



**Conflict transformation and peace study in contemporary society: A case study of the relationship between African foreign nationals and local citizens in the city of Durban”**

BY

Bibi Nathalie Katubadi (217044479)

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University of KwaZulu-Natal  
Howard College Campus  
**SUPERVISOR: Belinda Johnson**

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2. This dissertation has not been submitted for any degree or examination at any other university.
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## **Abstract**

The phenomenon of migration is not new in Africa. It has, however, not remained static and unchanging both in its form and dynamics over time. It has responded to and has been affected by changing social, economic, political and ecological conditions and processes. Africa's recent history has been that of a series of rapid changes in all these aspects. However, some observers have described Africa as a "continent perpetually on the move" Hence, people of Africa are perpetually on the move perhaps more so than other regions in the world. Significantly, the movements are both intra-and inter-continental migrations.

Nonetheless, the context of conflict includes the society in conflict and the wider international and regional level. Within the society, crucial background aspects are culture, governance arrangements, institutions, social roles, norms, the rules and codes in place in society, and its path of development. As globalisation proceeds, local conflicts are inevitably influenced by wider economic and political forces. These have tended to strengthen trade investment and technological networks in some areas of the world, but also to marginalise other areas such as Africa and the former Soviet Union. This study aim is to conduct a research project on the relationship between African foreign nationals and local citizens in the city of Durban to explore their perceptions of causes of xenophobia, and possible strategies for dealing with this type of behaviour.

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## **CHAPTER ONE**

### **PROBLEM DEFINITION AND RESEARCH APPROACH**

#### **1 Introduction**

Both oral and documented history demonstrate that migration is a common and recurring pattern of behaviour and that human beings have always engaged in movement 'between places, from one location to another. This specific activity manifests in several types of patterns. There are also many different types of processes. These result in complex patterns of movement both within and across countries borders which have increasingly been the subject of both local and global attention (Gill and Danns, 2018).'

Current research estimates that about 150 million people live abroad and are joined by another two million migrants every year (Davenport and Saunders, 2000). The 'Pull' factors are usually associated with the opportunities available and quality of living in the destination or host country. These 'pull' factors can often result in migration even if there is no conflict or political instability in the country of origin. However, the scope and extent of emigration increase exponentially when a combination of 'push-pull' factors (Ejoke and Ani., 2017). The rate at which it occurs, and the number of migrants involved has increased dramatically over the past 100 years. Likewise, social conflict is a common feature in everyday life. Still, the escalation and increase in violence usually prompt the average person to stop, aware that this is an indicator that something is wrong (Lederach, 2015). The relationship between xenophobia and social conflict is part of an international trend where there have been common factors shared by most origin and destination countries and characteristics unique to specific areas and communities.

At the end of 2015, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) reported that globally there were an estimated 21.3 million refugees, as well as 40. Eight million forcibly internally displaced people (DPS) (Labys et al., 2017). This is a result of human rights violations, conflict, and generalised violence. It is estimated that only a small percentage of this population would reach the developed resettlement country they were trying to reach. Most of them end up in developing host countries, where around 60% would self-settle in urban locations (Labys et al., 2017). While recent attention has been dominated by a focus on the current migration to Europe and the Global North, more than 84% of displaced people globally live in the Global South. International and regional laws concerning migration acknowledge

and make allowance for globalisation and consequences, according to Hunter and Skinner (2003). The International Law Commission (ILC) has articles concerning foreign nationals' treatment and the consequences that should accrue internationally when these are not applied (Imelda et al., 2016). These policy prescriptions all emphasise that the undocumented or illegal status of migrants should not reduce their enjoyment of certain rights to a level below those enjoyed by citizens.

During the 1950s and 1960s, development economists viewed labour migration as a fundamental and integral part of modernisation (Castles, 2009). They were considering this from the perspective of how development affected migration, leading to reduced labour surpluses and unemployment in the country's areas of origin. Associated with this was that the inflow of capital through migration remittances could improve productivity and incomes (Castles, 2009).

Existing regional inequalities that were primarily a result of colonisation, newly independent African countries experienced consistent migration from poor areas to areas more stable from an economic or political perspective or both. Both postcolonial African and post-apartheid South Africa were characterised by different levels of economic development and employment opportunities. This resulted in patterns of constant movement by migrants, which was one particular option that allowed for the survival of individuals or groups from more impoverished communities. Unfortunately, spatial inequalities present at the start of independence in several African countries became more than less pronounced over time (Magidimisha et al., 2018). For the past six to seven decades, forced migration in the African continent has made it one of the top regions characterised by this pattern of movement. The causes of forced migration vary according to different periods and countries or regions. (Fiddian-Qasmiyeh et al., 2014). The peacebuilding initiatives by non – state actors have a less visible impact and receive far less funding than military approaches and peacekeeping in the western world. This results in the need for approaches that the available resources from all levels constructively. The connection between civil conflict transformation initiatives in conflicts that fall below the levels that external groups like the UN involve themselves in, such as diaspora migrant groups living in various host countries, need to be explored further to make better use of the capacity that exists to address these issues (Zunzer, 2004).

While most African nations attained their political freedom in the immediate post-1960s period, socio-economic development lagged with poverty, unemployment and inequalities on the rise

(Tshishonga, 2015). Conflict and crisis in this context refer to political violence occurring in the country of origin. These types of crises usually led to decision-making and the choice of whether to stay or leave. In the political context, a crisis is a term used to describe an unsustainable situation that will rapidly degenerate without any mitigating action. The use of the terms conflict and crisis in this sense refers to the many types of political violence and causes displacement and varying levels of intensity in violence (Fiddian-Qasmiyeh et al., 2014).

Migration is influenced by a variety of push and pull factors. Push factors are negative issues or problems that result in people leaving specific areas or countries. Within the African continent, many of these variables can result in what is referred to as 'involuntary' migration. This occurs when adverse conditions result in residents relocating to escape them. Adeogun and Faluyi (2018) argue that 'the colonialism militarised African society and imposed a violent character upon the state, leading to institutionalising a culture of violence within the state and society. This explains diverse forms of political instability, insurgency terrorism and civil war experienced in many African countries. In addition, it is a region where countries are often characterised by crisis and violent confrontation and intrastate conflict, often resulting in collapsing or failed states. These latter two variables result in a situation where the structure authority (legitimate power), law, and political order have fallen apart (Zartman., 1995). These are the types of causal factors or determinants that can result in the migration of people away from countries where they are prevalent. Patterns of migration and relocation are not only a result of negative variables in countries of origin.

Voluntary migration of individuals or communities also occurs and, for the most part, is influenced by 'pull' factors which influence or determine which countries are viewed as favourable destinations. Records indicate that voluntary migration started to be noticeable as early as the 1500s and, by the 1980s, the number of people involved was estimated at 200 million (Segal and Marston, 1989). Hune (1991) points out that 'Globally one of the major forces that have transformed world history since the 1500s is the large-scale movement of people from their homelands to other regions of the world to work and settle, whether temporarily or permanently. This movement and mass migration have been facilitated by how the contemporary world now functions, where forces such as globalisation and the introduction of much easier communication routes have given migration a new dimension characterised by growth and more widespread. As a result, people are now moving farther distances more frequently and in large numbers.

Although destination countries may offer some desirable opportunities that serve as powerful motivators for relocation, this does not mean that migrants do not face any severe challenges over and above the typical issues encountered during resettlement. Migrants from African countries have to deal with a fair amount of prejudice from the destination country residents. All too often, they find themselves the target of hostility, rage and jealousy. This type of behaviour, known as xenophobia, can manifest in both non-violent and violent actions. The cause or determinants of xenophobia are varied, often depending on the country's economic development, employment rates and job opportunities, the migrant's country of origin, and even the perception that migrants are competitors regarding resident members of the opposite sex.

However, what is concerning is that over the last two decades, there has been a rapid increase in outbreaks of xenophobia and the incidents that result in extensive injuries, and in some cases, even death. Also of great concern is the substantial growth of xenophobia in countries where instances were not unheard of. However, its emergence and spread to other countries, where there is no evidence of it having ever existed there. However, it is imperative for research, like this study, to be conducted on this phenomenon to develop a greater understanding of why it occurs, how it could be counteracted and what needs to be done to minimise future occurrences.

Miall (2004) argues that globalisation has resulted in broader economic and political forces that inevitably influence local conflicts in developing countries. While most developed countries can strengthen trade investment and technological networks, other regions like Africa are marginalised, resulting in maladaptive behaviour, leading to internal conflict. As migrants leave for other countries which are less volatile and offer better economic opportunities, the political response is to try and deal with the issue by controlling migration. This, of course, does not address the situation that prompted migration in the first place. Miall (2004) argues that a more effective way to deal with migration and, consequently, xenophobic behaviour would be to address the problem prescriptively instead of symptomatically. He points out that when dealing with migration, 'the repressive variant is tight border control. The more liberal one addresses the 'root causes of migration, especially poverty and violence in origin countries, so people do not have to migrate. Either way, migration is harmful and dysfunctional'.

Violent conflict like xenophobia impacts an individual's human security and undermines the development of communities. Paris (1997) explains that when it comes to intervening to address the conflict through peacebuilding, two very different approaches can be used. The most well-known, dominant process is the western approach which is strategic peacebuilding.



The less common response is the indigenous method used for peacebuilding and conflict resolution, which Arthur (et al.2015) feels has been more effective than the western approach when dealing with African societies' issues. Therefore, it should be an option in such settings.

Paris (1997) argues that the use of terms relating to concepts such as 'indigenous' or 'contemporary' does not mean that the former is inferior to the latter. On the contrary, indigenous conflict resolution strategy is an approach that attempts to address healing by focusing the consensus building, re-integration of ex-combatants back into the society and promoting community development, unity.

Using a principle similar to Ubuntu's, indigenous approaches to conflict transformation and peacekeeping aim to create healthy relationships based upon a shared perception of the inter-relationships between people and how people are linked. This is a crucial component of this approach because the act of reconciliation symbolises the willingness of the parties to move beyond the psychological bitterness that characterised the mindset of both parties during the conflict (Arthur et al., 2015). This approach allows the parties concerned, including the public, to share their views and make their opinions known during the process of reconciliation with the full participation of all parties involved to prevent the imposition of a premature resolution. A sense of ownership by both parties over the product is crucial in affecting its agreement and approval. This has helped transform conflict situations by reminding groups of their shared unity (Arthur et al., 2015).

