International Labour Organisation (ILO), International Organisation for Migration (IOM), Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR) in consultation with the Office of the United

Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) (2001, p.2), xenophobia “describes attitudes, prejudices and behaviour that reject, exclude and often vilify persons, based on the perception that they are outsiders or foreigners to the community, society or national identity”. This speaks to the way natives or indigenes of a particular country or community behave towards foreigners with rejection. Such feelings are often very disheartening to most foreigners. Xenophobia is therefore a psychological phenomenon, based on attitude. It relies on cognitive evaluations and judgments, categorisation into us/them groupings, attention to difference and the depersonalisation and dehumanisation of the ‘other’. It however, also consists of an emotional component, and it is often fear-driven, characterised by desensitisation towards the plight of refugees, and an inability to relate to their experience (Roman and Johansson 2008). In the same vein, Crush and Ramachandran (2009:6), describe and explain xenophobia as consisting of extremely depressing perceptions and practices that discriminate against non-citizen groups on the basis of their foreign origin or nationality.

Xenophobia also connotes or refers to the hatred or fear of a foreign ‘stranger’ (Polzer, 2010). In this case, the locals do not trust the foreigners or anything foreign. They are hardly sure of their (foreign) presence among them. This feeling of insecurity is however unknown given that some other explanations prove it ungrounded (McKnight, 2008). Landau and Jacobsen (2004:4), argue that xenophobic attitudes are caused by three broad, and false, reasons: a threat to economic security, a threat to physical security and a nationalist isolation environment. This is to say that the locals have a feeling that the foreigners have come to exploit and deprive them of their opportunities, and that they will eventually return to their home countries leaving the locals with nothing.

Xenophobia in South Africa is not only restricted to the fear or dislike of foreigners; rather, it is extreme tension, irrational dislike, intense fear and violence by South Africans towards immigrants (Tshitereke, 1999 cited in Harris 2002). This often results in emotional and psychological distress, frustration, brutality and deaths (Duponchel, 2009; Goldman and Coleman, 2005).

Seen as such, xenophobia can be summed up and defined generally as the dislike, hatred or fear of foreigners. It can also be explicated as typifying a conflictual relationship between the locals and the foreigners over the struggle for sundry public values and goods. Xenophobia has no positive connotation relating to what it actually is but it merely describes two groups of people in a violent or conflict situation. Such cruel relations are often the basis for politics (as demonstrated below) when people struggle over who gets what, when why, how as well as how much.

The effects of xenophobia are often very severe with loss of lives and people being rendered homeless with little or no sense of direction. Women and children in particular have been the highest sufferers especially in cases where sexual assault and exploitation are employed as tools of violence. An example is the Zimbabwean woman and probably many others in the 2008 xenophobic attack (Nkealah, 2010).

Common characteristics of xenophobia include

- Rejection and exclusion of foreigners
- Vilification of foreigners
- Depressing perceptions of, and practices towards, foreigners
- Discrimination against non-citizens because of their foreign origin

- Hatred or fear of foreigners
- Lack of trust for foreigners
- Intense and irrational dislike of foreigners
- Violence towards foreigners



**Refugees who were victims of xenophobic attacks in South Africa, in need of shelter (From McConnell, 2009)**

### **2.5) Xenophobia: A political discourse**

Our understanding of politics and xenophobia as discussed above is, on face value, that they cannot be related. However, considering issues such as the causes of xenophobia (limited job opportunities and lack of service delivery from government) and the definition of politics by Lasswell (1958) mentioned above, one realises that they are and can be related. The following points, through a comparative study, discourses xenophobia in a political sense.

Explicitly, one of the greatest issues which has manifested itself seriously in all domains in today's global system is the issue of competition for public goods and services in our societies. These issues greatly justify and account for consistent xenophobic violence as well as political problems. The causes and justification for xenophobia are largely due to the struggle for limited resources, just as politics is the struggle over who gets what, when, where as well as how much of the same limited resources. In the event of xenophobia, power comes into play and this power can be seen as vested in the hands of the locals. They use the power in controlling their activities and interactions with the foreigners just as politics, as defined above, means using power over human activities.

The need for globalisation, uneven development and migration are also common issues accounting for and surrounding xenophobic and political happenings. Globalisation refers to the “unification and integration of the world market under the hegemony of transnational corporations, the International Financial Institutions such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Bank (WB) and the World Trade Organisation (WTO) and developed economies” (Hlatshwayo, 2010:10). In a clearer sense, it means the need to become informed and connected to happenings in the rest of the globe. This is often facilitated by the use of modern technologies. Uneven development simply refers to how some countries are more developed than others in terms of their economy and infrastructures, which is the reason behind migration. Politics describes a class struggle for economic and social interests over globalisation, uneven development and migration. When there is the movement of people in search of better living conditions or for the sake of globalisation, there are often measures of control that are put in place. Setting up these control measures are often in the form of a struggle. In this same manner,

xenophobia has always been a struggle between the locals and the foreigners. During the struggle, for compliance to be reached, the locals can be positioned as the rulers over the ruled (foreigners), which also is a political setting given that politics deals with the rulers and those being ruled. Two groups of people in this condition in politics typify conflict. This means that xenophobia is all about conflict and since politics as seen above is the resolution of conflicts, xenophobia then becomes a political discourse when resolutions are to be made.

South Africa's advanced economy and its geographical positioning on the continent combine to place it at the epicentre of African migration, especially after the demise of apartheid in 1994. This explains to a large extent why many African migrants have since then been attracted to South Africa. This causes a number of problems considering that when migrants migrate, they may go along with both the positive and negative parts of them (with the negative ones obviously problematic and unwanted in their new location). The majority of South Africans seem to believe that migrants impact negatively on the country and should not enjoy police or legal protection (Roman and Johansson, 2008). This is a show of self-interest which also is a political issue because politics is the competition among individuals and groups pursuing their own interests.

Politics also deals with organisations and people who make and implement public policies. In politics, government, groups and individuals decide on how to spend state money and who should be exempted. Xenophobia is a reflection of the same setting when locals try to prevent foreigners from enjoying goods and services. The prevention of foreigners from enjoying policies and legal protection is a political issue, especially when one considers the opening statement of the preamble of South Africa's Constitution (O'Meara, 2005) that "...South Africa belongs to all who live in it". Within this context, foreigners are entitled to ask critical questions

such as: What is the gap, on the ground, between theory and practice? What are the key attitudinal and cultural stumbling blocks to the routinisation of constitutional rights to aliens? Politics deals with the state as an organisation for distribution of action and power as well as services; how practical is this statement in South African politics when foreigners suffer from xenophobic violence yet there are policies in place to protect them?

Also, in all political systems across the globe, the interactions of two or more people or two or more countries is synonymous to a political relationship (Aristotle's claim on the development of politics). As remarked above, this claim is closely related to xenophobia in South Africa. It describes the conflicting relationship between South Africans and foreigners.

Xenophobic relations in South Africa - much like similar violent situations across the globe - is a complex phenomenon due to the difficulties involved in actually telling what it is and why it continues to exist. However, some studies show that the persistence and occurrence of xenophobia is largely due to job scarcity, increased crime in townships, failure of the SA government to implement strict immigration laws as well as fulfil key electoral promises to voters, amongst other reasons (Citizenship Rights in Africa Initiative [CRAI] 2009). With problems like these, politics easily enters the fray since South Africans are trying to protect who gets 'what', 'when', and 'how', as well as how much. Though Gomo (2008) sees this as an evil excuse by some lazy South Africans forgetting that this in turn affects not only foreigners but also locals, it still is a political issue. This is because politics is seen as manipulative when citizens are convinced to do what they would not ordinarily do like voting for a leader because of his false promises during election campaigns. In the case of the 2008 xenophobic violence for instance, it was not intended for the locals, but it ended up affecting some of them. About a third

of the deadly (xenophobic) exercise included South Africans who had been mistakenly identified as ‘foreigners’ or were simply caught up during the violence (Nyar, 2010). Understood as a discourse, xenophobia is justified to be an issue of political concern since it confuses people into doing things they would not ordinarily do, such as locals killing locals during the 2008 attack and scape-goating). This situation further makes us to realise that people are xenophobic not because they want to be but due to prejudices. These prejudices too can be seen as manipulative since they force people to react to needs such as poverty and unemployment.

## **2.6) Women in politics: A general overview**

It would be rather narrow-minded to think that politics does not involve gender equity or balance. Indeed, in relation to democratic and political rights of all human beings, politics can only be really meaningful if it encompasses women’s general and political rights, as an integral part of human rights within a democratic framework. In contradiction to the needed integration or mainstreaming of women into the political process, there seems to be a universal dominance of the political space by men and the resultant inability of women to play a major role in politics. This dominance, to any critical mind, should not exist, taking into account the almost equal proportion of men and women in the global population (Akindele, n.d). Besides, xenophobia as discussed above is a political issue which greatly affects women and needs their full participation. The pervasive dominance of men and the lack of recognition for women’s movement in the political process continue to hold sway in much of Africa due to various reasons, issues and other factors which continue to act as inhibitors and/or barriers against women’s political aspirations and emancipation. Generally, there has been a scarcity of women’s participation in politics. This seems to be so, because as Shvedova (2002, p.1) has noted:



Women around the world at every socio-political level find themselves under-represented in parliament and far removed from decision-making levels. While the political playing field in each country has its own particular characteristics, one feature remains common to all: it is uneven and not conducive to women's participation. Women who want to enter politics find that the political, public, cultural and social environments are often unfriendly or even hostile to them. Even a quick glance at the current composition of political decision-makers in any region provides evidence that women still face numerous obstacles in articulating and shaping their own interests.

This scarcity underlies the issues which, in themselves, have become inhibitors or barriers to women, their movements and their political participation. One of the greatest issues which have manifested itself into a serious inhibition is the nurturing or caring role which the traditional African society assigned to women. It is to this role we now turn. This nurturing role exposes women as the weaker sex which is why they are mostly affected in violent situations, as in the case of xenophobia when sex is used against them.

### **2.7) Traditional African society and women's (nurturing) role**

There is no doubt that traditional African society assigned women a nurturing/caring role. Due to this, its paternalistic orientation, social, religious, political and cultural activities revolve around male adults to the detriment of African Women. Women are seen through the prism of a traditional patriarchal nurturing role and are defined within the mould of patriarchal roles such as mothers, wives, daughters and sisters (Charman, de Swardt and Simons, 1991). The African Woman, in the real sense of it, was seen (and continues to be perceived in many traditional African communities) as no more than a man's property. This maintains similarity in orientation

with the Judeo-Christian tradition which makes the woman an appendage to the man's total picture of authority and influence (Akindele, n.d).

In a patriarchal society, women do not have the right to education, work, politics and legal rights. The patriarchal society made it normal for women to be subjugated by men, using any means possible. Women are deemed good only for domestication and child-bearing. The nurturing role assigned to women because of its accompanying demands (such as upbringing of children and the creation of a suitable home environment, amongst others), inflicts a lot of strain and pain on them. This apparently succeeded in stunting women's political aspirations or large-scale economic pursuit compared to their male counterparts who are not bogged down by domestic considerations. Men seem to have all the rights and use patriarchy to subordinate their female counterparts. This unregulated freedom accorded to men gives them ample opportunity for the pursuit of matters of religion, social, economic and politics with vigour to the detriment of their female counterparts (Akindele, n.d).

This aside, there are other major obstacles and challenges to women's meaningful participation in politics in some parts of Africa. On the specific Nigerian variant (though some may be traced in some parts of SA), these challenges and obstacles, according to Akindele (n.d), include the following:

- **Issue of leadership:** The woman is usually caught between two opposing interests depending on the issue at hand or the convenience of the agitators. A woman is usually and often accepted as coming from or as an indigene of her husband's state-of origin depending on the issue at stake. In most cases, a woman is declared a non-indigene in her husband's state whenever political office holding is at stake.