According to Lederach (1995), a transformational approach begins with two proactive stances that act as foundations upon which the transformative process rests. These are: (i) the perspective that views conflict as a natural phenomenon that can produce constructive growth, and (ii) a willingness to engage with conflict resolution to create constructive change or transition (Lederach., 1995). A transformational view looks at conflict as episodes embedded in a larger pattern of human relationships than isolated incidents. The term conflict transformation was, before the early 1990s, not commonly used amongst experts, and even then was not a core construct for nearly a decade(Botes, 2003). Dukes (1999) argues that conflict transformation is associated with several meanings, including the transformation of individuals, relationships, and social systems of differing sizes. Early use of the term in literature and research was indirect or circuitous. Still, it was used to resolve conflict by transforming relationships at their heart, either mitigating or ending social conflicts

(Burton.1990, Miall. 2004). This term has now become part of the lexicon used in the peace and conflict studies field.

Within the African context, several different countries are the destination of migrants, especially those from other African countries. One of these countries, which is the focus of this research, is South Africa.

### 1.2 Xenophobia in the South African Context.

Over the past few decades, South Africa has become one of the destination countries of choice for many migrants from both African countries and elsewhere. To a large extent, this has occurred because that 'Democratic post-apartheid South Africa in 1994 represented a country that is racially free and de-segregated, a fundamental departure from the previously highly restrained and divided country which dominated by white minority' (Ejoke and Ani.2017). According to the official count reported by Statistics South Africa, there are approximately 4 million foreign-born people in South Africa (Sibanda and Stanton, 2020). Migrants, the majority of whom came from other African countries, were attracted by the potential prospects offered under the new democratic regime. The rule of law, respect of human rights, and the adoption of liberal economic policies have made South Africa a favourable destination for migrants to improve themselves economically. In many instances, their countries of origin could be described as pseudo- democracies that offered citizens little or no economic prospects (Adjai, 2010). South Africa's perceived political stability also contributed to its desirability as a destination for refugees and asylum seekers fleeing war and conflict. However, once the post-1994 euphoria subsided, it became increasingly apparent that efforts to stimulate development, effect social equity and provide redress to historically disadvantaged groups were foundering or proceeding with agonising slowness.

A volatile global economy and slow and uneven development resulted in a perception (rightly or wrongly) that conditions had remained unchanged or even worsened. At the same time, there has also been a substantial influx of migrants into both former townships and in the big cities. The conditions created by this has led to a situation where xenophobia is almost inevitable and where the patterns of xenophobic behaviour are changing. Misago (as cited by Ruiters, Lombard & Denys 2020) argues that the focus of contemporary research is too narrow and produces 'general social explanations argue that xenophobia reflects the realities of deepening inequality, rising unemployment and frustrations of the poor in South Africa often leave out the issue of how general discontent is mobilised and channelled into collective xenophobic

acts'. As a result, xenophobic behaviour is increasingly the result of a group's collective actions instead of the isolated behaviour of specific individuals.

From a historical perspective, an argument can be made that hostility and violence towards a different race or ethnic group is nothing new and has always been a feature of the South African environment. Idehen and Osaghae (2015) point out that conflict was evidenced early in South Africa's recorded history, both between and within racial groupings. Migrations by black and white groupings took place under Zulu and British expansionism. Black tribes engaged in a series of skirmishes and battles with Boers (Afrikaners) and British settlers throughout.' While discrimination and bigotry are not new, the focus of this behaviour has shifted, and that current xenophobia 'introduces a new dimension to the segregation, discrimination and prejudices that dominated the history of 'the past, this time victim shifted to the foreigners living in South Africa' (Idehen and Osaghae (2015).

Neocosmos (2010) argues that the manifestation of xenophobia is not only problematic because of how widespread it is. He elaborates on this issue, which does seem to demonstrate a type of collective amnesia by South Africans regarding the roles and the support provided by other African countries during the struggle against apartheid. This is particularly shocking given the massive international support for the struggle against apartheid, particularly during the 1980s. Perceptions and acceptance of foreign national migrants in South Africa have been deteriorating rapidly since the early 2000s, and outbreaks of xenophobia occur more frequently and are often accompanied by escalating levels of violence.

Despite the growing number of widely covered xenophobic incidents committed by both individuals and groups, this does not appear to have detracted from South Africa's appeal as a destination for migrants. As a result, South Africa began to experience a substantial number of migrants. Those were not all those who had entered the country legally and consisted were usually temporary work-seekers, economic migrants, asylum seekers, or undocumented migrants (Crush and Williams 2005b; Waller. 2006). Existing research and the data gathered during the last census put the number of migrants is at about 500000-850000. South Africa's population is around 50.4 million residents, with the number of migrants at around 7.2% of the population in 2019, a figure more than 2.8% recorded in 2005 (Landau and Gindrey, 2008' Ruiters, Lombard & Denys. 2020).

This estimate of the number of migrants is acknowledged to be inaccurate because of underreporting. It also does not include the exact numbers of undocumented or illegal migrants.

Problems begin to occur when residents feel threatened by migrants willing to accept low remuneration for their labour and services. In a country marred by growing poverty levels and competition over minimum wage jobs, the perception develops that foreigners are 'stealing' jobs from locals. This competition for resources leads to increasing hostility and hatred toward migrants, who may degenerate into violent attacks against foreigners (Adeogun and Faluyi, 2018).

South Africa is comparable to Timor-Leste, the Philippines and other conflicts in the late twentieth century. It is a classic example of a liberation movement that grew progressively more successful after 1976 when most of its resistance activities moved from armed struggle to networked nonviolence struggle (Braithwaite, 2014). This resulted in increased migration from other African countries that were assisting South Africa as part of this network. During the 1980s, Southern Africa became a new destination for asylum seekers from the rest of Africa, particularly those found in the Horn of Africa and the Great Lakes region. Both the Democratic Republic of Congo and Tanzania both showed dramatic increases in the volume of forced migration due to war. In the DRC, the number of refugees increased from 100.000 in 1990 to nearly 1.6 million in 1994 as thousands of people fled the conflict in Rwanda. By 2011, the number of refugees in DRC had fallen again to 74 .000. In Tanzania, the refugee population grew from 177.000 to 832.307 by 1994 due to the conflict in Rwanda, a number which dropped by 2011 to less than 70.000 (Fiddian-Qasmiyeh et al., 2014).

However, the post-1994 era has also been characterised by a growth in negative attitudes towards foreign nationals that are largely oriented towards other Africans, although there are increasing reports of discrimination towards new arrivals from the Indian subcontinent (Landau et al., 2005). The development of exclusively national identity, combined with the neglect and failure of the South African government to acknowledge and address the anger and subsequent hostility of its citizens, only serves to fuel anti-migrant sentiment (Beetar, 2019; Gordon, 2015). Irrespective of whether they are legal or illegal, migrants are often subjected to abusive and exploitative behaviour. Foreigners become convenient scapegoats, blamed not only by locals but also by public officials and politicians for social problems like crime, unemployment and even the spread of malaria and Aids (Davis and Snyman. 2005). Xenophobia is becoming a regular feature reaction in the post-1994 environment and a typical response to migrants. Despite the considerable progress made in South Africa in instilling a human rights-based culture in its people since 1994, this type of behaviour is increasing (Harris, 2001). Previous studies show that this is a recurring pattern of behaviour, usually in areas, there is informal

housing, low levels of employment, and limited or non-existent economic development with high levels of economic deprivation, high percentages of males' residents, high levels of informal housing, and high levels of language diversity (Polzer. 2010). This is the same type of prejudice and stereotyping that took place under apartheid. Magidimisha et al. (2018) argue that this has left a 'legacy of suspicion and stigmatisation of migrants rooted in suspicion and fear of people who migrate'. There is a critical need to study how local displays of xenophobia are driven as well as how foreign nationals have experienced such behaviour. This understanding is critical when trying to address anti-migrant sentiment (Gordon, 2015).

### 1.3 Aim of the research

This research aimed to understand the root causes of conflict in xenophobic attacks between residents and foreign nationals in the eThekweni municipality. It explored the relationships between African foreign nationals and residents in the eThekweni municipality and the role of local government structures in addressing conflict and outbreaks of xenophobic reactions. Understanding exactly what factors result in the hostility that manifests itself in violent reactions is fundamental when looking at how this can be controlled. The post-1994 period has seen several laws dealing with immigration in South Africa enacted, and the responses by local authorities differ. Some strategies aim to mitigate conflict and try to support foreign migrants, irrespective of their legal status. In contrast, others exacerbate the problem because they frame those structural changes arising from immigration as threats. This latter issue is essential to revisit when examining mechanisms for reducing conflict and xenophobic behaviour (Steil and Vasi, 2014).

There are many reasons for choosing eThekweni as the location for this research. First, it is one of the metropolises in South Africa with a large migrant population of mainly African foreign nationals, whose numbers have been increasing since the early 1990s. Second, it is also an area that has seen an increase in xenophobic behaviour over the two decades. Finally, the choice is also a matter of convenience since the researcher is a postgraduate student at the Howard College campus of the University of KwaZulu-Natal. It will look at what types of approaches could mitigate or stem the violent outbreaks of xenophobia. This has been done by first identifying several research objectives that direct the research and critical research questions that the study aims to address.

#### 1.4 Research Objectives

- (i) To identify existing conflicts between African foreign nationals and local citizens and seek to understand how these conflicts can be managed by using conflict transformation principles.
- (ii) To find out the root causes of conflict between African foreign nationals and local citizens.
- (iii) To find out the role of the South African government and local communities in dealing with conflicts when it comes to enabling or undermining a peaceful environment between these two groups.
- (iv) To seek to understand how previous conflicts have been resolved by applying conflict transformation principles.

#### 1.5 Key Research Questions

- (i) What is the nature of the existing conflicts between African foreign nationals and local citizens
- (ii) What are the root causes of these?
- (iii) What role played is by the South African government and local communities in dealing with conflicts (legal implications and human rights)
- (iv) What are the different mechanisms that are used to try to resolve these conflicts?

This study looked at how previous conflicts have been resolved using conflict transformation principles to make recommendations about addressing xenophobia in the eThekweni municipality.

#### 1.6 Research Design:

This research was an empirical study that used qualitative approaches to collect information. Sampling took place using non-probability, purposive, judgement and snowball sampling. The sample was divided into two sub-groups to distinguish between the two. Subgroup A consisted of 10 African foreign nationals, and Subgroup B consisted of 10 South African citizens. Only documented foreign nationals from African countries were part of this study because of ethical reasons. Participants were over 18 years old and above. Because the experiences for migrants would differ depending on whether they had been in situ long enough to experience anti-

migrant attitudes, the length of stay in the city was considered, and only those participants who had been in Durban more than one year were considered. The research instruments constructed for this research were semi-structured interviews conducted on an individual basis. Because of the nature of the sampling method, this study did not consider conducting a focus group study because participants in this study are located in different areas in the city and, their accessibility poses a problem. This type of approach allows the research to understand the factors that would be difficult to collect using a quantitative instrument. In addition, it allowed for subjective factors such as opinion, attitude, personality, emotion, motivation, interest, personal problems, mood, drive and frustration to be explored. The data was analysed later using themes and concepts identified in the study.