- **High registration fees for political office:** This usually disadvantages the women in the country.
- **Money politics:** This, like the high registration fees, militates against women.
- **Security:** Unless women are sure of their security they will not participate in politics.
- **Election rigging:** Women usually flee from the electoral process because of the violence which has tended to accompany elections mostly in Nigeria.
- **Low level of political consciousness of both women politicians and women in general:** This retards women's political aspirations and political preferences.
- **Inter and intra-party conflict:** This constitutes a constant feature of the Nigerian political landscape. Women are always scared of this and its constant heating of the political system and its processes.
- **Financial/budgetary constraints/stringency:** Women very seldom have the necessary funds to engage in politics on equal footing with men.
- **Undemocratic political parties:** Women, due to their high sense of morality and honesty, are not usually comfortable with this feature of the Nigerian political landscape, which puts them at a disadvantage compared to their male counterparts.
- **Male-dominated party executive:** This puts the women in a subordinate position compared to men.

There is no doubt that the foregoing constitutes a serious obstacle to women's political relevance, but then, women can hardly be excused from being part of the cause of their own problems due to obvious political miscalculations. These major obstacles and challenges are no doubt injurious to women's political relevance. Thus, they seem to have created the tendency for people to come to accept women's participation or involvement in politics as a myth rather than

a reality. The above notwithstanding, the tendency to see or accept women's participation in politics as a parable is not only wrong but ill-conceived. This is particularly so in that it is an unscientific theory or belief and an imaginary thought spoken of as though existing (Akindele, n.d). Hence, it is not only out of place, but totally untenable to conceptualise or refer to women's participation in politics as a myth. In fact, the only thing that is mythical about women's role in politics is the non-realisation or non-acceptance by men and, even women, that women are their equal partners in politics, and that they (the women) are as relevant (if not more relevant) as men to political participation or practical politics (Akindele, n.d), despite the man-made or created inhibitions, obstacles and challenges.

Without doubt, women's role or participation in politics is a reality today and not a myth and same has brought a lot socio-political changes and credibility to the process of governance. In fact, it has long been so across the world (Akindele, n.d). For instance, in Philippines, there was a female president, Mrs. Gloria Arroyo who not until May 2010 was replaced by Benigno Aquino, son of the country's first female president, Mrs. Maria Corazon Aquino. Presently, a female President Helen Sirleaf-Johnson, the first of its kind in the continent, has emerged in Liberia. Furthermore, women have been Presidents and Prime-Ministers in Indonesia, Britain, and India, to mention only a few. Putting the foregoing into perspective, the reality of women's role in politics and political activities in general cannot be doubted.

## **2.8) Discrimination against women: Forms/areas**

Inequality or discrimination is based on race, colour, culture, language, religion or sex. These practices often take similar forms but there are specific cases of discrimination against women in some parts of the world that do not take place in other parts of the world. "Sex attitudes, beliefs,

prejudices and myths are much more rooted in the basic structures of cultures and human behaviour than are many other customs, norms and traditions” (Pietila and Vickers, 1990, p. 114).

Women, particularly in Africa have suffered various forms of discrimination by men. The subsequent sections constitute areas and forms in which women have seriously been discriminated against in relation to men. Though some may seem outdated or out of the South African context, it is important to note that it is meant to encourage the reader that inequality or discrimination in general is totally unreasonable given that it is still a current practice. Rather, redefining inequality, according to third wave feminists, to mean acts towards balancing (men and women, black or white, rich and poor) the differences (Buszek, 2000) is very important in South African society.

### **2.8.1) Discrimination by race, class and religion (sexism)**

Hooks (1982) describes 19<sup>th</sup> century American society where men used sexism to relate with women. Race and class discrimination was totally seen as a struggle between black men and white men over women domination. The society at that time was patriarchal giving men an upper social status over women, especially the black slaves. There were inequalities between white males and females as well as between black males and females. Both groups of men were able to unite, brutalise and oppress women. Even those men who came from the lower and poorer class were able to oppress women because of their sex. Black men were able to oppress black women. This is a clear indicator that racism was not the only dividing factor as black males also discriminated against black females.

In terms of work rules, the black males were also favoured over the black females by the white people. Black men could not perform female tasks whereas black females could perform male tasks. Even the black females who performed such tasks did not enjoy equal pay with their male counterparts. They saw domestic service jobs performed by black women as being “merely an extension of the natural female role” and considered such jobs valueless (Hooks, 1982, p. 91).

In addition, leadership roles were dominated by black men even when there were black women who could take up such roles. Simply because they were women and the society was a male centric one, this could not be possible. Also, black men could talk in public whereas women did not have the right to even if what the men said was incorrect and against them. On the basis of sheer sexism, Douglass (cited in Hooks, 1982) and other male activists allied themselves with white male patriarchs. This could be seen in Douglass’s book published in 1865 where he argued in favour of black men gaining the right to vote while women remained disenfranchised. This book titled *What the black man wants* was seen as favouring black men mainly gaining the vote over their black women. It also showed support for women’s domination by men. Black men saw race advancement only to themselves and black women were not inclusive. Rather than joining as both black men and women from the same race and fighting for black liberation from the hands of the American white establishment, the black men struggled for themselves alone paying little or no attention to black women who suffered the same tribulations of slavery as they did.

However, some black women who belonged to the nation of Islam were favoured against non-members. The nation Islam is a Muslim movement within which “the black man who had once looked upon black women as devalued property could suddenly see her as elevated to the status of respected wife and mother, that is, after she wrapped her head in cloth and covered her body in long skirts and dresses”(Hook, 1982:111). With this notion, most black women who had

experienced exploitation, brutality, and all forms of discrimination in a patriarchal society, were attracted to join the Muslim movement so as to gain respect from men who had believed that all women embody sexual evil (Hooks, 1982). As such, “Black women entering the nation of Islam were treated with greater respect than they were accustomed to prior to their conversion” (Hooks, 1982:111).

Nevertheless, this did not happen because black men had changed their basic “American” negative attitudes towards women. It only happened because the nation of Islam’s leader at that time (Elijah Muhammad) decided that it would be in the movement’s interest to develop and maintain a firm patriarchal base in which women were given protection and consideration on conditions that they remained submissive. This was a strong point of attraction which some women saw as a means through which they could be free from some forms of the discrimination used against them.

Worthy of note is the fact that the same black men who treated black Muslim women (some women were treated poorly or fairly according to their status in society meaning not all women suffered the same forms of discrimination as indicated above) with respect continued to discriminate against black women who were non-members of the Muslim movement. This made some women to be seen as good and some other women to be seen as bad in the eyes of men. This was in contrast to the white men who “elevated white female status by labelling black women sluts and whores, 20<sup>th</sup> century black Muslim men elevated black females by labelling white women she-devils and whores” (Hooks,1982, p.111). Whatever the case, both groups of men did not give up their beliefs that women were inherently evil. They maintained their contemptuous attitudes towards women though in different directions.

The above similarities and contrasts can still be traced to contemporary South African society. They basically show and explain the continuity of inequality and discrimination with the specific case of xenophobia in this study. Though all foreign African nationals in SA suffer from xenophobic attacks, there are some forms of attack (rape) common to females that are not common to males due to sex differences. Even in terms of colour, the black females seem to suffer more xenophobia compared to their white counterparts. This means gender and racial inequalities still need to be investigated, especially in the case of xenophobia in SA.

Though there are preferences to favour disadvantaged groups in South Africa, the government does not impose these preferences on those concerned. For example, in some instances (universities) employers are requested to establish goals and to file reports on procedures in recruiting and promoting members of selected groups. Employers face penalties for failure to file a report, while no penalties are imposed for failure to reach a target (Willmore, 2001). Issues like these may be critical because some of the reports and targets not filed may be issues that are working to the disadvantage of females. These issues if filed may be investigated upon and as a result, women's status will continuously be upgraded. This however is not the case as gender differences in SA have remained an issue in many spheres of everyday life, with women remaining disadvantaged relative to men (USAID, 2004).

Still considering the South African context, the preceding points continuously exposes forms and areas of discrimination against women. Though some gradual changes are being made and implemented, it does not go with all domains and not all women are able to make use of the changes. This also is an opportunity to educate the reader (or remind those who know) on efforts



that are being made in SA to raise women to be equal with men and not continually lay emphasis on the neglected points.

### **2.8.2) Discrimination at home**

To most people, there is no place as good as home. No matter where they go to, they will always want to go back home. The home (family) is often equated with sanctuary – a place where individuals seek love, safety, security, and shelter. Yet evidence shows that it is also a place that imperils lives, and breeds some of the most drastic forms of violence perpetrated against women and girls (UNICEF, 2000). This has been very common particularly in some parts of Africa (Kenya, Uganda, Botswana, South Africa, Swaziland, Zambia, and Zimbabwe). Women in some of these countries very often face a system of terror and violence at the hands of somebody close to them – somebody they should ordinarily be able to rely on (UNICEF, 2000). In many instances it is often their (so-called) husbands.

As already noted, the belief in the inherent superiority of males over females in traditional African society gave men the upper hand over women. This led to unequal power relations between men and women that is still a current practice in SA. Economically, men had (and continue to have in some cases) an advantage over women because in such a society, they were usually the family's breadwinner, whereas women were domesticated at home. The woman had no right but to be subject to whatever the man required of her, including sexual violence. Conversely, this is gradually being eradicated in some parts of SA where women are openly being educated on their rights and how to fight against domestic violence.

### **2.8.3) Discrimination at work**

Within the last few decades, the proportion of economically active women has increased dramatically in both developing and developed countries. According to Messing and Östlin, (2006), the increase in the number of women in the global labour force makes them indispensable contributors to national and global economic growth. Despite this increase, some women still suffer from discrimination (see previous discussion on sexism in a patriarchal society) at work compared to their men counterparts. Both formal and informal jobs - paid and unpaid - play an important part in determining women's and men's comparative wealth, power and prestige (Messing and Östlin, 2006). This generates gender inequalities in resource distribution, remuneration and responsibilities. Women often put in more hours at home and less outside of the home, contrary to men, and they also take primary responsibility for the well-being of the family.

Women hold specific types of non-standard work such as part-time work compared to men (Cranford et al., 2003 cited in Messing and Östlin, 2006). Given that much of women's work, particularly in low-income countries, is still being carried out in the informal economy and at home, it goes with no direct payment and consequently it is repeatedly being excluded from monetary transactions. In South Africa for example, women are more exposed to such plights. They are more often found in sex work where they are exposed to the risks of violence, disease and other hazards (Messing and Östlin, 2006).

Traditionally and more officially, the equipment and tools designed for some jobs specifically suit men compared to women. Even the work spaces and occupational standards constantly work in favour of men. This restricts women in their access to jobs; as such they end up doing the so

called women's job (cleaning) which often goes with little pay (Messing and Östlin, 2006). This clearly shows that women, particularly in developing countries, are still living in a patriarchal society which limits their economic life.

#### **2.8.4) Discrimination in citizenship**

The ways in which patriarchal society structured its political system gave men a higher political and legal status compared to women. Politically, women did not have the right to appear in public, let alone speak in public. They were openly excluded from any activity that ranked them as citizens. In terms of legal rights assigned to women, they were faced with problems both in the family and as individuals. As the latter, patriarchal society did not give women the same right to vote as men. This means that women were not considered as citizens since citizenship, amongst other things (free movement of its people, live, work, pay taxes), allows significantly the right to vote in a country (Wiener, 2007). Only men made the changes and the choices that affected both men and women in a common place. Women had to abide with such (leadership) changes even against their will.

As family members, women did not have any right over their men or their husbands. Leadership in the house was left in the hands of the man who was considered as the head. The man had the right to lay down laws and principles about how he wanted the house to be run. He also decided what happened to the children without consent from the woman. He even had the right to sex and to have as many children as he wanted even against the woman's desire (because most often they were married at a very young age after bride prices had been paid to their parents). Hence women had no say over themselves or their bodies, and did not even have the right to divorce. However in some countries like South Africa, women are being educated on how to deal with

uncomfortable marriages and have been accorded voting rights ranking them as citizens. Notwithstanding, different forms of gender inequalities remains an ill in the society.

### **2.8.5) Public and private**

The patriarchal setting saw no need for female education. Education was seen as suitable only for men. Women were not permitted or allowed to go to school. While men went to school, women were left at home to do house chores or to go to the farms to plant and harvest. The only form of education considered good for women was craft work. Since women did not have the right to education, they also did not have the right to write or publish any document.

Apart from education, most girls were being given off at a very early age into marriage, to go and start making children for their husbands or for their husbands to grow them up in the ways that they wanted them to be. In such cases, girls had no control over themselves but had to tolerate any kind of treatment, including brutality from the husband. This is no longer the practice in SA given that women do have the right to education and publication, the choice as to when to marry or not to marry at all, and the right to report and divorce if in an unhappy marriage situation.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND METHODS**

#### **3.1) Introduction**

This chapter explains the research methodology and methods used in collecting and analysing the data in this study. Research methodology, according to Ramazanoglu and Holland (2002), is a way of linking and specifying the nature of something following valid rules to provide knowledge on social reality. Methods, on the other hand, have to do with the different styles of data collection. This chapter motivates the use of multiple and qualitative research methods in order to elicit data. Multiple research methods provide rich opportunities for cross-validating and cross-fertilising research procedures and findings (Brewer and Hunter, 1989, cited in Muthuki, 2010). The chapter further entails empirical data collection in an attempt to answer the key questions asked in chapter one of this study. In order to specify where the study was conducted and how participants were selected in the study, the chapter specifies the study and sampling procedures, how informed consent was sought, and the real data collection and analysis process.

#### **3.2) Research Design**

Research design informs thinking and lays the foundation for the design project. It introduces some key methodologies which may be used in the research process and stresses the importance of clear thinking (Deakin University, n.d.). Both primary and secondary research methods are used in the process of data collection. Primary research includes informal, unstructured interviews using open-ended questions and questionnaires. Open-ended questions enabled the students to reflect on and give detailed accounts and perceptions of their experiences (Chang and

Hong, 2010). These experiences entailed information such as their feelings about xenophobia, how it is affecting them, and how they respond to it. This structure does not limit the students to the A, B, C choices that are sometimes used.

Qualitative research was also used. Qualitative research is characterised by full description, understanding and explanation of multifaceted phenomena (Muthuki, 2010). It is an investigation that allows a research question to be examined from various angles (Barbour, 2001 cited in Muthuki, 2010). It does not depend on numbers but relies on the quality and description of an experience. Additionally, qualitative research generates ideas and hypotheses from data (Greenhalgh and Taylor, 1997), which is the case with data collected in this study.

### **3.3) Study area**

The research process and write-up was conducted over a period of five to six months, on the UKZN Howard College Campus. The campus has an estimated number of 332 international female students. Out of the 332 female students on the campus, about 246 of them are from Africa accounting for the majority (contact International students office at the UKZN Howard campus). This is a suitable area for the study since it harbours more than 100% of the targeted population in this study.

### **3.4) Research sample**

Sampling may be considered as the process of “selecting a representative sample for observation from an entire population in order to draw conclusions about the entire population of study” (Muthuki 2010:47). Finding out the targeted group was not a simple task, given that xenophobia is a sensitive topic. However, I visited the international students’ office on the UKZN Howard

College campus where I received a list of all INT female students. From the list, I could identify those from Africa though they were more than my targeted population. I then used a non-probability sampling method in order to select my sample. Marshall (1996 cited in Muthuki, 2010) asserts that a non-probability sample is suitable for qualitative research because it is aimed at a deeper understanding of complex human issues rather than generalisability of results. I later sent individual emails to the sample that was randomly selected from the list, introducing myself, choice of study and why I required them as my participants. I repeated the process a second time but the responses were not as favourable as I expected.

Notwithstanding, while waiting on more responses, I decided to visit the INT students' day celebration that was held within the course of my study. There, I made initial contacts with some participants though without actually introducing my study to them. I was also very vigilant (appearances, interactions and accent) whenever I was on campus to be able to identify who is a non-South African and at the same time a female from an African country. Whenever I recognised anyone or some of them, I initiated an ordinary discussion to see how I could gradually locate the person.

I also noticed that some of my targeted group constantly met in a particular study area where I decided to make my area of study. I could easily identify them from their appearances, interactions and accent.

I additionally visited some departments and faculties where I spoke with the administrators who directed me to key informants. Key informants are those people who have a deep understanding and a close relationship with the group a researcher is dealing with. They understand and know the kind of information the researcher needs and are willing to give it to the researcher (Bernard,

1994 cited Muthuki, 2010). According to USAID (1996: 1), this process is useful in all “phases of development activities—identification, planning, implementation, and evaluation”. More specifically, it is useful when there is the need to understand behaviour, generate recommendations, interpret data, and when dealing with qualitative or descriptive information. These key informants were particularly useful to me in advising me on how to relate with my participants.

All these sampling methods were aimed at creating more contacts and in future generating more participants so that I did not fall behind my target. I also attempted to make sure the sample consisted of students who have spent more than three years of study in SA, since they may have had more experiences of xenophobia compared to those who have been in SA for less than three years.

With all these sampling methods I gradually initiated contact with some of them and presented my study to them with a request to participate in it. Their responses to participate were very favourable, perhaps due to the way I presented myself, or perhaps because of their awareness of xenophobia and the need for its demise.

I initially planned a sample of 20 participants but later realised that I had generated more than the initial number. This however was an advantage to the study as it increased the original sample size and gave room to compare where necessary. Despite the large number which I had generated in the process of sampling, I was unable to interview all of them due to the fact that they were very busy with their exam preparation and some were already going for vacation. It was also not very necessary to interview all of them since the study is based on qualitative (descriptive) and not and not quantitative (number) research.



The sample size was made up of 35 students. A total number of 29 questionnaires were answered, three focus group discussions held and six in-depth interviews were conducted. The sample includes undergraduate and postgraduate students, and lecturers who doubled as part-time students. I preferred a combination of all levels and categories because it helped in making a comparable analysis from their level of study and duration of stay in SA, especially on their understanding of xenophobia considering that the subject is multifaceted to explain. This combination was also of importance because it helped in telling how they generally responded to xenophobia, bearing in mind that during a conflict, people hardly settle to reflect or think before reacting.

Conversely, considering that all the participants are students and busy with their studies, it was very difficult for them to put in as much time as I would have liked. Some of them, who originally accepted to be interviewed, later on preferred to take the questionnaires and return to me on later dates.

### **3.5) Interviews and Questionnaires**

Multiple research methods were employed to enhance the quality of the data in this study. In-depth interviews were organised to get rich data. In-depth interviews have the possibility of generating information that may not have been otherwise gained. In-depth interviews also help in thoughtfully understanding how participants express themselves. According Mack, Woodsong, Macqueen, Guest and Namey (2005), in-depth interviews give a human face to research and participating in it can be a rewarding experience for participants and interviewers alike. They lead to a deeper understanding as they assist in constructing meaning during the interview. In-

depth interviews give the researcher the advantage to uncover valuable insights from the respondents and also to probe for additional information (The Wallace Foundation, 2009). The interviews were conducted using a question guide. A question guide helps in focusing on the study and to make sure that all questions are asked. It does not, however, limit the researcher from asking additional questions that may arise in the course of the interview and to get clarification from the participant.

The interviews conducted were audio-taped, with the consent of the participants using a digital recorder and in some instances a mobile phone. These enabled the researcher to collect extensive amounts of data not only by questioning and listening to but also by observing actions from the respondents. Using a mobile phone also facilitated the process of data transcription given that it enabled the researcher to use an ear phone that prevented the hearing of any other sound other than what was being transcribed. In cases where tape recording was not possible, notes were taken down in a fieldwork notebook. Interviewees were told that their names and countries of origin will not be mentioned in the write-up process and that; data will be reported in an indirect manner to ensure anonymity and confidentiality.

The questionnaires were circulated as surveys to participants who were too busy for an interview. This gave them enough time to reflect and respond to the questions at their convenience. To ensure that the questionnaires came back to the researcher, contact details of the participants were taken and communicated with them on their progress. Some of them however requested the contact details of the researcher for their convenience. These participants communicated with the researcher when they finished with the questionnaires before the arranged dates and in some cases when they were unable to meet up with the arranged date and

time for personal reasons. A few participants responded to the questionnaires on the same day with help from the researcher.

The interview questions and questionnaires were open-ended, giving participant's freedom in expressing themselves. The interviews were conducted on a one to one basis that gave more trust and specificity to the data. Participants were also free to withdraw at any stage of the interview if they became uncomfortable.

Requests for interviews was made and addressed directly to the participants; while date, time and venue were agreed on between the participants and the researcher. Since participants in the study are not minors, they were their own gate keepers and were able to make informed decisions on whether or not to participate in the study.

Considering that some of the foreign nationals also speak French as their official language, participants were allowed to express themselves in either language, after which I transcribed and translated the data into English, since I have full working knowledge of French (speaking, reading and writing).

### **3.6) Focused group discussions**

This is a method used to understand how people think or feel about something or a service (De Vos, Strydom, Fouche, and Delport, 2005). Such participants are selected because they have certain characteristics in common that relate to the topic under investigation. The group is focused in that it involves some kind of shared activity. Focus group discussions are naturalistic and participants are permitted to speak freely. The researcher listens not only to the content but to emotions, ironies, contradictions and tensions. They also provide reliable environments for the

discussion to flow naturally, especially about human behaviour (Guion, 2006). Compared to other methods of data collection, the result of the group has the potential to uncover important constructs, which may be lost with individually generated data. It creates a full and deep understanding of the occurrence being studied and stimulates a natural exchange of ideas, opinions and attitudes in the “security of being in a crowd” (Burns & Grove: 2001:542).

The groups were mostly made up of two or three persons. Small as it may seem, I realised that participants were encouraged to speak due to each other’s responses particularly on the issues relating to their knowledge on use of policies by the government or university authorities to assist them in times of xenophobia. This question relating to their awareness and use of policies on xenophobia was noted as most of them did not respond clearly to it. This is the reason why the focus group discussion was introduced to get them to talk particularly on it as a group.

The discussions were more of a social forum. The researcher most often initiated it by making a very certain statement about xenophobia. The participants will then begin to relate to it either by giving their own opinion or trying to judge on what the researcher had said. In this manner, the researcher directed the focus group discussion making sure that she from time to time asked the necessary questions and kept the focus, since other questions kept arising.

### **3.7) Data Processing and Analysis**

Despite the three data collection methods that were employed, only two (interviews and questionnaires) of the methods were used in analysing the data. This is because the focus group discussions were mainly to clarify some unclear answers on the questionnaires. It is also due to the fact that some of the students, who answered the questionnaires, were the same students that

were called for a focus group discussion. However, before calling them as a group, the researcher made sure that as individuals, they were comfortable in meeting with a different student for the same purpose, given that xenophobia is a very sensitive issue.

Since the questions that were asked in the questionnaire were the same questions that were asked during the interviews, the questions were jointly analysed grouping them in sub-headings. Not all the questionnaires that were received were analysed since, some of the respondents were not as clear as the researcher would have liked. The questionnaires of these respondents, who did not attend the focus group discussions, were selected and placed aside. These questionnaires were however not completely discarded as they were considered when over-all conclusions were being made from the findings.

To clearly understand the meaning and nature of xenophobia in particular, the researcher separated the postgraduate students from the undergraduate students and did a comparative analysis based on their duration of stay in SA and their level of study.

The researcher listened to the recorded interviews several times and carefully transcribed what was heard verbatim; this was a tiresome and time-consuming exercise. The recorded interviews were accurately transcribed word for word to avoid the loss of information. The researcher stopped from time to time to be sure no mistakes were made as she listened to it again. She broadly tried to understand all the participants' views and experiences within both (interviews and questionnaires) methods by carefully reading and comparing them. Similarities and differences were grouped and used in understanding as well as comparing the points that were repeated several times. Data collected was sorted, analysed and properly stored in the privacy of the researcher home.