This chapter discussed the principal aims and objectives, research question notion, and context of the research problem. It was noted that the tension between local citizens and African foreign nationals was not a new phenomenon. South Africa has a history of xenophobic and anti-migrant behaviour. It emphasises that the influx of many migrants due to development and job opportunities has resulted in increasingly violent clashes between locals and migrants because of a variety of factors. It then sets out how the research will investigate the perceptions and experiences of local and foreign nationals regarding xenophobia. There is a critical need to study the causes and the extent of anti-migrant sentiment, better understand what forces are driving it, and how it can be addressed (Gordon, 2015). The next chapter will present the theoretical framework and the theory used in this research.

## **CHAPTER TWO**

### **THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES AND CONCEPTS**

Migration is a global phenomenon caused by economic factors and many others like social, political, cultural environmental, health, education variables, etc. Movement usually occurs from areas with limited economic opportunities and limited social development towards better economic opportunities (Kainth, 2009). During the post-1994 period, South Africa underwent a fundamental shift in the social, political, and economic environment. A fair and equitable political and economic system was supposed to replace apartheid, at the least in terms of the law (Castles et al., 2013). During the early 1990s, efforts were to manage the economic crisis and economic reconstruction (Crush et al., 2005). One of the immediate effects of establishing a democratic government was an increase of migrants into the country, attracted by the possibility of economic advantages in a more open and tolerant political system. The result has been increasing migrants from other countries in the African continent and elsewhere since 1994. The annual number of visitors from other SADC countries has increased from around 1 million in the early 1990s to over 5 million at present' (Crush et al., 2005).

Immigration by African foreign nationals come from areas that are often due to economic hardship or political insecurity, where the latter is due to internal and regional conflicts. Often, they are reluctant migrants forced by economic, environmental, or political instability to move to South Africa is seen as a land of opportunities (Imelda et al. 2016). Although the country has tried to strengthen economic ties with some African countries, internal inequality leads to xenophobic responses. Moreover, the perception of threat rationalises the exclusion of outgroups from equal access to social and material goods (Miller, 2018).

To address xenophobia using legislation and policy directives, there needs to be the creating and understanding of a clear framework to guide and legally underpin police and immigration conduct to prevent human rights abuses (Algotsson and Klaaren, 2018). The following section sets out a clear framework that articulates and defines the key terms used in conflict transformation and resolution. The following chapter will explore the main theories used to develop this analytical framework. It then explores the main theories and concepts used to develop this analytical framework for this study.



## 2.1 An Analytical Framework and Definition of Key Concepts

### 2.2 Human Rights

Human rights are 'the reasonable demands for personal security and basic well-being that all individuals can make on the rest of humanity under others being members of the species homo sapiens' (Harrison, 2002). The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which was promulgated in 1948, states that 'Everyone has the right to life, liberty, and security. At the time, forty-eight nations voted in favour, eight abstained (Wright and Augarde, 1990). Theorists and researchers involved in the study of international human rights and humanitarian law argue that the basic principle is that no other rights have any meaning in the absence of the right to life. Thus, killing someone, denying them a right to live strips them of all their rights (Wright and Augarde, 1990). However, outbreaks of violent xenophobic behaviour show how quickly the right to life, refugees and asylum seekers' safety and security can be violated. As a manifestation of deep-rooted hostility, violent outbreaks can spiral into organised violence, leading to local and regional instability (Viltoft, 2018). One of the gravest problems concerned with human rights is the intensification of discrimination and violence that target people based on race. Race is a socially constructed concept, informed by the intersections found at different levels of social stratification. These are primarily shaped by class, gender, ethnicity, national and, increasingly, transnational location and identity (Harrison, 2002). Human rights are a relatively new concept that originated in Greco-Roman natural Law, which held that human conduct should not be judged according to the law of nature (Wright and Augarde, 1990). Human behaviour is, therefore, held to a higher standard.

This right to life should ensure that a foreign national, irrespective of their country of origin, or the legality of their status, should be accorded the same rights and degree of protection afforded to citizens of the host state (Smith, 2018). However, even legal or 'documented' migrants, especially African foreign nationals, are often incorrectly perceived a priori as illegally in the country and subjected to xenophobic treatment amongst other hostile behaviour (Algotsson and Klaaren, 2018). This treatment is because they occupy a social status that defines them as black and foreign. Thus, these actions towards foreigners result from the social status of being black and foreign, which does not necessarily equate to being illegal or undocumented.

The provision of health care for migrants is also a critical public health concern. Besides health concerns regarding the psychological trauma arising from the experiences faced by refugees and asylum seekers, people who have travelled for extended periods or are living in poor conditions are at increased risk for diarrhoea, malnutrition, or malaria. While these concerns can be quickly addressed with proper attention, denial of health care can lead to the spread of infection and disease to migrants and communities in which they live. Apart from being a violation of human rights and dignity, illness potentially limits all South Africa's residents (Landau et al., 2005). Therefore, human rights abuse and violence are not exclusively about physical harm but also incorporate psychological and emotional harm inflicted upon victims (Algotsson and Klaaren, 2018).

### 2.3 Conflict

Conflict is defined in a variety of ways. From an economic perspective, it is usually associated with scarcity. Other definitions describe it as the incompatibility of preferences between two or more parties in a situation with several outcomes. These parties have resources or power that they can use to ensure that their priorities are generally fulfilled. The term has been used to describe the conditions that arise due to scarcity of resources, the conflict that might arise due to policy differences, reactions to a conflict that range from passive resistance to overt aggression and, the behaviour displayed where one unit is advancing its interests at the expense of others (Schmidt and Kochan, 1972).

Conflict is characterised by incompatible or diverging needs and differing demands that produce interpersonal antagonism and hostile encounters. Conflict situations range from antagonist behaviour like verbal abuse to physical violence and, ultimately, killing (Bruce, 1996). Conflict may also change, and these changes may be relatively idiosyncratic to each conflict situation or maybe conceived as occurring in fixed sequences (DuMont et al., 2013). Most research defines conflict as a political order problem and the status quo, and protracted violent conflict is regarded as conflicting interests and/or competition (Reimann, 2004). Severe power asymmetries characterise the vast majority of contemporary political conflicts (e.g. minority versus majority, pro-social change versus pro-status – quo forces), where sustainable peace cannot be achieved without addressing social injustice and political oppression and economic inequality (DuMont et al., 2013).

## 2.4 Peace

According to Galtung, cited by (Dillon 2016), the definition of peace includes the presence of nonviolence and creative conflict transformation. Nonviolence is a result of building up alternative structures. In conflict transformation, peace is viewed as rooted in the quality of relationships, including face-to-face interactions and how social, political, economic and cultural relationships are structured. Conflict transformation also sees peace as continuously evolving and developing the quality of relationships available (Lederaeh, 2003).

## 2.5 Conflict Transformation

Lederaeh (2003) defines conflict transformation as a response to social conflict. This can provide opportunities for creating constructive change processes that reduce violence, increase justice in direct interaction and social structures, and respond to real-life problems in human relationships. As previously discussed, 'conflict transformation is a relative term used within the broader field of peace and conflict studies. The area of study and research is still defining, shaping, and creating terminology (Botes, 2003). However, it does consist of different components that can add to its complexity and, to understand conflict transformation better, an explanation of each element is needed (Lederach, 2015). Together these components attempt to capture the attitudes and orientations to create conflict transformation, the starting point of such an approach, and the various change processes involved in such a system.

The 1990s has seen a shift toward conflict transformation in the languages used in the fields and practice of peace research and conflict resolution (Botes, 2003). This aims at building healthy relationships and communities, locally and globally (Lederach, 2015). According to Lederaeh (2003), conflict transformation is more than a set of specific techniques, 'It is about a way of looking and seeing, and it provides a set of lenses through which we make sense of social conflict'. While conflict often produces longstanding cycles of violence and destruction, the key to transformation is the capacity to envision conflict as having the potential for constructive change. According to Lederach (2015), 'a transformational lens sees the generation of creative platforms as the mechanism to address specific issues,' which coincides with changes in social structures and patterns.

## 2.6 Foreign Nationals

Conceptions of foreigners have changed over the decades, but the current term usually refers to someone from another location, region or nation. The term foreigners cover a range of different categories and can refer to non-citizen, refugees, asylum seekers, strangers. These are included under the overarching label foreign national (Cinini, 2015b). In many instances, the term 'strangers' does not refer only to foreign nationals. However, it can be used to describe strangers to one's community, locality or province, or one's ethnic or language group. In such instances, xenophobia takes on autochthony features, a much-researched concept that looks at how perceptions about belonging to a region are associated with birth or origin. This can refer to localised roots like villages or small towns. Autochthony deals with specific specialised and essential structures of belonging to a community, a place or the soil (Fourchard and Segatti, 2015a). This attitude is rooted in the belief that the extent to which individuals and groups belong is determined by being connected to places because they were born there. This was the point of origin, for it is the place from where specific (usually racial or ethnic) groups originated. Thus, the extent to which individuals or groups belong in an area under birth or origin. Being a citizen of a particular country does not mean that one is regarded as a 'native' of an area within that location.

## 2.7 Asylum Seekers

An asylum seeker is defined as a person who applied for protection under the Geneva Convention and waiting for the claim to be decided by the Home Affairs office or similar directorate. Some asylum seekers may be granted exceptional leave to enter or to remain. Here the Home Affairs Office may decide in the applicant's favour, especially if they cannot return to their home country. However, the person is given the right to stay in the host country (Oliviere et al., 2011).

## 2.8 Refugees

A refugee is a person who has been accepted and therefore has a permanent residence (Oliviere et al., 2011). Refugees are individuals who are outside their country of nationality. This can be because of the fear of being persecuted based on race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion and are seeking following the international conventions refuge in another country (UNHCR 1952).

According to Hein (1993), in 1951, the United States defined a refugee as a person who has left their home country. This may be due to the fear of persecution based on race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or opinion. The critical clause in this definition is a well-founded fear of persecution and how a government official interprets it. Refugees break ties with their home state and seek protection from the host state through migration. If they cross an international border, they become refugees, and if they remain within their homeland, they are displaced persons (Hein, 1993).

## 2.9 Difference between Refugee and Migrants

Immigration is defined as those who were to be granted the special status of refugees. Refugees and migrants have different reasons for leaving their country of origin but may share the same migratory experiences with migrants. However, migrant and refugee networks' social network composition differs, as does the role of migration in their social identities (Hein, 1993).