The study employs reflexivity whereby the researcher reflects on her knowledge of xenophobia. Reflexivity as an approach is mindful of oneself within the study (Muthuki, 2009). This means that the researcher ensures her own position does not affect the data collected. The researcher took a neutral position in the course of the study and used social science concepts so as to separate the personal from the analytical use of reflexivity. The researcher sees xenophobia as a negative activity that needs to be eradicated. The researcher has found the topic to be relevant to her efforts towards peace and alternative ways to violence in the society. She is therefore passionate in investigating how xenophobia as a socio-political ill in South African can fully be eradicated by grappling with suggestions from the field. The researcher hopes that, the inclusion of reflexivity will add more aspects to the data to enhance the richness of this study.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### ANALYSIS ON XENOPHOBIA, ITS FORMS AND ITS EFFECTS FROM THE STUDENTS' PERSPECTIVE

#### 4.1) Introduction

This chapter is an empirical analysis that seeks to answer the key questions outlined in chapter 1 of this thesis. In analysing what xenophobia is, a lot has been considered from the students (who are the main participants) though names are not mentioned due to the nature of the study. Some other information is drawn from the literature to support the students' view. To better explicate the data, it compares explanations from undergraduate and postgraduate students. Notwithstanding their different levels of study and differences in their duration of stay in SA, their understanding and responses to the vexed issue appear similar in several respects. Key words common amongst them include discrimination, dislike, oppression, foreigners, fear, locals, violence, hatred, verbal abuse, brutalisation, unknown, unreasonable, direct or indirect as well as relations.

This chapter also employs qualitative and multiple research methods in the course of analysing the data. It further looks at the experiences and effects of xenophobia on students as well as their suggestions on how xenophobia can be eradicated. Participants in the study include students from Zimbabwe, Rwanda, Congo, Nigeria, Cameroon, Kenya, and Sierra Leone. Their duration of stay in SA ranges from nine months to 11 years, with majority being from three years.

## **4.2) Xenophobia from students' perspective**

All the students who are participants in this study appear to have the same opinion as to what xenophobia actually is. They generally understand and explain it as the dislike and discrimination of foreigners in SA by some South Africans. Some of them, however, feel that not all foreigners seem to be experiencing xenophobia. According to them, it is mostly directed at black foreigners. One student also added that it is not only discrimination against foreigners per se, but it is discrimination against anything foreign like place and object. Xenophobia in this study can therefore be modified to mean the dislike of, and discrimination against, foreigners and anything foreign.

Through the use of words and forms of expression from the students, there is little doubt that they generally have a negative feeling towards xenophobia. The words and forms (unknown, unreasonable) of expression had great similarities. Similarities were also noticed in their experiences of xenophobia. There are, however, differences in the forms of expressions and places where they were faced with xenophobia. The following is an analysis of xenophobia experience by these students in terms of their level of study and duration of stay in SA. Despite the differences in their duration of stay and level of study, they still came up with the same meanings and explanations for xenophobia.

### **4.2.1) Postgraduate students: Nine months' stay and more in SA**

Considering the level of maturity of these students and the fact that they understood the need for research as postgraduate students (provision of rich data), they were very clear on what they wanted the researcher to take note of. They were more explanatory, especially with the use of



examples to make sure that the researcher plainly understood what they meant. According to them, xenophobia can be understood in three different ways.

Firstly, they looked at xenophobia as a spirit (since they said it is unknown) of fear shown towards foreigners by locals. According to some of them, the fear is most often displayed in the form of discrimination to a person because he or she is not from the same ethno-nationality or ethnicity like you. Some other students noted that xenophobia is not only fear of human beings or a foreigner per se, but it is the “exercise of irrational fear of anything foreign (like places and objects)”. They however saw no justification for the fear given that xenophobic attitudes as earlier mentioned are caused by false reasons. For example, two students who have been in SA for more than three years indicated that “South Africans who are xenophobic are just being unreasonable”, and “xenophobia is a poor hatred and prejudice of foreigners and a fear that is unknown”.

Secondly, they described xenophobia as a type of oppression against someone who “may” be seen as a threat or someone you think is not worthy to belong where he or she is. The use of the word “may” again correlates with Landau and Jacobsen (2004) when they say xenophobic attitudes are false reasons given that the word “may” does not actually tell with certainty that the person is a foreigner or a threat. However, the type of xenophobia which the students have realised in SA is primarily geared towards a particular group (African foreigners) of people despite the variety of non-South Africans from other parts of the globe residing in SA. For example, a student who has been in SA for over four years noted that there are so many foreigners from Europe, America and other parts of the world staying in SA, but she sees xenophobia being carried out only on foreigners from the rest of Africa.

Thirdly, they explained and described xenophobia as an extreme dislike of foreigners by the indigenes through unfriendly relations. They further explained that it is a relationship in which some people (local) consider themselves as human beings and the others (foreigners) as non-human beings; that is, a relationship whereby foreigners are being treated as animals. According to most of the students, the distancing, exclusion and persecution (either directly or indirectly) which they often face as foreigners are characteristically shown towards some animals. These students feel bad when they compare themselves to being treated like animals. For instance, a student who has spent about four years in SA expressed distressing feelings when she said “they treat us like animals...even look at how our brothers and sisters were beaten and killed during the xenophobic violence in 2008”.

#### **4.2.2) Undergraduate students from one year of stay and more in SA**

This group of students, though not as aware as the postgraduate students of research matters (since they are yet to take research methods courses), were very conscious in expressing their thoughts and feelings about xenophobia in SA. Compared to the postgraduate students above, who used more examples in explaining themselves, these undergraduate students used very few. Despite the few examples which they used, a lot of insights were drawn from them. Their points were easily understood and related to mean the same thing (fear of foreigners) expressed by the postgraduate students. According to a student who is in her third year in SA, “xenophobia is a situation when a foreigner is being discriminated against by the locals through the use of violence, verbal abuse, language and the creation of unfavourable living conditions”. This relates to what one of the postgraduate students said when she expressed her feelings towards

xenophobia relating to the treatment being similar to that given to some animals. The demonstration of violence in xenophobia may therefore be seen as something common between both groups and class of students. Violence is used to describe the unfavourable condition which they are living in. Also, her (undergraduate) use of language as a tool for xenophobia is related to the point by the postgraduate student who associated xenophobic treatment with the fact that people are not from the same ethnic group. This is because people from the same ethnicity may be considered to speak the same language.

Still at the undergraduate level, another student spending her second year in SA considers xenophobia to be “a form of fear and hatred of foreign nationals due to perceptions labelled against them”. She also added that these perceptions are mostly unfounded and often generalised, which to her is unfair. Her thoughts also relate with two of the three ways of describing and understanding xenophobia as explained by the postgraduate students. Both examples, together with hers, are identified to mean unfriendly, unjust and violent relationships shown by the locals to the foreigners.

### **4.2.3) The nature of xenophobia in SA**

#### **4.2.3.1) All-pervading**

Xenophobia is prevalent in South Africa amongst all sections of the community, including government officials and ordinary people (Landau and Jacobsen, 2004). In this same view, all the students noted that xenophobia is everywhere in SA considering the various challenges which they are facing in and outside of campus. Some of the students noted that xenophobia is still very intense although there have not recently been any organised attacks. They said

xenophobia continues to happen in various places like schools, universities, churches, townships, cities and communities at large. Some students cited examples suffered by them as well as their friends and relatives in different parts of SA. Worthy of note is a student who referred to her friend that was recently (March 2010) attacked and killed in his flat in the city and another student testified to an event suffered by her relative in the process of documentation in September 2010. In both situations, the students indicated that the word amakwerekwere was used.

#### **4.2.3.2) Discrimination within itself**

Landau and Jacobsen (2004) explain that negative attitudes towards foreigners emanate largely from black South Africans towards fellow African migrants. A number of authors, (Crush and Dodson, 2007:440; Crush and McDonald, 2001:2; Harris, 2001:5; 2002:169; Morris, 1998:1117; Nyamnjoh, 2006a:14, Peberdy, 2001:16; SAHRC, 2004:27; Williams & Crush, 2005:16; Valji, 2003), cited in Marcos (2010:13, 21) concur and have found that xenophobia is mostly directed towards black African immigrants. This is further confirmed by some students who related that SA harbours a diversity of foreigners but xenophobia is mostly directed towards a particular group of foreigners. This according to these students means that xenophobia is a form of discrimination practised against only a particular group of people. Still relating to the fact that xenophobia is discrimination within itself, some students indicated that being a foreign student in SA places them in an advantageous position compared to foreign non-students on the subject of xenophobia. They further explained that though they all suffer from xenophobia as foreigners in SA, there are certain instances where they find themselves as having an advantage over non-students. A student for example said:

A lot of the violent xenophobic attacks are most often directed to non-students in the township areas. Even when it comes to the Home Affairs issue, I think students have an advantage because hardly will you find a student going to the Home Affairs over and over to renew papers not to talk of spending nights there as is currently happening with some Zimbabweans. Day and night, we hear stories of foreigners being attacked and killed in their homes. When investigated, these foreigners are hardly students. I think it is probably so because the South Africans feel that students are here to study and non students are here to take their jobs. Not until when a student finishes school and then picks up a job, are they likely to be victims of xenophobia as non-students. I truly feel foreign students really have an advantage over foreigners who are not students on this xenophobic issue.

The mere fact that some students said it is an unknown fear proves that xenophobia is largely unjustified as was explained in chapter 2 of this study. According to some other students, its ungrounded nature is largely due to lack of knowledge which gives strength to its continuity. One student, for example, said “xenophobia continues to happen because attackers and people who encourage and perpetuate it are not informed with the proper knowledge about foreigners”. This student believes that people are lacking significant and historical information about each other, such as the involvement of neighbouring countries that helped black South Africans in the fight for liberation and freedom as well as the benefits locals derive from the presence of foreigners living in SA and vice versa. To her, both the foreigners and the locals seem to lack knowledge on common African proverbs such as ‘one hand washes another hand’.

#### **4.2.3.3) Everyone seems to be a partaker**

As indicated by Landau and Jacobsen (2004), government officials and ordinary people are participants in xenophobia. Even some students in this study have also noted that some members of the government who are assumed to be there for peace and security for all, and to make sure

that policies are rightly implemented without stepping on another person's rights, are supporting the ordinary (non-government) people in xenophobic acts. This according to the students means that there is no role model when it comes to xenophobia. Everybody seems to be a participant. Some students gave examples of how their friends are often humiliated and insulted by the Department of Home Affairs (DHA) officials during study permit renewals (neglected, as they are, to their own destiny by some government authorities). They said the DHA officials often ask them for so many documents and even when these documents are complete, the manner in which they are received and processed often seems to, show a lot of dislike. A particular student stated how foreigners are sometimes treated at the DHA offices as if they have no option than staying in SA which, to her, is not true. She recalled the conditions some of her foreign friends went through (by spending days with the right papers) at the DHA just for renewal. According to her, it was very frustrating for both of her friends who spent more than a week going to Home Affairs. She added that at one stage, one of them almost lost her job while the other lamented why she had come to SA in the first place. Though most of them blamed the locals for exhibiting xenophobia, a few others blamed the foreigners for xenophobic malpractices. A student, for example, blamed the foreigners for the use of words and comments that are sometimes provocative to some locals, thereby causing them to respond in a xenophobic manner.

#### **4.2.3.4) Creates general fear**

Xenophobia in SA, according to most of the students in this study makes people (many foreigners) live in constant fear and insecurity, thus tolerating conditions that are unfavourable, such as subjecting themselves to harsh and oppressive environments characterised by unequal economic opportunities. The students also noted that SA demonstrates the highest level of brutal

xenophobia, which sometimes results in death, compared to the rest of the globe. One student for instance said “I don’t think there is xenophobia anywhere in the world compared to the one that is happening in SA”. In another example the student said that the “subject of xenophobia is always cited as an example when citizens are discussing on a topic that needs change” and its subject is discussed as something that encourages unfriendly and discriminating relations.

With its demoralising nature as demonstrated by the above students, one of them testified that she is still suffering from pain and fear to the extent that she sometimes feels like abandoning her studies and going back home rather than to continue living in fear and in-security. Another student also said the mere fact that she is aware that xenophobia still exists in SA, makes her keep thinking that what happened to her about two years ago when she had no freedom as a foreigner can still repeat itself at anytime. A further student said each time she thinks of the past, she becomes more scared of her stay in SA. She goes on to say that she has a feeling that one day she may lose her life for no just reason, which explains why she says she never goes anywhere alone. She was also not very certain how the locals may be feeling given that some of them are afraid of foreigners.

These examples, and many others indicated by the students in this study show that xenophobia in SA makes both the locals and the foreigners live in fear of each other for no apparent reason.

This is confirmed in the following statement by one of the students:

The South Africans do not only fear the foreigners but they hate them for nothing, they kill them and destroy their houses for nothing. Some foreigners even get afraid of some South Africans for nothing and some South Africans too get afraid of some foreigners for nothing.

#### **4.2.3.5) Amplifying and unforgettable**

Regardless of the fact that some students noted that there has not been an organised violent attack lately, there are different forms of sporadic xenophobic attacks all over SA that makes them feel xenophobia is on the rise. Apart from cases faced by students on campus, they also mentioned cases faced outside of campus as well as cases concerning their friends and relatives in different parts of SA. This to them means that xenophobia somewhat proves to be inevitable and amplifying. The students cited examples of everyday experiences in terms of communication, attitude and behaviour between the locals and the foreigners that continues to be very tense, especially when cases of language, rape, street harassments and house robbery are considered. These instances to them end up leaving unforgettable memories for the victims. The following encounters for instance, reported by two students on behalf of their relatives, explain how both victims ended up in the hospital and have hardly forgotten about the past:

One day my friend was passing through a quiet road at about 3pm. Suddenly two boys who were halfway along the same road said something in Zulu; she politely told them she did not understand them. They spoke again and she said she did not understand them asking them to make her understand them by speaking in English. Immediately they noticed she was a foreigner, the other one said to his friend “amakwerekwere” (meaning she is a foreigner). Then they both approached her with scary looks and tried pulling off her handbag from her body. When she resisted; she was brutalised. They finally took away her hand bag containing her phone, bankcard and the little money she had at that time. They ran away leaving her on the ground with wounds. She managed to get to her room and was later rushed to the hospital where it was realised her left arm had a fracture and it took some time for her arm to fully recover. I believe if they spoke to her and did not notice that she is a foreigner from her inability to speak their local language, they would not have had the guts to brutalise her. Beside she said a local in her flat confirmed passing by 10minutes before her and saw the guys but they did nothing to her. This clearly shows that they must have harassed her because she is a foreigner who could not speak the same language as them since they



spoke to the local that passed before her and did nothing to her when she responded in Zulu. My friend till date has never forgotten this part of her life

My friend from Kenya was attacked, beaten and killed in his house. The first time he was attacked and beaten, the people kept on telling him that you this kwerekwere, you think you can control us because you are the manager? After serious beatings, he was abandoned. He went to the hospital and later reported the matter. The second time they attacked him, I really cannot tell how it happened as his dead body was only discovered after a search behind his flat.

#### **4.2.3.6) Diminishing**

Despite its universal, general and unforgettable nature as demonstrated above, some of the students noticed that comparatively to date xenophobia seems to be uncommon as they used to hear of and is gradually dying out. One student, for example, said during her first year in SA, she used to hear a lot of daily happenings on xenophobia but today, it looks like xenophobia is gradually being wiped out because she has hardly heard that foreigners have been attacked and killed. Apart from the everyday challenges in taking a taxi and not being able to speak the Zulu language, which she considers normal, she does not believe that xenophobia is rampant again.

#### **4.3) Experiences of xenophobia amongst students in this study**

Most of the experiences among the students have to do with issues of language, particularly during public interactions like in the taxi and sometimes with some locals. Other issues of concern are inequality and discrimination. There are also some minor ones like harassment and insult, fear and name calling. In trying to explain these issues, some students cited themselves as well as their friends as victims. Some examples may seem worthless to the reader, but the feelings and expressions by the participants gave some worth to them. This is, however,

justifiable given that in the discussion, definition and explanation of xenophobia in chapter 2, it was indicated that xenophobia is a very complex phenomenon and individuals have various ways of interpreting issues that are actually xenophobic to them. Below are some examples of the experiences and means through which xenophobia is being exhibited.

#### **4.3.1) Language**

This is the most common tool which students identified as a weapon for xenophobia. Almost all of the students identified themselves as victims of xenophobia by way of language. According to some of them, there is hardly a place where they go to without being embarrassed for being unable to speak the local Zulu language. These places include in and around a taxi rank, on campus, at shopping malls, markets and during some gatherings. Within these places some of them feel they are often treated with total neglect. Some students also noted that there are times they have the feeling that some locals intentionally initiate conversations in Zulu with a foreigner amongst them. In this case, the student noted that the locals pay little or no attention to the foreigner even when he or she tries to draw their attention to it. For instance a student said that:

The manner in which the local neglects the foreigner who is unable to speak the Zulu language is often very rude. They use their language as a form of intimidation especially when they know you do not understand them. Speaking English is sometimes seen as a taboo especially when you are black.

Some students also found the language issue as something very frustrating to them. One student for example said she has been insulted several times due to her inability to speak Zulu. She added that she is sometimes disrespected by her colleagues just because they know she cannot speak Zulu. Another example was cited by two students who recalled instances when they were

waiting to get off a taxi. They reminded the driver several times just before their destination but the driver drove past their destination and after a considerable distance, he dropped them off and said to the taxi conductor “amakwerekwere” (meaning they are foreigners). In another instance, a student said whenever she is in a store and speaks to the assistants in English, they mostly switch (in a harsh manner) to their mother tongue, knowing that she cannot speak nor understand Zulu since she first spoke to them in English.

Apart from being unable to speak the Zulu language, some students also noticed that they do not feel free speaking their mother tongue or English in public or in the presence of locals. This is because they have a feeling that it draws a lot of attention towards them and the usage of the name amakwerekwere, which some of them wholly detest.

#### **4.3.2) Inequality and discrimination**

Some of the students indicated they frequently find themselves unequal to South Africans when certain situations and opportunities arise. They paid particular attention when job hunting is concerned, securing a place in the university residence and shopping areas. According to this group of students, applying for and getting a job in SA remains a huge challenge to them and perhaps other foreigners (unless they choose to become self-employed or take up odd jobs) compared to the locals.

They noted that apart from the normal tutoring jobs on campus, getting a job out of that has been very challenging, especially when it is in the hands of a local South African or when the foreigner stands a chance to compete with a local South African. To them, it seems certain that priority needs to be given to the local South African over them even if they both have the same

qualification. A student, for example, said she cannot recall the number of times she has been unable to get a job as a foreigner because she realised priority was given to the locals. She continued saying that there have been times that she has gone to submit an application, and the manner of response from the local in charge shows to her that she is unhappy she is applying for the job (considering that she witnessed the local's response to other locals who walked in to submit their applications in her presence). She also noted that even some of the questions she has been asked are very offensive compared to the locals who sometimes submit their applications in her presence and walk away without being asked a question.

Another student said sometimes when she and her foreign friends (Africans) are in need of assistance in a shop or an office, the services are often very poor compared to when she is with a local friend for the same purpose.

In a different situation, a student noted that she has applied for several different jobs through a particular office in the university for many years now but has not been lucky to have a single job from them. She used to think perhaps her documents were in order, until her other foreign friends on campus shared the same problems as her. According to this student, priority is most often given to the local students, given that every other South African student that applied with her has always been successful.

In a different scenario - precisely during the 2008 xenophobic attacks - a student noted that foreign students were asked to move out of the university residence in order to create space for locals who did not have residences. Still during the 2008 attack, another student said she and other foreigners were unable to go to town for shopping whereas the locals were free to go. This continues to be an issue as some students emphasised that they still cannot go to buy from the

cheap areas, as the locals do, due to fear. They said they go to the mall where it is more expensive but secure, while the locals go wherever they want depending on what they want and their financial status.

Considering academic and social life on campus, some students noted that there is some sort of segregation in the ways they interact and socialise with the locals in class and some places around campus. According to these students, some locals most often form groups that display unwelcoming attitudes to them as foreigners. They indicated instances during which they have made unsuccessful moves to join the locals and their attempts are often ignored in a heartbreaking manner.

One student for instance said that whenever she asked some local students a question in class the manner in which she is responded to is hardly satisfactory compared to the way some of them respond to the locals in the same class. She has hardly forgotten an encounter during which they (students) were going through a mark sheet on the notice board and a local student looked at the highest score and said to her local friends who were with her “amakwerekwere” though they did not notice her presence. To her, she could easily tell from the way they responded that it was a negative remark.

Another student in a similar instance explained how she once was a member of two different group/class discussions and was terribly ignored. She said they mostly communicated in Zulu even after she reminded them of her presence and lack of understanding. She even said a meeting was once scheduled and she was not aware of it because they were mostly speaking in Zulu. She said no one bothered to call her or to notify her even after the meeting.

### **4.3.3) Name calling**

“Amakwerekwere” is a derogatory and negative label, which the students said is often used to abuse foreigners, especially those with the inability to speak the Zulu language, asking for directions and those who do not know where to disembark from a taxi. Name calling to most of them has never been pleasing considering the negative meaning attached to it and the manner in which it is often used. An example is a student, who said she once had to board a taxi with her friends to the Home Affairs, and when they stopped the taxi and said “Home Affairs”, some men standing nearby laughed and said “amakwerekwere”. Another student said she has been and continues to be a victim of the name “amakwerekwere”, mostly in the market when she is unable to express herself in Zulu. The name calling to her is also a huge problem because she does not like the meaning attached to it and she is often downcast when it is being used on her or any other person. Another student said that she is most often called this name when she wears her traditional outfit; though not in a provocative manner as she once noticed it was a way of identifying and admiring her foreign dress.

### **4.3.4) Harassment and insult**

Most of the students identified harassment and insult as common examples of xenophobia, though very few of them have actually been victims. They mainly made references to cases concerning their relatives as well as cases heard of over the media, read from newspapers and other academic papers. They indicated that it is easily carried out around isolated corners or roads. A student cited an example of her close friend who was verbally insulted, sexually harassed and most of her valuables taken away along an isolated road. Another example is a

student who said a local male once asked her for sex as a payback for living in SA. According to this student, she felt embarrassed and insulted, especially when the man tried to touch her.

#### **4.3.5) A longer study period than expected**

Through a fail mark or delay from the supervisor to go through work for submission, some of the students noted that they have taken a longer period than expected to complete their studies. According to one student, she is currently doing an additional year of study which to her should not be the case. She said she would have completed her studies in 2009, but for the delay from her supervisor for reasons she can only attribute to xenophobia. She said she has done and is doing everything possible to get assistance from her supervisor to complete her studies but is still not certain about her state as she is yet to get feedback. She has noted that her supervisor does not give the same treatment to the local students. According to her, she finds herself in a very frustrating position as there seems to be no one in the school with whom she could lodge a complaint. Everybody seems to be the same and no one is willing to listen to her.

#### **4.3.6) Fear**

According to some students, living in fear due to the awareness of xenophobia is an experience of xenophobia on its own. To these students, it is a terrifying experience. To them, the fear which they constantly feel has gradually become endemic to them, such that they have the feeling they are experiencing it all the time. Some students explained their experiences of fear saying that when they walk, instead of looking in front, they from time to time turn to look behind and even to their sides since they have the feeling that somebody can attack them at any time. They also indicated how they frequently hold their bags very firm to their bodies and from time to time

check to be sure they have not unconsciously left it open. Some students said even in the taxis, they hold their bags very close to their body and nights in their rooms are often surrounded with the same spirit and mode of actions. This to them is something dreadful because they are never at peace which is why one student said she has not only experienced (physical) xenophobia, she experiences its emotional dimension on a routine basis.