## 2.10 Migration

Whether voluntary or forced, migration has always been characteristic of individual and collective human behaviour (Newman and Van Selm, 2003). It is defined as a movement of individuals from a native country across nations or state boundaries into a new receiving or host country (Braziel, 2008). Migration is defined broadly as a permanent or semi-permanent change upon the distance. No restriction is placed upon the length of the move or the voluntary or involuntary nature of the act, and no distinction is made between external and internal migration.

No matter how short or how long, how easy or how difficult, every migration involves an origin, a destination and an intervening obstacle (Lee, 1966). Throughout many less developed economies, especially those of tropical Africa, a curious economic phenomenon is presently taking place. Despite the existence of the positive marginal product in agriculture and significant levels of urban unemployment, rural-urban labour, migration not only continues to exist but indeed, but also appears to be accelerating (Harris and Todaro, 1970a). Although refugees have been part of human history since the beginning, the increase in the refugee's population during the 1980s raised the phenomenon to the global problem's rank (Schmeidl, 1997). Refugees' migration has been primarily considered a political phenomenon linked to impoverishment (Schmeidl, 1997). While underdeveloped countries overall may be more likely than first world countries to produce migrants, refugees tend to flee those undeveloped

countries that are also experiencing political upheaval. Thus, the economic problem is simply seen as an accelerator of refugee flight that leads to forced departure in conjunction with political conflicts. There is also a correlation between government repression and refugee exodus. This is linked to violence, the struggle for equal political representation, and ethnic conflicts.

Causes of migration are characterised by various forms: labour migration, political migration, postcolonial migration, and migration within markets (Soysal, 1994). In the early 1990s, the term transnational was first used to describe migration. However, the term transnational appeared in migration studies simultaneously the term diaspora reappeared as an analytical category. As a result, it has been revealed that there are two types of migration:

#### 2.11 Voluntary migration:

Refugee migration is considered a political phenomenon, although poverty is a contributing factor (Schmeidl, 1997). Refugees tend to flee those underdeveloped countries that are also experiencing political upheaval. The economic problems are simply seen as an accelerant of refugee flight that leads to a forced exodus in conjunction with political conflict. In African countries, the struggle with rapid population growth and a declining world economy are vital determinants. Poverty and population pressure play a part in the formation of refugee movements. Moreover, the increasing number of refugees is also associated with a general increase in violence and human rights violations.

#### 2.12 Forced migration

Forced migration is both a result and a cause of social transformation caused by conflict, generalised violence and mass flight. It is linked to economic migration, where fleeing from one society and becoming part of another one but also involves coercion, including threats to life and livelihood (Castles, 2003). Causes can be natural or man-made and include the movements of refugees and internally displaced persons and people displaced by natural environmental disasters, chemical or nuclear disasters, and famine or development projects (Gill and Dannels, 2018).

### 2.13 Xenophobia

Xenophobia can be defined as attitude, 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 (Miller, 2018). It comes from the derivative of the Greek word Xenos, which mean stranger or 'foreigner's and Phobos, which means 'fear'. It is often characterised as a deep hatred of migrants by nationals of the host state or the irrational and distrust that it perceives as foreign or stranger (Oni and Okunade, 2018). Xenophobia can manifest itself in many ways relating to perceptions and ingroup behaviour towards an outgroup, including a fear of losing identity, suspicion of activities, aggression, and desire to eliminate its presence to secure a presumed purity

Tshishonga (2015b), in social and political science, the notion of xenophobia is often attached to the extreme dislike or directed to those who are not citizens of the country, or the hatred of one's nationality by the other. Moreover, recently xenophobic violence has become part of the African story. While still a relatively new phenomenon, its destructive nature is cause for concern among stakeholders in Africa peace, security, and development projects. Gill and Danns (2018) state that it is strangeness that is at the heart of the definition of xenophobia. They may live in a society, but migrants, refugees, people of other races, ethnicities, nationalities, skin colour and other biological and social markers are the perennial stranger in society.

Xenophobia is, literally, a fear of foreigners and xenophobes who harbour negative attitudes to foreigners, motivated largely by fear of them (Yakushko, 2009; Taras, 2009). In part, people's perception as external threats increases group solidarity and ethnocentrism while, as a corollary, promoting intolerance and close-mindedness.

### 2.14 Push and Pull Variables – Factors Influencing Migration

A large number of migrants are forced to leave their country of origin in search of better opportunities. However, migration is not always just from one country to another. It may also include internal migration from one area to another. This accepted in both internal Ranvenstein (1885) was one of the first theorists to put forward a theoretical approach that examined migration concerning push-pull factors. Although the scope of his initial arguments may have been limited, it is still regarded as a significant contribution to migration literature to date. He

postulated that migrants' decision to move from one geographic location to another results from push and pull factors, largely associated with political stability and economic opportunities.

Additionally, the lifestyle and cultural issues also can act as intervening variables, which inhibit or encourage migration. The second wave of Italian or Irish migrants is a useful example to consider here. These individuals or groups usually settled in areas where early migrants from these ethnic or cultural groups had stayed.

The push and pull provide a unifying explain work that explains the switching of behaviour and the understanding of such behaviour, explained the decision people make to migrate. When applying these factors in conflict transformation and peace, we observed that push factors come with circumstances and pull factors come with a destination and can help trigger push factors. Thus, the reasons to move to a city or country appear to be its perceived value of economic attractiveness. Lee (1966), who advanced the earliest arguments that look at push-pull factors, explains that push factors usually have to do with economic, social and political hardships. The pull factors are the comparative advantages associated with the same factors in other countries.- Several causal variables determine the number and direction of migrant flows (Portes and Böröcz, 1989). The dissatisfaction with issues in the country of origin are outweighed by the perceived improvement and expected satisfaction at a destination.

Most of the migrants (excluding forced and sequential migrants) have moved in search of better economic opportunities (Kainth, 2009). These factors are associated with external migration from one country to another and internal movement from one area to another. Portes and Böröcz (1994) argue that labour flows are an outcome of poverty and limited economic, social and political opportunities. Pull factors in the destination countries offer better opportunities, resulting in patterns of movement towards better-off countries or areas. Although high levels of conflict and violence are push factors, most factors that result in international migration are those associated with better economic opportunities and improved quality of life

Modernisation is a key characteristic of migration from less favourable countries or areas to better ones (Borman. 1986). Population growth in rural areas also can be a critical determinant of migration. Under the capacity model of development, large rural populations can encourage people to move to urban areas in urban centres with the expectation of high paid jobs (Kainth, 2009). This can result in the large-scale internal movement towards capital cities or seaport cities (Magidimisha et al., 2018). Some theorists and researchers argue that inevitably, the problems or issues faced in the rural context may result in stronger push factors than pull



factors. However, other experts feel that pull factors usually are stronger than push factors (Zhang., 2015). However, when people move to rapidly expanding cities, the expected employment opportunities are often inadequate and social conditions miserable. This rapid urbanisation can also be accompanied by violence, oppressive forms of rule, and the denial of human rights, leading to a second migration, where migrants then move to newly industrialised countries or highly developed countries in the south or highly developed countries north. Even if the internal destination areas only experience challenges resulting from an increased population that places a significant burden on the existing infrastructure, this can result in migrants looking for better opportunities in other countries and across political boundaries. Therefore, there is a reciprocal relationship where the impact of the push factor at a place depends on the pull factor of and the influence of the pull factor at a place depends on the push factor in the area or country of origin.

Migration choice is a matter of pull factors and a cost-benefit analysis where moving is seen as less costly than staying. (Zhang et al. 2015). The type of factors that inform this analysis is the employment opportunities available and the perceived losses from moving. Suppose the perceived cost of moving is still seen as a better option than the cost associated with staying. In that case, migration will be a favoured strategy for improving the circumstances of migrants. (Dorigo and Tobler, 1983, Zhang et al., 2015)).

## 2.15 A Critique of Push and Pull Migration Theories

In certain circumstances, migrants may gain entry to the preferred destination country using legal avenues. Some policies that regulate migration do allow migrants to gain entry to a country if there are already family members working or residing there, especially in nuclear families or if the migrants are dependent on those already in the country. Others might gain legal access because of employment contracts that they have entered into. Illegal means of entering or staying in a country can occur when the migrants unlawfully cross borders or overstay the time set out in temporary visas. There are many assets that migrants can bring to destination countries, including those specifically relating to labour issues. These include particular skills, a willingness to work hard, acceptance of lower wages than residents, and flexibility in terms of employment that accommodate changes in an employer's needs. Although theories concerning the push-pull factors do offer several explanations regarding the causal factors that give rise to migration, the theoretical arguments are criticised for being somewhat limited and misleading. This is because the theories are often mainly descriptive.

These models often identify causal factors without specifying their role and interaction (Schoor et al. 1, 2000).

The extent to which each of these factors can be ranked in terms of effect is never really that clear, and they do not address or explain return migration and the simultaneous occurrence of emigration (Schoorl et al., 2000). Issues such as population growth or environmental degradation do not necessarily result in migration. In many cases, population pressure along with economic and environmental challenges can stifle innovation. A good example would be the use of terraces and fertiliser by farmers to address environmental degradation and even increase agricultural productivity (Schoorl et al., 2000).

Often, social inequality or oppression and other certain disadvantages faced by particular ethnic or class groups may have fewer opportunities to migrate internationally. Yousaf et al. (2017) argue that while the push and pull factors are useful as a starting point for explaining migration, a more practical understanding of each of these variables' relative force is necessary. For example, destination choices can be affected by a migrant's knowledge and experience of the country of origin's political and economic stability, as well as policies of the country of destination that affect the integration of the migrants into the broader population. Other factors that may come into play here can also include a common language, a positive representation of the destination country, and those policies that affect the ease of admission and integration. (Portes and Böröcz, 1989). Zhang et al. (2015) also argue that individual decisions are influenced not only by an increase in personal income expectation but also by solid family relationships.

## 2.16 Intergroup Threat Theory

Many factors result in the division between different groups and communities, and the world often appears polarised by religion, nationality, race-ethnicity, sex, social class. These social groups shape our identities and our lives (Stephan and Stephan, 2017). Most groups or communities usually form around common characteristics, and access to or inclusion in them is determined by the membership criteria and boundaries that define them. Although there is often no logical basis for why specific criteria should result in exclusion or inclusion of individuals into groups, the reality is that these characteristics do form boundaries that define different groups. Invariably, the relationship between different groups is characterised by tension, and interaction is far more likely to be antagonistic than complementary. Social Identity theorists argue that causes of intergroup antagonism involve both the tangible and

psychological benefits conferred on members (Stephan and Stephan, 2017). Reactions to and treatment of foreign nationals are often affected by the diversity of ethnic, racial, cultural, or religious. Diversity can sometimes result in the integration of migrants being easy. However, this is not always the case, and other issues come into play. In South Africa, a multiracial, multicultural, and heterogeneous population combined with limited opportunities and competition for employment in certain jobs, usually result in foreign nationals and migrants being perceived as a threat.