#### **4.3.7) Race**

This was a rare example experienced by only one student. According to her, the way some white people sometimes address black people does not show a spirit of love and concern. This student found herself as a victim and many others in her school because she seems to have realised that all the white students are often given better marks compared to their black counterparts who often fall in a lower mark grade. She said she has made several efforts to do better but she seems to receive the same grade together with some black students whom she has spoken to.

#### **4.4) Effects of xenophobia on female African foreign students at UKZN**

The following section answers the question on how xenophobia is affecting students. It looks at the general effect, which basically deals with fear and frustration. Most students confirmed xenophobia affects them emotionally as they are often left worried. From the experiences of xenophobia discussed above, we have gradually been exposed to its negative effects. However, there is the issue of awareness which it has created in most of the foreigners that seem to be a positive aspect to an extent to some students.



#### **4.4.1) Language as a means of frustration**

Language may generally be considered as the easiest means of communication especially when carried out face to face. It is very fascinating with the use of hands, facial expressions and general body gesticulations. It becomes easier when both parties speak and understand the same language. According to most of the students, their being unable to speak the Zulu language is a great limitation and big challenge to their emotional feelings. To most of them, whenever it comes to communicating with a local who barely understands English (cleaners or security), they sometimes become frustrated. Some of them said they get more frustrated especially when they need a favour (such as asking for direction) from the person. To some of them, in a conflict like this, they are either forced to give up or get misdirected due to lack of understanding from both parties. A student for instance recalled an instance like this during which she got confused with the direction she was given by a security and ended up getting lost in town. She noticed that she felt so frustrated such that she ended up not going to where she originally wanted to go. Another student explained how she once attended a seminar in town and because it was dominated by Zulu speaking presenters, she became frustrated and did not show up for the remaining part of the conference despite all the arrangements she had made to attend it to its fullest.

#### **4.4.2) Fear and abnormal events**

According to most of the students, due to fear, their thoughts and actions are sometimes not normal as they would have been if they were not living in fear. Some students noted that due to fear and sometimes out of frustration, they sometimes nurture thoughts and feelings (like abandoning study and going back home) that if implemented, they will regret it at a later stage in their life. A certain student explained how she has hardly been able to go to town on her own due

to fear. She also explained how in some instances she gives up on getting personal needs from town due to fear. According to her, she feels better going to town only when she is in the company of another friend.

The majority of the students expressed a level of discomfort about the constraint which fear places on them. In their narratives, it was noticed that they get to suppress their feelings especially when it comes to engaging in social activities. They hardly have the freedom to attend social activities as much as they would like to due to fear of being identified and being attacked as foreigners. Their level of socialisation ends up being limited. Some of the students, for example, expressed the following feelings as a result of fear:

When my friends invite me to parties, I am afraid to go even when I am very interested. I end up staying at home out of my will”, “I want to join our group meeting but I am not too sure if the group is safe so I have not been able to join.

Most parties are held at night and when I go for any, before it actually gets to the real part of it, I start thinking of rushing back to my room due to fear of being attacked. Even when I think of taking a taxi at the end of the party, I am not too sure of the driver when he will notice that I cannot speak Zulu.

#### **4.4.3) A strain to relationship**

Most students relating particularly to fear which xenophobia has created in them specified that it has had the negative impact of straining their relations with the locals. Some noted that it demoralises the feelings they have meeting a local for the first time compared to the feelings they have meeting a foreigner for the first time. The feelings of fear to most of the students sometimes destroy their emotions towards ordinary friendship. One student, for example, said she does not seem to trust anyone who is Zulu because she has the feeling that they do not like foreigners and

has been made to understand that they most often come close to foreigners for a reason. This impression according to her is not good because it causes her to be very judgemental and she finds it difficult to create long lasting relationships with local South Africans.

#### **4.4.4) Torture (Emotional and psychological)**

Most of the students who have experienced xenophobia or are living with the fear of it related that they suffer from emotional and psychological torture. No matter how minor the experiences were, the students confirmed that xenophobia leaves an emotional feeling on them which is very stressful. The following responses explain the feelings from a number of students:

I suffer emotionally due to fear of being harassed particularly when I am on my own.

I am always stressed and scared that I can be attacked at anytime when I am walking alone on the street that links my house and campus.

I sometimes feel out of place when I am unable to speak in Zulu especially when the person to whom I talk snubs me.

Due to fear, my inner/personal feelings are sometimes very strange and I hate them.

Part of the torture according to the students is also associated with the feeling of uncertainty or guilt. The feeling of guilt mostly has to do with the issue of language as they indicated. Most of the students experienced and responded to xenophobia differently but similar at the end in the sense that their responses most often were in a non-violent way. Precisely with language, some students felt as if they had broken a law, others felt they were treated like animals, and another group felt like sinners. A student further explained how some South Africans treat some foreigners who cannot speak the Zulu language with disgust. To her, it is as if such a person has

broken a law in South Africa which states that “all must speak Zulu” and she is unhappy about that. This form of treatment according to her is often shown by the manner in which the locals may tell the foreigner that he or she does not understand English even when he or she may be responding in English. Another student said she sometimes wonders what crime she is often being punished for because only criminals are treated in the way she is sometimes treated. The following narrative from a student explains her feelings (inhuman) of torture as a result of xenophobia.

Once I went to buy tomatoes from the market. On collecting my selected portion, I realised some few rotten ones. I asked the lady to help replace it for me but she did not respond. Later I realised she does not understand English and I do not speak nor understand Zulu as well. So I tried explaining with actions but before I could, she seized the tomatoes I had collected saying amakwerekwere and sending me off with her hands as if I am not a person like her. I really do not know what she said after amakwerekwere but to me it was like foreigners are like...

Another student explained how she is often very worried about her inability to speak Zulu and is yet to get a solution to it. She has however made up her mind to take a basic course as a first stage to understanding Zulu because she wants to free her emotions.

#### **4.4.5) Starvation**

This is a situation that happened mainly during the 2008 xenophobic attacks. In this case, the student mentioned that she once suffered starvation during this time because she could not go to town to buy food. She confessed spending close to a week in her room and feeding mostly on bread and chips which she sent people to buy. To her, she was starving because she did not have the freedom to buy and prepare what she would usually eat had there been no xenophobic violence.

## **CHAPTER 5**

### **STUDENTS' KNOWLEDGE ON POLICIES AND THE GENDERED NATURE OF XENOPHOBIA AT UKZN**

#### **5.1 Introduction**

This chapter answers the question of why xenophobia continues to occur and how the students think xenophobia can be eradicated. It also provides findings on the question (asked in chapter 1) that deals with student's awareness of policies by the University authorities or government to assist them during xenophobic attacks. Finally, the chapter presents the gendered nature of xenophobia.

#### **5.2) Reasons fostering the continuity of xenophobia and who is to be blamed**

In attempting to understand students' thoughts as to why xenophobia persists and who is responsible, some students blame individuals and organisations such as churches and schools. A handful of the students directed more of the blame towards the government, the locals as well as the foreigners. What we must note from all the different reasons and the people being held responsible is the fact that both the locals and the foreigners are being blamed for the existence (and persistence) of xenophobia in SA. The significance of it all is that the students indicate there is a problem somewhere that needs to be solved by both groups before xenophobia can be eradicated, rather than both groups trading blames. Highlighted below are some of the reasons adduced by the participants in this study for the eruption of xenophobia in South Africa.

### **5.2.1) Lack of political education by both foreigners and locals**

According to some students, locals and foreigners alike lack knowledge on how the world is increasingly becoming a global village. They also lack knowledge on why the world needs to be a global village and how they must unite to make the world a global village. Most students noted that the lack of toleration, if not acceptance, of other people's cultures remains a challenge in SA. Despite stipulations on the acceptance of people's culture in SA, some students have realised that a lot of it seems to be working in presumption rather than in practicality as it ought to be. Certain students also realised that the fact that some locals still feel threatened by the progress being made by some foreigners in SA remains a challenge to the fight against xenophobia. Some individuals (local and foreigner) are not ready to change and according to one student, change starts with individuals. This means that changing an individual when he or she is not willing to change remains a challenge to the fight against xenophobia in SA.

Another challenge which most students noted is the way of socialisation between the locals and the foreigners which seems to be a challenging factor to the eradication of xenophobia. They indicated that most locals group together while the foreigners do same. Another group of students also noted that the foreigners sometimes use words and say things that are provocative to the locals. One student added that some foreigners even go to places without finding out when and how to get there, even though some locals do not go there out of fear for personal and physical safety. One other student noted that the mere fact that not all South Africans are xenophobic remains a challenge to its demise. According to her, South Africans are not united on the whole issue of xenophobia. There are some who are xenophobic whereas others are not. This

disunity is a barrier towards the fight against xenophobia and at the same time may also be seen as a tool towards its growth.

### **5.2.2) Misunderstanding of policies and government**

According to some students, xenophobia may still be in existence because they do not know and are not very certain about policies to help when in a xenophobic crisis. To these students, they most often solve the attacks individually without the use of government policies. One of them believes that since they solve the attacks individually by not reporting to government officials, it allows some of the perpetrators to remain unknown. This to her remains a problem for the government, as she feels that if foreigners are aware of policies and make use of them by reporting, the perpetrators may be brought to justice and others may feel discouraged to continue or copy their acts. To her, unless cases of xenophobia are properly reported to the government or university authorities they will not be able to tell if policies need to be made or redressed.

One student relating to the previous student said she thinks xenophobia continues to happen because there is no clear, structured and organised programme, and actions taken by the government to fight against xenophobia in SA. In other words, the government does not take the necessary or relevant actions to fight against xenophobia. She added that there is a lot of ethnocentrism in SA and the South African government seems to blame the foreigners for what they are unable to provide or handle. This to her also encourages the locals to see the foreigners as a threat and makes it difficult to combat xenophobia. Another student in support of her blamed the political parties for being manipulative. According to this student, she thinks that political parties during campaigns seem not to talk much about xenophobia as one of the ills in society which they will make efforts to fight against. Instead, she has noted that these parties make

promises on other services like provision of jobs for all which they have been unable to provide to date. In both cases, the lack of service delivery (as discussed in chapter 2) from the South African government, which is one of the main reasons behind the growth of xenophobia, remains a problem.

In some other examples, the students looked at the South African government as well as their own home governments as being one of the backbones in the continuity of xenophobia. The students consider both governments as the main unit of control but both of them seem to be failing to prove the balance between foreigners and locals, especially on migration policies. One student feels that cases on permit renewals (like that being suffered by some Zimbabweans) need to be clearly stated by both governments. She believes that they may not be any clear agreement between the local and home government in Zimbabwe, as she expects the Zimbabwean government to mediate for an extension from the South African government on behalf of their citizens in SA.

### **5.2.3) Stereotypes**

Some students have noticed that some foreigners have a stereotype about South Africans. One of the participants opines that foreigners encourage, almost by inadvertence, the perpetuation of xenophobia by their well-worn and trite comments that South Africans are very lazy and that South Africans do not like them. This to her is an impression they need to desist from to be able to make them see things as happening in the natural (the use of the Zulu language by the locals). She added that stereotypes like these cause (foreigners) them to interpret normal happenings as xenophobia, hence making it difficult to really tell if xenophobia is gradually being wiped out or is increasing.



On the other hand, some students noted that the locals have a generalised impression about the presence of foreigners (coming to take their jobs, illegal citizens, criminals) considering that many foreigners seem to struggle with issues of documentation in SA. One student, for example, noted that local security guards in particular seem to have a ruthless perception that foreigners are criminals and so should not belong in SA. With this perception the student mentioned that in the event of theft, the security guard sees a foreigner as the first suspect. She pointed out an example of a foreigner who was suspected for theft in a locality and when investigated, he was found not guilty. Furthermore some students noted that some locals have the feeling that foreigners should not be working in businesses owned by foreigners: rather, it should be the other way round. An example is a student who said her friend told her she cannot work in a business owned by a foreigner and they engaged in an argument over it.