Current research does show that attitudes to foreign nationals, especially those from other African countries, vary across the socio-economics' and ethnic spectrum. Existing studies show that while attitudes towards 'white' migrants are mainly benign and tolerant, the reaction to African foreign nationals is often very different (Cinini, 2015). African foreign nationals living or working in South Africa often face discrimination at the hands of citizens, governments officials, members of the police and organisations contracted to control immigration. Even though many South Africans were offered refugee status in neighbouring countries during apartheid, migrants from these countries often experience hostility arising and adverse treatment (Singh, 2017). The treatment of African foreign nationals has received a fair amount of media coverage and political attention. While some reactions are positive and informed by empathy, there has been an increasingly negative response in both opinion and approach. Examples of the more extreme reactions are the brutal xenophobic attacks experienced by black foreign nationals in 2008 and 2015, leaving the country reeling in shock (Singh, 2017).

This study aims to understand the relationship between African foreign nationals and local citizens in the city of Durban. Theories like intergroup behaviour do allow a greater understanding of what influences the relationship between migrants and locals. For example, favourable perceptions and treatment by locals are informed by the extent to which these foreign nationals are seen as a threat is often directly linked to their reception and treatment. In addition, existing racial and ethnic differences can increase the sense of threat from other groups (Hopkins et al., 2018).

Despite the continuous increase in immigration and attempts to address anti-migrant behaviour, prejudice at the individual and social level is linked to crucial political economy and social issues (Nshom and Croucher, 2017). Theories concerning intergroup behaviour and concepts related to integrated threats identify several issues that determine or cause intergroup attitudes (Stephan et al., 2002). Research conducted on ingroup and outgroup dynamics shows that

prejudicial treatment and behaviour towards outgroups are related to economic, political and social issues and the extent to which outgroups are seen as a threat to one's cultures. (Stephan and Stephan, 1996).

Stephan et al. (2000) explain how integrated threat theory (ITT) is related to four factors. These are realistic threats, symbolic threats, negative stereotypes, and intergroup anxiety. There has been widespread ITT application worldwide to understand how and why migrants and minority groups are viewed as threats. Certain qualities attributed to specific groups often result in prejudice towards individuals who belong to that group as they are presumed to share those features. A key cause of prejudicial opinions and actions is the negative stereotypes associated with threats to the in-groups culture (Nshom and Croucher, 2017;(Stephan and Stephan, 2017). The presence of minority outgroup members is also seen as competition for resources. The larger this outgroup becomes, the more threatening the presence of its members is viewed, and the greater are the chance of intergroup prejudice and conflict (Abrams and Eller, 2017). However, prejudice as a response to threats towards established group privileges is not necessarily linked to the individual interests of group members (Quillian, 1995). Instead, it is a result of collective threats to the established group privileges. Collective threats are seen as a function of two factors: the numerical size of the subordinate group relative to the dominant group and economic circumstances (Quillian, 1995). Economic hardship is often blamed on the minority, subordinate group. In situations where there are scarce resources heightens the perception of competition for them, A belief that there is competition for scarce resources results in the minority subgroup becoming a scapegoat, blamed for the precarious economic circumstances of the dominant group—a reduction in the perceived competition decrease group feelings of threat (Quillian, 1995). There has been extensive research on migrants using ITT as a conceptual approach. This has resulted in mixed evidence about whether the prevalence of migrant groups is associated with opposition to immigration. Perceptions of intergroup threats are related to social contexts and vary according to individual variable differences (Stephan, 2009; Swami et al., 2018). The four types of threats identified shape intergroup relations in many ways (Curşeu et al., 2007).

#### 2.17 Realistic Threats:

The theoretical basis for this comes from realistic group conflict theory. (Stephan, 2017). The fears and the perception of threats on the part of the dominant group are related to the economic and political power, physical, or material well-being of the intergroup or its member. The

perceived threat is due to the existence of conflicting goals between the ingroup and outgroup. Social factors such as living together often lead to competition or the perception of competition for scarce resources, resulting in conflicting goals (Jackson, 1993).

#### 2.18 Intergroup Anxiety

Intergroup Anxiety refers to the negative feeling of ingroup members caused by either the anticipation or actual contact with a person from another group. Intergroup anxiety can trigger amplified cognitive and behavioural responses (Stephan & Stephan, 1985). It is the result of the anticipation of adverse outcomes from intergroup interaction. It usually occurs when an ingroup member feels anxiety arising from the fear of being embarrassed, ridiculed or exploited by members of another group, mainly if there is some history of antagonism. According to Abrams and Eller (2017), it was initially considered to be a separate threat but now seems to be a subtype of threat centring on apprehensions about interacting with outgroup members (Stephan and Stephan, 2017).

#### 2.19 Negative stereotypes

Negative stereotypes are clashes between outgroups – and outgroups, or negative feelings towards outgroups. It is accompanied by strong identification between ingroup members and perception of other social groups as a threat towards the ingroup (Curşeu et al., 2007). However, the stereotypes occur when ingroup members attribute negative characteristics to an outgroup, such as being rude, selfish, flirtatious, aggressive, dishonest, and damaging. Interaction with the outgroup expects that all interactions will be negative, and this perpetuates continued bad attitudes towards the outgroup (Velasco González et al., 2008). These negative stereotypes can produce fear that can then affect the interaction between the majority and the minority. High inter-group anxiety leads to members of the ingroup often avoiding outgroup members, assigning them negative traits to explain their behaviour and justify discrimination against them (Jost and Banaji, 1994).

#### 2.20 Symbolic Threats

Symbolic threats arise because the perception exists that characteristics usually differ due to perceived group differences in world, religion, cultures, values, morals, attitudes and beliefs between an ingroup and outgroup. Because of these perceived differences, in groups, members

often dislike outgroup members and consequently prejudice them (Nshom and Croucher, 2017). Also, symbolic or cultural threats originate in inter-group conflict over the established social order, cultural traditions, and shared beliefs, norms, and values (Meuleman et al., 2018). However, the dominant cultures group will develop prejudice towards outgroups that threatens their specific symbolic interest (Meuleman et al., 2018). Moreover, it could also be argued that realistic threats and symbolic threats enter groups of intergroup anxiety. Group members will experience negative feelings toward the outgroup if they regard the members of the outgroup different beliefs, values and moral standards to their own beliefs, values and moral standards. Harmful contact with the outgroup also generates inter-group anxiety. This occurs even though the relationship between these two variables is far from simple and unidirectional. (Curşeu et al., 2007); Stephan and Stephan (2017) state that negative stereotypes are a significant predictor of both realistic and symbolic threats associated with the outgroups.

This latter type of threat is largely associated with public attitudes towards migrants. The types and nature of the threats are due to economic competition, cultural identity, security concerns and crime. In the case of xenophobic outbreaks in South Africa, dominant ingroup behaviour was also accompanied by escalating patterns of language that made use of dehumanising references to African migrants (Chigeza et al., 2013). Xenophobic attacks might target individuals but are the escalating pattern of inter-group violence where people are treated as a group that poses a threat to resources. Group interventions on a community level are recommended to promote individual interactions in which people from different groups so that they recognise one another as human beings (Chigeza et al., 2013).

Social positions of the individuals and their sense of group position, inter-group relations characterised by differential social contact, socio-economic competition and power balances, and available media and elite discourses might explain why prejudice is triggered toward one outgroup but not towards others (Hunsberger and Jackson, 2005). Nonetheless, if xenophobes view foreign nationals as a threat, they will generally attribute negative motives to 'the invader.' In 1999, 48% of South Africans saw migrants from neighbouring countries as a 'criminal threat', some 37% said they were a threat to jobs and the economy, and 29% that they brought (Crush, 2008).

Crush (2008) states that South Africans continue to consider African foreign nationals as a threat to their countries' social and economic well-being. There has been an increased hardening of attitudes have hardened since 1994. However, the roots of contemporary

xenophobia go back to the late 1800s. Under the minority white government of the time, the framing of Asian migrants as a threat created a fear of this group by turning British subjects into disenfranchised foreigners through clever procedures, including an innovative literacy test (Crush, 2008). A long history of exclusionary control accompanied this type of manufactured tension between different racial, cultural and ethnic groups. However, in the post-apartheid context, the treatment of foreign African nationals as a threat present is an anomaly. The post-1994 institutionalisation of democracy and the expansion of the voting franchise resulted in a differentiation between Black South Africans and African foreign nationals, where the latter was subsequently derided for stealing or hijacking the benefits of South African democracy. Ironically, eradicating a political system that had entrenched and legislated racist policies and practices resulted in an environment that reinforces xenophobia toward these neighbours (Klotz, 2013). The development of individual identities based on group identity means members of different groups react towards non-members based on their social identity linked with the group instead of their identity. Attempts to control the other party to deal with the incompatibility generally result in and are fuelled by antagonistic emotions (Deutsch et al., 2011).

Addressing or responding to this type of behaviour because of the repercussions and Gordon (2015) argues that anti-migrant sentiment can fuel violence and discrimination against foreigners and should be countered. This is especially important in a society like South Africa, which is committed to constitutionalism and multiculturalism. Any attempt to counter or reverse anti-migrant stereotypes requires a good understanding of such stereotypes and their determinants. Subjective indicators are related to the perception of national well-being can have an important relationship with anti-migrant stereotypes. Intergroup contact theory has long proposed that. Integrated threat theory holds that higher levels of various types of threat can deteriorate intergroup relations or prevent relations from becoming positive (Abrams and Eller, 2017). However, high-quality contact between members of different groups based upon friendship can result in positive intergroup relations

When differences are handled constructively, such conflict can be a source of learning, creativity, and social change toward a more pluralistic, harmonious, and equitable world. A starting point for constructively handling intergroup interactions requires developing an understanding of intergroup conflicts as they occur in each organisational, community, cultural, political, and societal setting, at the different levels of interactions(Deutsch et al., 2011).

In South Africa, violence directed at foreigners often occurs as part of rioting and general civic unrest. Often local leaders in these conflicts emphasise their autochthonous status and portray migrant communities as 'threats' to locals or strangers competing with the locals for power and land. This underlying belief serves to rationalise the violence directed at these groups. This is why any intervention to try and prevent such violence needs to be informed by research that allows for a better understanding of those factors that are driving such sentiments (Gordon, 2015).