In a different example, a student said South Africa's background on apartheid when foreigners ruled over them seems to remain a problem to the persistence of xenophobia. To her, since the end of apartheid and power being vested on South Africans, some of them have seen it as an opportunity to rule over on the foreigners, as they were ruled over in the past. According to her, some local South Africans, by being xenophobic to the foreigners, find it like a challenge which they need to meet up with.

#### **5.2.4) Classification**

Whereas SA has a high level of unemployment, it lacks, to all appearances, the necessary skills possessed by most foreigners. Jureidini (2003) argues that migrants bring with them new or different skills, more business experience than their local counterparts, and knowledge of the market into SA. On this note, some students have also noted that the fact that some foreigners

even as students still take on odd jobs and engage in informal trade outside of campus compared to the local South Africans, remains a problem. They argue that it makes the foreign students seem to have more money (then the local students) when they are able to meet up with living standards. This is certainly the reason why some students said that foreign students are easily attacked in their rooms or around town compared to the local students.

On a general class analysis of the SA society, some other students noted that the gap between the rich and the poor in SA remains a big challenge that needs to be resolved given that xenophobia originates from economic prejudices. While some people have more than enough, others have very little or nothing to sustain them.

#### **5.2.5) Immigration, population growth and name calling**

According to some of the participants, the fact that so many foreigners keep flocking into SA is also a big challenge to the struggle to eradicate xenophobia. They noted that this rise in their number creates the problem of space and some of the migrants end up living on the streets and become criminals. Being identified as such, the locals expect them to be sent back to their home countries as a means of reducing crime, given that SA is generally known as one of the leading countries for crime in the globe. To these students, this has made some South Africans hate the presence of foreigners in South Africa. Population growth and the struggle to get a crime free reputation according to the students, remains another problem that needs to be solved before success may be attained in the fight against xenophobia.

### **5.2.6) Media coverage**

Some students noted that the media does not seem to cover enough of the existing xenophobic cases and does not give a follow up on how perpetrators (even those from the 2008 xenophobic attacks) are being brought to justice. According to these students the media, generally reports little or nothing to discourage xenophobia. A student for instance said she has hardly heard or seen a follow up on xenophobia on the media (like the 2008 attack) as much as she does on matters like corruption and football, yet she feels there are cases reported about xenophobia that the media needs to report on.

### **5.2.7) NGOs**

According to some students, there seem to be little or no collaboration between NGOs and the government. To them, most NGOs (such as gender links) seem to focus more on other aspects of human rights like gender equality and pay little attention to the relationships between the locals and the foreigners, as though xenophobia is not a human rights abuse.

### **5.2.8) The church and other religious organisations**

Some of the students expect the church to be a role model in the fight against xenophobia in society. However, according to them, there is still a lot of jealousy and hatred in the churches and religious gatherings. They said most of the churches and religious organisations still exhibit different forms of discrimination to human beings which according to them should not exist. One student, for example, explained how the Bible strongly encourages love for one another and she expects the church to take the fact that xenophobia is a contradiction to the Bible's teachings as an opportunity to preach as well as organise campaigns against xenophobia, which they seem to

be failing to do. To her, unless the church and other religious organisations are able to do these things, then the fight against xenophobia still has a long way to go.

#### **5.2.9) Little collaboration from schools, universities and authorities**

Some students related that though xenophobia is often cited in lectures as a bad thing to humanity and development as a whole, there seem to be no official programmes in schools and universities to educate people on xenophobia. Some other students added that even some university authorities are perpetrators of xenophobia whereas they are expected to be those trying to discourage its existence. To this group of students, these issues need to be challenged as a way forward to the downfall of xenophobia.

#### **5.2.10) Researchers**

Some students accused most researchers for not actually telling the truth about what xenophobia actually is. Some said considering that xenophobia is a very sensitive topic, most researchers out of fear, chose to be neutral or favour either group where they come from. According to these students, this lack of honesty from some of the researchers needs to be challenged for xenophobia to be eradicated.

#### **5.2.11) Charismatic individuals**

Some students narrated that xenophobia continues to occur because of the absence of charismatic individuals. According to one of the students, she feels there are no charismatic individuals to constantly remind the locals and the foreigners about the reality of xenophobia. Another student added that even if there are charismatic individuals, both the locals and the foreigners are not

charismatic in their mode of listening to the truth (they often feel offended or become insulting during the subject). Xenophobia ends up remaining problematic to her and unless there are charismatic individuals in society to talk against xenophobia, and unless the citizens are charismatic in listening to it, she wonders if success will ever be attained any time soon to completely stamp out xenophobia.

### **5.3) Strategies to help eradicate xenophobia**

In an attempt to understand what can be done to eradicate xenophobia, most students emphasised the need for service delivery from the South African government. Some students looked at personal decision as being very vital; others suggested that the church, schools, universities, NGOs and everybody living in South Africa need to take action. Meanwhile to some, they do not actually think xenophobia can ever be eradicated. Below are the points relating to the overall responses from the students on what needs to be done. These are only listed because most of them have been clearly explained in the above section on why xenophobia continues to occur and who is to be blamed:

- Creation of more jobs and provision of employment for millions of unemployed/under-employed South African youth.
- Reconciliation of all South Africans (white, black, coloured and Indian).
- Judiciary must know and put laws into practise by being just with all crimes that are reported to them, even if the crime is reported by a local South African or a foreigner.
- The media should be more proactive than reactive. They should constantly cover cases of existing xenophobia, especially those under court investigation.

- Policies should be made specifically to follow up xenophobia, and should be made known to the locals and the foreigners through the media, schools, churches, and every other means possible.
- Sensitise the foreigners and the locals against discrimination and its effects on humanity.
- Some students, sharing the same view with Osman, (2009), suggested that programmes especially designed to be influential in addressing violence, xenophobia and prejudice, need to be incorporated into the academic programme of study including churches and the communities as a whole.
- Serious government sanctions against those reported of being xenophobic.
- The locals must be educated to see the positive effects of foreigners being in South Africa
- Foreigners must turn against xenophobic malpractices
- The government must control the number of immigrants to South Africa.
- Acknowledgement (in practise) of each other's (local and foreign) culture.
- Schools should include curricula that support diversity on their subjects.
- Peace education and provision of basic needs to the population in SA.
- The NGOs such as gender links and the international human rights organisation should urge the government of SA to stop xenophobia. According to one student, some conditions should be given for them to meet, just as conditions were given for SA to meet before they could host the FIFA 2010 World Cup.

#### **5.4) Students' knowledge of either University or SA government on policies to assist them in a xenophobic situation**

For most of the students, they are not aware of policies either by the SA government or University authorities. Most of the students out of ignorance are of the belief that policies do not

exist to assist them in times of xenophobic attacks because they are not aware of anyone who has been helped by any of the policies. Some are generally of the belief that principles like equality and democracy; elimination of violence for all in SA could be applied in times of xenophobia; however they are not sure if there are specific policies designed only for xenophobia. Some who even imagined the existence of such policies wondered how effective and favourable they may be. To some others, they have never bothered to find out because they do not wish to ever be in conflict with the locals and even if they do, they are not ready to report the matter but will suffer the consequences of it in any way possible.

Some students were very certain with their responses, while others expressed doubts. The following responses best explain their knowledge of policies and why none of them are aware of policies to help them:

I just feel that nobody cares and it's survival of the fittest.

I take measures not to clash with South Africans so I don't bother about policies to help me.

I don't think there are.

I don't think there have been made available to foreigners because I have never heard about them or read about them on campus.

I don't know about the policies.

Not aware of any policies in place.

I am not aware but I suppose there may be.

I don't know of any.

I have never heard of any.

I am not aware.

I don't think there are because if there were, we would have heard of a foreigner who has been saved by it, so I am sure there is.

### **5.5) Factors that determine students non-usage of xenophobic policies**

Since most of the students said they are not aware of policies to combat xenophobia, most of them also said they have not been able to use it and cannot use what they do not have or see. One student mentioned that she is not aware of policies but she is sure there are policies in place. However, she has not been able to use any because she was and is able to handle the situation (by simply walking away from it) she may be faced with at any point in her life. Besides, she said, the type of xenophobia she was once faced with had to do with language and she was certain the student would tell her she is only communicating with a language which she is comfortable with and that to her would have been a valid point. So at that point, her policy (walking away) was the best option available to her in that situation.

To some other students, they have never tried to look to or use the policies because even if the policies are available, some of the staff (who experience xenophobia) in the university have never used them yet some of them suffer from xenophobia from their colleagues. Some students noted that even some lecturers have been identified as being xenophobic to students. A student cited the example of some lecturers who sometimes relate issues in the Zulu language during class sessions knowing very well that there are non-Zulu speaking students attending the lectures. According to the student, these lecturers do not worry about the feelings of discomfort and lack of understanding that may be faced by the foreign students. To the student, if there are policies, she believes that some of the staff would not be xenophobic as they are. To her, the staff are the people who should be setting the example, which they are not, and the student sees no



need to waste her time on issues that may end up disfavoured her. Most of them in consideration of this will therefore prefer to concentrate on their studies rather becoming involved in an argument that will not benefit them at the end.

### **5.6) The gendered dynamics of xenophobia**

The students had different perspectives when they were asked if they suffer or experience xenophobia more compared to their male counterparts. Some openly said yes with reasons, while others who were uncertain said yes to an extent. Some others who were still uncertain added that they experience xenophobia more from their fellow females compared to what they experience from the males, especially on campus. Those who openly said yes looked at it from the biological angle. They related that, the fact that they are females openly presents them as weak because it is generally believed that females are the weaker sex compared to males (see the section in chapter 2 on patriarchy). Hence this group of students feels that the rate at which xenophobia may be openly demonstrated to them may not be the same compared to the males who are believed to have the power to fight back. This according to them, places the males at an advantage, which means that they may be experiencing less xenophobia compared to the females.

A student pointed out rape as an example to better explain why she feels females suffer more xenophobia compared to males. She explained that rape is one of the experiences of xenophobia which males do not suffer from because it is often used by males against females. According to her, rape alone is something that stands out to say females experience xenophobia more than males, especially with the stigma that is attached to rape in her country and the demoralising nature in which it leaves the affected.

On the other hand, some students explained that although they may be experiencing xenophobia more than the males, their experiences of xenophobia appear to come more from their fellow females than their male counterparts. Special note was made of xenophobic issues relating to language and segregation in class. These students related they have hardly experienced xenophobia from males as much as they are experiencing it from their fellow females. A student for instance said that she has noticed in more than two instances that whenever she asks a question from a male (local), or when she meets a male for the first time, the way they open up to her is far more different compared to when she does the same with some local females. Another student in addition said she has noticed that, in class, it is better for her to socialise with local males than local females because the local males do not make her feel as if she is unwanted compared to when she tries to socialise with some of the local females in the same class.

However, the female students were all not very certain if they suffer from xenophobia more than males. What they seem certain about is the fact that they are more exposed to xenophobia compared to the males and the fact that there are some forms of xenophobia, such as rape, used against females that are not used against males. Some of them also noticed that, they feel safer when walking with a male unlike when they are all females. This according to them means that men can be seen as stronger and ready to protect or guard them from any unforeseen xenophobic situation.

## **CHAPTER SIX CONCLUSION**

### **6.1) Introduction**

This chapter concludes the thesis with emphasis on the effects of the 2008 xenophobic attack on the students. It further summarises the overall research findings with special consideration of the research participants, their general knowledge on xenophobia, how they feel about it, how it is impacting on their lives, and what they think needs to be done towards its eradication. It further articulates and discusses the presence of xenophilia by the students staying in SA despite the existence of xenophobia. In addition, the chapter presents the reflective stance of the research on the subject of xenophobia. Finally, the chapter provides recommendations for further research.