Deutsch et al. (2011) explain that the most important objective, especially when attempting to protect powerless victims, is enforcing discontinuity of behaviour. In any abusive system, the first and most important intervention is toward making sure that the abuse is not repeated, that violence does not occur again, and that victims are no longer victimised. The end of violence is the responsibility of individuals and groups associated with the issues. An easy and superficial response is to protect victims solely and squarely on the shoulders of the law enforcement agents. This ignores the responsibility of other role-players in the broader environment. Therefore, it fails to recognise that preventing violence is the response of all parties in the whole societal system. Those who could defuse a conflict, but did not do it, are responsible. Suppose different groups or individuals can reduce the conflict and do not act. In that case, they are equally responsible for the violence as those who directly engage in such activities. The mitigating conflict between South Africans and foreign African nationals needs to look at how conflict can be transformed into a peaceful environment. In this instance, the structural transformation; refer to changes that need to be affected in the fundamental structures of conflict. This, therefore, means starting by identifying and understanding the issues and perceived incompatibility of the goals of the different actors. It also means examining the broader social, economic, and political context in which the conflict is embedded. Any form of asymmetric conflict cannot be addressed or transformed without changing the unbalanced and contested relationships that lie at their roots (Miall, 2004).

In South Africa, this means undertaking a very realistic assessment of the expectations of different groups in society versus the actual reality, and how this is linked to xenophobia. In the wake of 1994 and the political transition, many South Africa had heightened expectations about the benefits that would accrue. Any expectations based on an improvement in conditions and lifestyle result in increased hope and a belief that it will be realised (Ejoke and Ani (2017). While these expectations continue to exist, individuals and groups may remain passive. However, if these benefits are not realised, scapegoating out-groups is a common response.



This chapter has therefore looked at the theoretical arguments concerning the push-pull factors that lead to migration. It has also detailed those variables that underpin the hostility towards migrants, manifesting in international and national contexts. Such factors may be associated with political, economic, and social factors and ease of integration and shared cultural values. Integrated threat theory related to the ingroup and outgroup behaviour has been unpacked, demonstrating how threats to a dominant group's identity or access to resources can also result in prejudice and negative action. A well-developed understanding is necessary when developing any intervention to prevent violence and xenophobic behaviour. Understanding concepts in an analytical framework helps to focus on specific issues that fuel prejudice, negative stereotypes and, subsequently, xenophobia. These concepts can be used to identify the variety of factors that result in xenophobic beliefs and behaviour in different countries and whether there is a relationship between them. This is the logical starting point for examining how interventions might address such behaviour and reduce outbreaks of xenophobic violence.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

The chapter will explore the most recent and relevant literature and research concerning xenophobia as it manifests in different countries. It will start with a general overview of xenophobia in different areas of the world. The discussion will then focus on the particular type of xenophobia that has emerged in South Africa. The aim is to firstly identify broad determinants of xenophobia in the international context and then link this to how xenophobia

is caused and what actions it consists of in the South African context. This is the starting point for understanding how interventions should be developed to address such behaviour, as it occurs in the eThekweni municipality. In addition to looking at how and why conflict occurs between South Africans and African foreign nationals, the effects of xenophobia and treatment of refugees on the economy, safety, crime will also be assessed.

### 3.1 Globalization and Migration

Earlier in this study, migration was defined as either the permanent or temporary relocation of people over time from one place to another. The factors that give rise to migration vary considerably. The main theoretical arguments for this research have focused upon theories concerned with the push-pull factors at both the sources and destination areas (Jacobs and Du Plessis, 2016). Immigration has had a variety of different effects on both the public and political agenda in most well-developed countries for many years. The ‘pull’ factor that results in accelerated immigration is the increased mobility caused by cheaper and easier means of transportation, and the widening wealth gap between industrialized and developing countries. These factors can result in many people choosing to leave their country of origin to pursue opportunities that might lead to improved economic circumstances and a better quality of life. Local and regional conflicts which result in tens of thousands of homeless people and political refugees are among some of the more common ‘push’ factors. As a general rule, the arrival of new migrants into any country is bound to result in some changes. The nature and quantity of migrants arriving in destination countries will result in the effects being experienced in the destinations country’s culture, demography, and politics, religion as well as the economy and labour market (Cohen, 2017). While the effect of increased volumes of migrants might be benign, or even beneficial, the immediate impact, as well as a fear of unknown consequences by the local population, may result in negative reactions.

There is a substantial body of research on both internal and external migration and patterns of movement within and between countries. The underlying variables that give rise to migration may differ substantially depending on both the country of origin and the intended destination country, but large-scale patterns of movement is a key feature of the modern international context. The current migration trends that are taking place within countries in the European Union have received increasing attention and media coverage over the last decade. Migration between or to European countries started becoming more notable in the 1970s, but the causes and the impact are constantly evolving. Current migration is characterised by an increased

number of migrants originating from African countries, and while the overall percentage of these types of migrants is relatively small in comparison to migrants from other countries, the increased volume over the last few years has resulted in an increasing amount of attention being garnered. One key concern is how this type of migration affects the competitiveness of the labour market, especially on unskilled and low wage employment (Cohen, 2017). The competition between new arrivals and residents for these types of jobs has resulted in an increasing amount of resistance and hostility to migrants who compete for these jobs.

The push factors that have led to this type of increased migration have originated in a series of civil uprisings in several Arab countries around 2010 (Cohen, 2017). These started in 2010 in Tunisia and spread, resulting in a change of government in several countries including Libya and Egypt. Rebel movements opposing the incumbent government in Syria eventually resulted in civil war. These uprisings, termed the 'Arab Spring' have resulted in a growing number of refugees entering EU countries, which has had profound changes on the destination country's demographic composition, culture and employment market.

Migration in the European Union is not a new phenomenon, and countries in Southern Europe such as Italy, Greece and Spain all experienced increased immigration in the post-WWII period. The causes were mainly economic and were influenced by the impact of increased tourism and an expanding services industry which resulted in an improved local economy and an increasing demand for unskilled workers (Cohen, 2017).

The immediate impact however was the displacement of local workers from the normal employment sectors, increased rates of official unemployment and growth in the number of unemployed workers claiming benefits. Often, local workers continued to work informally while still receiving employment benefits. In Germany during the 1970s to mid-1980s, the growing number of refugees also resulted in increasing unemployment. The same trends were observed between 1993 early 2000 (Cohen, 2017).

However, South Africa operated under a system of institutionalising racial and ethnic segregation (Butler (2017). Although Apartheid is not the same as colonialism, there are similarities in terms of how Black, Indian and Coloured employees were viewed and treated. The political, social, and economic systems were designed to protect the interests of the white minority at the expense of the majority. Forced removals and the exclusion of the Black, Indian and Coloured South Africans from commercial farming were commonplace (Butler, 2017). The rapid developments that were taking place in South Africa created a demand for cheap

labour. By excluding Black South Africans' from engaging in their commercial activities. This intensified the system of cyclical African migrant labour that provided cheap workers for mines, factories, and commercial farms. After the Boer War, the English and Afrikaans formed a tenuous alliance and this eventually resulted in the establishment of the Union of South Africa. The political system at this point was based on exclusionary criteria related to race or ethnicity. This ensured that Black, Indian and Coloured South Africans had limited or no opportunities to engage with the political system (Butler (2017). During the Grand Apartheid era, race-based legislation, policies and strategies often resulted in people being forced to abandon their homes, livelihoods, and even families. While the unbanning of the ANC and other 'struggle' groups in 1990 did result in some changes such as representation in the political systems, no pragmatic policy measures were that were designed to address historically disadvantaged individuals (HDI) or groups (HDGs) The legacy and effects of apartheid are still affecting the current political, social and economic systems, and this results in the perpetuation of systematic and institutionalised racial oppression

### 3.2 Xenophobia in the United States of America

Current and historical factors have influenced race relations in the United States of America (USA). Prejudice and hostility continue to influence how certain groups are treated based upon their race or ethnicity (Sears et al., 1997). Negative perceptions of migrants held by members of the dominant in-group are just one of the factors that can lead to xenophobic and violent behaviour by its members. The following section will examine how negative attitudes towards migrants can lead to current expressions of prejudicial and xenophobic behaviour in the US and how this influences attitudes towards migrants (Yakushko, 2009).

Although the US is a nation descended from migrants, there is a long history of xenophobia and intolerance of foreign nationals. Before the early 1990s, barriers to immigration were virtually non-existent. During the 1900s, there were very few restrictions that regulated the arrival and behaviour of migrants, and white western Europeans, in particular, were able to enter the country with ease and no restrictions and in large numbers.

The United States has a long history of struggling to overcome racism and has continued to suffer the consequences of over two centuries of racial discrimination. Currently, it has committed itself to addressing racial prejudice and inequality. In 1998 it supported a resolution promulgated by the United Nations (UN) 1998 concerning addressing racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia, and related intolerance (Camponovo, 2002). However, there are

still significant racial disparities in many areas of the society concerning income, wealth, education attainment, health and so forth. Minority groups continue to be marginalised and are often the target of intolerance and hostility. High-profile racial discrimination cases, as well as an apparent increase in hate crimes and violence, reflect the persistent and insidious nature of racism. However, there has been some success in fighting racism “laws and policies of discriminatory intent and effect and, racism still permeates American society (Camponovo, 2002).

The majority of African Americans today can probably trace their heritage back to the system of chattel slavery. Despite a social, political and economic system that is supposed to support and encourage anti-racism, racial problems continue to plague the current system (Sears et al., 2000). Many researchers and observers feel that the country has been in a state of racial crisis since the civil war. Racial issues have been on the political agenda for a significant period, but very few successful interventions have been initiated, and the problems still exist. Recently, the treatment of people of colour have received a significant amount of coverage in the media, and these reports have highlighted how minority groups are subject to targeted racial attacks by members of the public and law enforcement personal. Structural and institutional racism still influence the type of behaviour that members of minority groups experience, and for the most part, these have been negative.

### 3.3 Xenophobia in Europe

In Europe, immigration has resulted in significant changes to neighbourhoods, cities and countries. Vast numbers of migrants have travelled to different countries in the EU, and the majority of these no longer come from countries that have traditionally been the origin point. While some migrants are expected or even invited by the country’s government, some have come to take advantage of seasonal work, and their stay is temporary. There is also a growing number of migrants who are looking for a country in which they can settle (Dancygier, 2010). The arrival of these new types of migrants has resulted in ongoing debates by countries belonging to the European Union. This is usually concerned with the type and extent of social services the state should extend to migrants. Opponents of these measures argue that these

programs foster a culture of dependency and become a financial burden on the state. (Escandell and Ceobanu, 2017). Supporters of such moves believe this will encourage the integration of migrants into society.

The arrival of migrants is also seen as a positive factor, especially in countries with declining birth rates and an ageing workforce. Ease of integration, demand for labour, improved economic opportunities and quality of life, and the host country's political stability all act as 'pull' factors. 'Push' factors in the country of origin can be limited employment opportunities available economic hardship, and political unrest Dancygier (2010) explains that while employment opportunities are an important motivator, there have been suggestions that redistributive social programs also attract unskilled workers, who may be interested in getting a job, but are also encouraged by in potential unemployment benefits and other compensations.

There are two main types of conflict associated with migrant interactions. Migrant – Native conflict involves the sustained confrontation between a migrant and south Africans. This can result from social, cultural or religious issues or even arising from the instigation of local political parties that espouse xenophobic views. Attacks range from verbal abuse to physical attacks directed against migrants (Dancygier, 2010). The second type of conflict is known as a migrant–state conflict. This involves a sustained confrontation between members of the migrant population and state actors in a given locality. Conflict might involve low-level antagonism displayed during encounters. Conflict can also include major disturbances between migrants and state actors (Dancygier, 2010). Generally, the state actors here are local law enforcement who frequently deal with this type of conflict.

Varela and Barbosa Pereira (2018) argue that migrants are used to encouraging wage depreciation and lower salaries. Many migrants will accept less than the going rate or minimum wage. Therefore, they are more likely to be hired compared to locals who have previously been employed and paid the official going rate. Payments can be made 'under the table' so that the amounts are not reflected in banking records. Competition among migrants for jobs, particularly unskilled ones, can lead to further wage suppression and job losses for locals. This type of perception can quickly give rise to racist behaviour, as migrants will be blamed for limited employment opportunities and lower wages. Potential employers are the party with the upper hand here because migrants have a source of cheap labour. If a migrant worker is a cheap worker, an illegal migrant worker is even cheaper. If a migrant worker is more easily expelled from the labour market in Holland, unemployment among the Dutch is only 7%, whereas it is

around 30% for migrants (Jopkke, 2007). The potential for racial strife becomes heightened when there is economic insecurity, and egalitarian principles may be discarded when the real impact of less employment and lower wages begins to affect.

### 3.4 Xenophobia in the United Kingdom

One factor that has increased xenophobic attitudes and behaviour in the United Kingdom has been the arrival of migrants from post-colonial countries. The response to their arrival varied depending on the location. The emergence of xenophobic political parties and organisations like the National Front, which initially developed in London's East End, is partially attributed to the arrival of these migrants. However, in other ethnically diverse areas such as the western London boroughs and migrant destinations farther north such as Manchester or Liverpool, there was no corresponding electoral backlash against the newcomers (Dancygier, 2010). During the 1970s and 1980s, there were several large-scale confrontations and disturbances between new migrants and the police. Not all ethnically diverse urban areas were affected, and not all migrant groups have been involved in these clashes. Migrants of West Indian descent were more likely to clash with state representatives like the police.

In contrast, their South Asian counterparts have been more likely to be targeted by white Britons (Dancygier, 2010). Variations in these patterns of behaviour between different countries are not uncommon. There have been many countries within the European Union that have seen the emergence of anti-migrant, far-right national parties and organisations. Confrontations between migrants and the state actors have generally not been as extensive in countries like Germany, despite the strained relations between minority migrant groups and the police in places like Berlin in the 2000s. In France, outbreaks of anti-migrant behaviour began in the 1970s and, by the 1980s, had become widely spread. Clashes between migrants and residents and the police had led to cities like Marseille becoming known as the racist capital of Europe. However, just a few decades later, the port city was one of the locations characterised by minimum disturbances during the 2005 riots (Dancygier, 2010).

Over the past two decades, the number of migrants entering the European Union has risen substantially. There has also been a rapid increase in violent altercations and clashes between police and locals. The more conservative and extreme right-wing politicians have been quick to capitalise on this window of opportunity and increase their support base by very vocally taking an anti-migrant stance. Extremist political parties like Vlaams Belang (VB) have positioned themselves on an inflexible and uncompromising anti-immigration stance as a

campaign platform. In this particular instance, VB garnered enough electoral support to the majority party in Antwerp's local government from 1994 to 2000 (Dancygier, 2010).

These types of conflicts are both likely to occur when the state is the central actor in disbursing scarce goods, as opposed to the market. The state is far more aware and sensitive about the costs of anti-migrant or anti-state activity. Dancygier (2010) explains that state actors are more sensitive than market actors to the anti-migrant and anti-state activities' costs. Immigration may result in economic resources becoming scarce because of the impact on the supply of and demand for economic goods in this location. Invariably, migrants navigate toward areas where employment is plentiful. However, the state might not always ensure that foreign workers have access to the number of local resources or physical infrastructure like housing or school sufficient to their needs. When governments encourage or tolerate immigration but do not take steps to help localities absorb the inflow of migrants, the difference in economic conditions across cities and towns within countries can be a determining factor in initiating or escalating conflict (Dancygier, 2010). Explanations of anti-migrant behaviour and attitudes of native-born majority members are often tied to economic competition and deprivation (Baumgartl and Favell, 1995). Moreover, Ziller and Goodman (2017)) point out that the distribution of specific local or community resources through either competition or political activity may also directly or indirectly influence native-born residents' anti-migrant attitudes and behaviour. The anti-migrant behaviour is observed in the rich and the impoverished community alike. (Ziller and Goodman, 2017).

The use of policies to effect fair resource allocation between locals and migrants reduces the likelihood of competition over economic goods. Consequently, the incidence of migrant conflict in the areas is lowered, and locals are less likely to mobilise against migrants to ensure their economic welfare. In the absence of this type of guidance, locals' material well-being could be vulnerable because local resource shortages might occur, or the situation may enable migrants to make economic claims at the expense of native residents (Dancygier, 2010).

Although access to resources and economic stability are key factors that affect the emergence of xenophobia, some studies suggest other variables come into place. One argument that has been put forward to explain why xenophobia occurs in countries that are part of the European Union attributes it to the need of locals to protect their national culture from foreigners (2009). This is due to the perception that the different cultures carried by foreigners may threaten the integrity of their own culture. In some cases, citizens from Western and Eastern European



nations share a similar approach to protecting their distinct national cultures. This perception is often combined with the belief that the locals feel that they are a privileged group with special rights, few obligations, and a desire to keep apart from society (Taras, 2009). Antipathy towards migrants is reinforced by efforts to ensure that their boundaries protect national identities or a national sense of belonging

### 3.5 Xenophobia in Russia

In contemporary Russia, xenophobia is usually closely linked to ethnodoxology, which is the relationship between ethnonational identities and the most dominant religion in the country (Barry 2000). Affiliation with and adherence to the dominant religion is seen as an essential and highly influential factor during the development of a national identity for ethnic Russians. This has resulted in a close affiliation between the state and the Russian Orthodox Church. Whereas the prominence and influence of religion on identity development has begun to decline in many other countries, Russia is proving to be an exception. It has played a critical role in constructing national identity and has shown substantial growth (Barry 2000). Although certain benefits (including religious education and property rehabilitation) may accrue as a result of a symbiotic relationship between Church and State that give rise to certain benefits. The problem with this type of specific ethnoreligious belief is it has begun to be associated with the increase and spread of extremist particularistic and xenophobic attitudes. Research has indicated that religion itself may not necessarily result in xenophobia. However, Russian Orthodoxy's fundamentalist ethos and conservative values do perpetuate negative stereotypes of migrants. The prioritisation of ethnic nationalism and religion on the part of ethnic Russians results in ethnodoxology being exclusive, leading to the creation of in-groups and out-groups. The spread of an exclusivist national, ethnic identity has also been accompanied by increased fascist and xenophobic attitudes. One interesting issue that has emerged from the research on ethnodoxology in Russia is that titular groups like the ethnic Russians usually are less tolerant than non-titular groups (Barry 2018). Ethnic minorities also show far more tolerance to migrants and are less hostile than ethnic Russians towards minority groups and migrants.

### 3.6 Xenophobia in Africa

The key factors that have resulted in the emergence and spread of xenophobia in the African countries can be attributed to some things that range from competition over scarce resources to the envy of specific groups due to perceived advantages. The nature and impact of these factors

vary depending on the context in which they occur. One of the more common causes of escalating xenophobic outbreaks is the continued effect of colonialism.

During the past few years, there has been an effort to reposition the African continent in the globalising world to take care of interactions and relationships among its nation-states and the rest of the world (Mogekwu, 2005). Colonialism is said to have militarised African societies and imposed a violent character upon the state, leading to the institutionalisation of a culture of violence within the state and society. This explains the diverse forms of political instability, insurgency, terrorism, and civil war experienced in many African countries (Wilson and Magam, 2018).

### 3.7 Xenophobia in Ghana and Nigeria

In Ghana, the history of xenophobia and discrimination was fuelled by the perception of foreign African nationals benefiting at the expense of residents. One of the most notable instances of hostility towards foreign African nationals occurred during the 1930/31 cocoa-hold-up, which was aimed at European firms. At the time, an influx of migrants, who were usually from Nigeria, had resulted in a significant foreign national presence in certain areas. These migrants had become successful businessmen, and the widely held perception by residents is that they were benefiting at the expense of Ghanaians. The opposition of Nigerian cocoa farmers towards the local king of Ayem Abukwa between 1930 and 1931, who supported the cocoa hold-up, rapidly resulted in Ghanaian citizens agitating for the deportation of aliens or strangers. Traditional authorities approached the colonial government to enact measures that would see ‘troublemakers’ who consistent broadly of migrants, to be kept out of the region and punished by the deportation of all who opposed the customary laws. Migrants were held responsible for the economic and social plight of locals. Although the economics did result in the deportation of several foreigners, xenophobia was also a contributing factor. The perception was that non-residents were accruing Ghanaian wealth that they were not entitled to. Local hostility was further exacerbated by the perception that the increasing levels of crime and inability of locals to find employment were the result of migrant’s activity. In 1959, the Deportation Act passed by the Ghanaian government allowed for the expulsion of individual foreign nationals. However, in 1969 the Alien Control Act was passed and subsequently used to deport foreign African nationals en masse (Wilson and Magam, 2018).