### **6.2) Effects of the 2008 xenophobic violence on the students**

By all accounts, the 2008 xenophobic violence seems to have been the most violent so far in post-Apartheid South Africa. However, only a few of the students in this study experienced the violence first hand; the rest did so indirectly through friends and relatives. Yet, the effect on both groups is similar. For those students who experienced the xenophobic violence directly, they appear traumatized by the fact that xenophobia is still very much alive. For those students who only experienced it via their friends and relatives, tension and foreboding are their lot due to the fear created in them. Basically, the 2008 xenophobic attack has created the feeling of fear and frustration which has largely left most of the students emotionally worried. There is, however, a positive development here: the two groups of students have developed the awareness, or general consciousness, about their own security, both within and outside the campus.

Although the 2008 attacks happened before the arrival of some of the students who were interviewed, to South Africa, the majority of them made continual reference to it. This indicates

that the 2008 attacks was nothing if not a watershed event in the relations between South Africans and foreigners from the rest of Sub-Saharan Africa, notably female students.

Therefore, the effects of the 2008 attack are still very present amongst the students and they are all suffering from it in one way or another. This illustrates that the 2008 attack continues to have an impact.

### **6.3) Summary of overall research findings**

The overall findings (according to the students) reveal that:

Female African students appear to be alienated from the SA public or political space either because they had, in the past, experienced xenophobia directly or indirectly, or the potential or likelihood to do so in future seems high to them. Their experiences of xenophobia may be affecting their participation in student politics, either in their respective classes or on the larger campus canvass.

There seems to be a lack of serious state intervention in conflict situations such as xenophobia. This phenomenon tends to breed a climate of distrust of government on the part of victims of xenophobia. Lack of knowledge or use of policies by my interviewees to assist them during xenophobic violence may be a manifestation of a more fundamental malaise: lack of trust in existing public policies on the issue, or, worse, in the commitment of the South African government to protect non-citizens.

The scepticism expressed about knowledge of relevant anti-xenophobic policies challenges students to seek more information on policies to help assist them in conflict situations. The

students also challenge the government, the university authorities and local communities to give the widest dissemination possible to these policies.

There is a lack of political socialisation which is a critical means towards conflict resolution and the eradication of xenophobia. As things stand today, many international African students do not actually socialise with the locals, not least because of segregation in the class rooms. Political education is needed to correct this anomaly.

Further findings reinforce the need for all stakeholders - government, South African students, foreign African students, media, universities, schools, the church, the mosque, and civil society organisations, amongst others - to cooperate with government in combating the evil scourge of xenophobia.

#### **6.4) Xenophilia**

Contrary to xenophobia in SA is xenophilia, which is sometimes neglected when discussing the subject of xenophobia. For comparative purposes, they both need to be discussed simultaneously. Xenophilia, according to Owens (2004), means giving foreigners the tolerance they deserve. It describes the happiness foreigners get during their stay in a foreign land. In interrogating the feelings of the students on xenophilia, some of them confessed that they are experiencing love and happiness in SA. Most of them are very happy and proud to be in SA despite the presence of xenophobia. According these students, they experience the same love that their friends and relatives back at home show to them. This can be observed in the following relevant data excerpts by some students

Despite the presence of xenophobia in SA, I am experiencing real love from my friends most especially South Africans. I used to live in fear of them which made me feel like I was in bondage all the time. However, since I got close to some of them, I have been liberated from the feeling of unknown fear. I used to fear the South Africans for nothing. The South African friends I have are extremely nice to me. They make me feel like I am at home all the time. I sometimes forget I am a foreigner and SA. ..., for example, has taught me how to dance like them, how to speak Zulu, she takes me to nice places, buys me gifts and has introduced me to so many other nice South Africans. I am so used to them such that if not for my family back in my home country, I will never be thinking of going back home. I will never stop thanking God for coming to SA and meeting nice people. South Africans are wonderful people.

I love South Africa and the people in South Africa. Though they say there is xenophobia in South Africa, South Africans are generally very welcoming to strangers. Their socialising spirit is very encouraging and they naturally know how to share with strangers. If you can permit me compare them to some people in my home country, I will say I have met South Africans who are far nicer compared to some people in my country. They have manners and respect for one another which is still very lacking in my country. I like the spirit of equality which is a common culture amongst them. Above all, they know how to entertain people in so many ways that I had never seen before. I would have missed out on so many things in life had it been I never came to SA to meet and learn from them. I have met a lot of them who are very open. I have equally learned so many good things since I came to SA and have been able to do away with my bad habits. If SA can be seen as one person, I will pay my gratitude to that person.

### **6.5) Significant contributions made**

The study has made the following significant contributions in the fields of violence, conflict, public policy, political science, culture and sociology:

- By focusing on the effects of xenophobia on foreign female (Africans) students at UKZN, the study has encouraged and provided alternative ways of dealing with a conflict. Most students who experienced xenophobia responded to it in a non-violent way. This is significant because the study also aimed at encouraging alternatives to violence. The

ways most of the students who experience xenophobia responded to it and are proving to respond to it shows that they are aware of alternatives to violence.

- By grappling with the suggestions from students on how to help fight against xenophobia, the study has contributed in spreading the acceptance of cultural diversity as a means to peace, unity, development and growth which is highly needed in today's 'global village'.
- Another contribution of the study is the challenge which it provides to students to try and discover if there are policies (particularly for xenophobia) to help them in times of crisis given that none of the participants in this study were aware of the existence of such policies. It therefore raises awareness in students towards knowledge of policies for their well being. This is because some of the students indicated that they have never thought of trying to find out if there are policies, particularly in the university, but will have to find out as a result of this study.
- In addition, the study has helped in the spread of political socialisation as a means of educating people on how to avoid or manage conflict situations.
- Finally, the study has helped in elaborating on xenophilia which seems to be neglected when discussing the subject of xenophobia.

## **6.6) Reflective Stance**

The position of the researcher was extremely crucial given that this research is inherently structured by the researcher's subjectivity. As a foreign African student herself, the researcher is exposed to xenophobia. The research process therefore involved self-reflexivity on the part of the researcher. Self-reflexivity describes the continual consideration of the ways in which the researcher's social identity and values affect the data gathered and a picture of the social world

produced (Reay, 1996, cited in Muthuki, 2009). The researcher hopes that the inclusion of this reflective piece will add more aspects to the data to enhance the richness of this study.

Like some students in this study, the researcher is a postgraduate student who has been in SA for more than one year. Before arriving in SA, the researcher had never heard the word xenophobia, neither did she know its real meaning. Once in South Africa, she however got to know and learn about it in the course of her daily activities in and outside of campus. Xenophobia, according to the researcher, is a reflexive action that shows hatred towards the different 'other'. She also notes that it is a heartbreaking thing since it most often leaves the victims emotionally distressed and worried. The researcher is not too certain if she has actually experienced xenophobia, which suggests that everything may depend on how different individuals interpret words and actions. She points out examples of name calling (amakwerewkere) and the difficulties in understanding or speaking the local South African language as cases that may stand for her experiences of xenophobia. However, it sometimes feels normal for her to be in the midst of the locals and find them unconsciously speaking their local language given that she too from time to time unconsciously speaks her local language with her friends (foreigners) in the presence of a South African, but this should not be considered as a sign of hatred of a different 'other'. Xenophobia is consequently, to her, something that she honestly cannot explain with certainty but is certain it is a bad practice that is in existence in SA. She therefore recommends that both the locals and the foreigners need to support the South African government's efforts to make the country xenophobia-free.

On the contrary, one thing that she is very sure of is her experience of xenophilia. She joins some of her interviewees in confessing to having also met some wonderful people in SA despite her



awareness of xenophobia. She is generally very glad to be in SA and believes xenophobia may one day be considered as history.

### **6.7) Recommendation for further research**

This study was carried out amongst foreign female students of African origin and has generated critical insights on how these students experience and respond to xenophobia. Worthy of note is the fact that these students are not aware of policies to help them when in a xenophobic situation as foreigners on campus in particular or in SA in general. I would therefore recommend that further research be carried out to know if there are existing policies either by the SA government or University authorities to assist foreigners challenged by xenophobia. This kind of study will interrogate the different policies that can be used or accessed to assist foreigners in other problematic situations in SA and would try to compare if the same policies can be made use of in the case of xenophobia.

The seeming lack of socialisation between the locals and the foreigners also needs to be investigated as a means towards eradicating xenophobia in South Africa. In light of this, further research is needed that includes locals, who are not participants in this study, in order to gain their understanding on xenophobia as this study may seem to be one-sided due to the focus on a particular group (it identified female foreign African students as a vulnerable group in the case of xenophobia).

Further research on the position of migrants who are not students compared to migrants who are students on the subject of xenophobia may be very necessary considering that xenophobia in this study has proven to place students at an advantage compared to non-students (foreigners).

It may also be interesting to deepen our knowledge about the claim by some participants in this study that women tend to experience xenophobia more from the hands of their fellow women than from men. Are men more violent than women in both conflict and non-conflict situations?

Finally, it will be reasonable for male participants to be included in a study of this nature for comparative reasons since xenophobia is not limited only to females.

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**APPENDICES**

**1) Consent letter**

Rosaline Y Kanjo  
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**To whom it may Concern:**

**AN INFORMED CONSENT LETTER**

*Dear Participant,*

Above are my contact details and my supervisor’s (Prof. Adekunle Amuwo) email is amuwo@ukzn.ac.za. As part of the requirements for the completion of my MA degree, I am currently working on my dissertation and in need of your help through answering my questionnaire. I am currently carrying out a research on the effects of Xenophobia on foreign female African students at the UKZN with the aim of getting to understand the phenomenon better as well as tease out suggestions from the field on how it could be ameliorated or eradicated. Through personal efforts, I have been able to identify you as falling into my study group. I will be very grateful if you can sacrifice your time and participate in this study.

All information you supply will be kept anonymous and you are allowed to withdraw at any point in time if for any reason you become uncomfortable. If there is anything you may want to add in the course of answering the questions, please feel free to use an extra paper. If I fail to abide by your rules or that which I have stated, you have the right to use whatever means to bring me to order. However, I trust and know it will not get to that point as I have special respect for people and their rights. I therefore will not use any information from you to your disadvantage. If you are willing to participate in this study and you do not have time for it now, please feel free to tell me the time, date and venue that will be most convenient for you.

Many thanks for participating.

Researcher: Rosaline Yumumkah Kanjo

Participant.....

Date.....Signature.....

Date.....Signature.....

**2) Questionnaire:**

Nationality

Level of study

duration in SA

...../...../.....

1. What is Xenophobia?

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2. What can you say about xenophobia and how serious do you think it is in SA?

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3. Why does it continue to happen?

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4. What can be done to stop it?

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5. Who should do it?

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6. How is xenophobia affecting you as a foreign female student either directly or indirectly?

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7. Name and try to explain four common xenophobic experiences by foreign female students within and out of campus.

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8. Which of them have been experienced by you or someone close to you that you can recall?  
Please Explain

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9. In what ways was the person affected?

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10. How did you or the person concerned react to the situation and why?

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11. What can you say about your position as a female experiencing xenophobia compared to a male? Do you think you are more exposed to it or experience it more than a male?

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12. Are you aware of policies put in place by the SA government and the UKZN in favour of foreigners in xenophobic situations? If yes please briefly state them.

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13. Have you or someone close to you ever made use of any of the above policies? If yes, which of them, how and when?

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14. If no why not? And how effective was it?

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15. How do you think xenophobia can be eradicated?

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### **3) Interview guide:**

- 1). what is xenophobia and what can you say about it in SA?
- 2). What are some of your experiences of xenophobia or someone close to you that you can recall and what were the effects?
- 3). what can you say about you position as a female experiencing xenophobia compared to a male? Do you think you are more expose to it or experience it more than a male?
- 4).Are you aware of policies either by the government or university authorities to assist you as foreigner in a xenophobia conflict?
- 5).Who is responsible for the continuity of xenophobia in SA and how do you think it can be eradicated?
- 6). Do you feel xenophilia in SA despite the presences of xenophobia?