While xenophobic attitudes in some countries manifest in the unofficial stance that governments exhibit in the treatment of foreign African Nationals, the incorporation of

xenophobic practices into different countries legislation is still somewhat uneven. Ghana was one of the first post-colonial African countries to demonstrate xenophobic attitudes that were codified into the country's legislative system. The Alien's Compliance order of 1969 issued by the Ghanaian government, which primarily aimed at expelling Nigerian nationals, was in later decades reciprocated by the infamous 'Ghana must go' anti-migrant acts passed by Nigerian governments in the late 1980s and early 1990 (Wilson and Magam, 2018). Xenophobia in African countries generally takes the form of Afrophobia. This does not mean that other foreign nationals from minority groups do not experience xenophobic behaviour. Xenophobic behaviour from ethnic groups like the Chinese and Indians occurred in both the historical and immediate context. The latter experienced a substantial amount of discriminatory and prejudicial treatment during the 1970s. However, in the current environment, most violent xenophobia is directed towards citizens coming from other African nations (Kersting, 2009).

In many African countries, hostility and discriminatory treatment may occur between communities and groups from different areas. In such cases, the term strangers do not refer only to foreign nationals. However, they can be used to describe outsiders to one's communities, locality or province, or one's ethnic or languages group (Fourchard and Segatti, 2015a). Therefore, Xenophobia may take on features of External perceptions of autochthony indigeneity and ethnicity in African countries. It often contains an analytical bias where it is seen as primarily an ethnic related phenomenon rooted in where xenophobia is associated with 'ethnic or firstcomer' prejudices rooted in the past.

In contrast, xenophobia in Western countries is associated with nationalism or non-ethnic citizenship claims that are linked with countries through the place of birth and or residence. Fourchard and Segatti (2015a) argue that autochthony, nativism and indignity should be viewed as local concepts used by actors in situations of xenophobia (Fourchard and Segatti, 2015a). However, research on contemporary xenophobia in African countries should be concerned with how ethnic identities shaped through colonial rule have resulted in ethnic divisions in multicultural and multi-ethnic societies. These are amplified by increasingly acute inequalities, rapid population growth and rapid and jobless urbanisation (Fourchard and Segatti, 2015a).

According to Fourchard and Segatti (2015a) in Nigeria, the categories 'indigenes' and 'non-indigenes' have been institutionalised by the Federal State and have resulted in their legitimacy being internalized through political practices. In the 1950s and 1960s, ideologies based on regionalism favoured citizens of one region over the other two. By the 1970s, this practice was

formalised as indigeneity that granted rights and privileges to groups designated as indigenes. Consequently, non-indigenes were subject to discriminatory treatment, and numerous violent conflicts between indigenes and non-indigenes began. The clashes were primarily driven by the narrative of ‘true indigenes’ that resulted in the institutionalisation of discriminatory laws and inequitable access to local citizenship (Gill et al., 2018).

### 3.8 Xenophobia in Kenya.

How xenophobic behaviour has emerged in Kenya has been characterised by ethnic divisions over competition for specific resources. In the Wajir district, located in Kenya’s north-eastern province, there is a history of violent clashes between the three clans comprised of Somali pastoralist communities. By the 1990s these clashes had escalated in the struggle for control over scarce resources such as land and water and aggravated by political rivalry. Political representation at a national level resulted in political patronage that influenced access to land. The proximity of this region to Ethiopia and Somalia exacerbated the situation by refugees crossing the border to provide their clansmen with guns. This was also aggravated by a high level of youth unemployment and poverty. By the early 1990s, the traditional tribal system had broken down, and the religious system had been compromised by the involvement of local sheikhs supporting different sides. The commissar and government were ineffectual when mitigating the conflict, and a regional state of emergency was declared in December 1992.

A group of women from the area formed a committee to try and deal with the problem. They began by approaching other women from the clans, enacting an age-old tradition where women serve as peacemakers. They started by liaising with their male counterparts to get the traditional system operating again. Joint discussions were held about which elders in the clans should be approached, who would act as the liaison and how this should be done. They also tried to address the breakdown in the system of government by asking one of the members of parliament to help remove the current district commissioner who was contributing to the escalation of the conflict. Somali religious leaders from other regions were also asked to help restore responsible behaviour in the religious system.

Once all three systems started to work again and some semblance of peace was achieved, the team started to set up mechanisms for monitoring the situation to avoid future conflicts. They also planned to set up rapid response teams as a contingency measure to deal with conflicts as they rose. The group made two critical decisions regarding the approach to use to resolve conflict:

Firstly, they made use of the straightforward methods of conflict resolution that predated colonial rule. This approach focused on restoring the relationship between victim and offender through the far-reaching use of discussion using legitimate mediators from within the communities. The elders to seek a cease-fire and organise a reconciliatory meeting between the warring clan which resulted in the formation of a peace group. The peace initiative also approached religious leaders and encouraged them to preach peace in the open-air markets across the district. They also co-opted young people by enlisting their support and involvement in the peace initiative, which dealt with the disaffected youth.

### 3.9 Xenophobia in Algeria.

Xenophobia in Algeria has also primarily emerged between different ethnic groups residing in the same areas. In 2011 escalating tensions between the Berber and Arab communities in a town resulted in a series of violent clashes. The origins of the crisis lay in the decision of the local government to build a school in the area to a town dominated by the Berber community (Frazer, Frazer, Owen & Ghetas, Lakhdar, 2013). The Arab community had been pressing the government to build it in their area by stopping their children's attendance for two terms as well as burning down the town hall. Individuals and families from these different communities were displaced from one part of the town to other areas, and increasingly hostile clashes resulted in concomitant risks for the public. The growing insecurity posed a significant risk because of the likelihood that it would result in regional or even national unrest. Both the government and the provincial authorities were unsure how to deal with this local conflict, which had already claimed lives. The local authorities accused the Berber community of bearing responsibility for the loss of life and damage to property. The local authorities suggested that the conflict be dealt with by traditional tribunal structures. However, they had been unable to reform and reinvent their role in the local community and felt pressured by the government to maintain the status quo.

They were tasked with resolving the conflict using these traditional tribal structures. At the same time, they were also trying to avoid the Berber community's call to investigate the role of local authorities in the year-long crisis (Frazer et al., 2013). Mediation took place using two processes. Reconciliation was pursued by traditional authorities working with official representatives (such as the chief of police, governor, and local government officials). This approach is aimed at managing the crisis and addressing the fears and tense atmosphere among the population (Frazer et al., 2013). Several meetings were held with the key actors from each

of the communities (including youth leaders, imams, tribal chieftains and other important community figures) to convince them to lead calls for peace in the spirit of reconciliation.

The second approach used were the official responses by the government, which used strategies of conflict resolution. Some communication channels were opened with the Arab community using indirect messengers and families where Berbers and Arabs had married (Frazer et al., 2013). Unfortunately, the perception of the Berber's, especially the younger individuals, was that the process which primarily emphasised resolution according to traditional methods had failed to yield any fair results. The result was a resumption of the conflict soon after the peace process concluded. The approach here shows that while traditional methods can have utility, formal and official processes should also deal with perceived wrongs.

### 3.10 Xenophobia and South Africa

In South Africa today, violence directed at foreigners has emerged as rioting and general civic unrest (Gordon, 2015). Although in 1993, a memorandum of understanding was signed between the South African government and the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) that allowed refugees to enter South Africa. This has not necessarily meant that foreign migrants had been welcomed by residents (Palmary, 2002). As a signatory of this MOU, the South African was and still is obliged to take in refugees, ensuring that refugees are treated fairly and receive some degree of support from the public sector. The current immigration does not pose significantly more challenges than those experienced in the past. However, the volatile international economy has exacerbated economic difficulties and resulting social strife, which contributes to the increased movement of migrants. The occurrence and increase of well-documented, catastrophic events in Southern Africa like the economic downturn in Zimbabwe and proxy wars experienced in Mozambique are some of the most recent causes of mass population shifts in the region (Magidimisha, 2018).

South Africa past was characterised by prejudice, racial intolerance, and hostility towards certain racial and ethnic groups. A historical analysis reveals a pattern of behaviour exemplified by clashes between ethnic, racial, and cultural groups. While this type of behaviour is not unique to the South African context, its history of repressive race-based policies under both colonial and Apartheid rule has resulted in the current form of xenophobia manifesting in fairly unique ways. This is useful to some extent when trying to understand what factors have contributed to xenophobic incidents that have occurred post-1994, which has seen a dramatic increase in their scale and violence.

### 3.11 Immigration Patterns in South Africa

The history of migration to the area now known as South Africa has been characterised by the internal movement of groups from other geographic locales African continent and external migration from other continents. Current archaeological and historical evidence shows that the first great southern migration of the Bantu-speaking groups began about 3500 years ago, around 1500 BC. The movement of these communities from the western parts of the continent was primarily driven by the change from a hunter-gather lifestyle that was sustained by nomadic activities to one that was based on farming. At this time, the oldest inhabitants who were resident in South Africa were communities referred to collectively as the Khoisan found in what is now the Western Cape province. These are, however, two very distinct groups whose differences were reflected in both the languages spoken and their way of life. The sans were foragers and hunter-gatherers with a unique spoken language, whereas the Khoi were primarily pastoralists who hunted when the situation required, such as times of drought (Wilkins, 2015).

The arrival of external white migrants from outside of the African continent is formally recorded as 6 April 1652 when Jan van Rieback arrived with three ships to start a trading station that would service and provision passing ships (Davenport & Saunders, 2000). This eventually resulted in establishing a settlement in the Cape under the control of the Dutch East India Company. It is beyond the scope of this research to give a complete account of past clashes and conflicts that came to characterise interactions between the different racial, cultural, and ethnic groups present in South Africa. However, research shows that encounters between racial, cultural, and ethnic groups were often characterised by hostility and violence. This type of behaviour became more and more commonplace as both the British and Boer communities used brutal measures against other race groups as a means of control. What is apparent and relevant to the key research objectives of this study is that hostility towards foreign African nationals is rooted further in the past than most people are aware of. The migrant labour system played a prominent role in shaping these sentiments.

During both the colonial and Apartheid era, South Africa was the destination for many migrant workers looking for employment. These migrants were primarily from Lesotho, Mozambique, Swaziland, Botswana, and Malawi, which historically have always served as labour reserves that supplied the migrant labour system in South Africa (Magidimisha, 2018). The need for the type of migrant labour system that eventually became a predominant aspect of the employment sector in the 1880s was driven by the discovery of diamonds in 1967 and gold in 1886. The

discovery of these resources and the opening up of a new economy initially exacerbated the existing tension and hostility between the British and the Boers. This hostility and competition over scarce resources, which would eventually become a common occurrence between different cultural, racial or ethnic groups in the future, culminated in the Boer War between 1899-1902 (Harris & Reilly, 1998).

### 3.12 Racial Prejudice and Discrimination in the pre-1994 period

By 1910 however, these two white communities had forged a tenuous unity as the Boer republics (Transvaal and Orange Free State) and the British colonies (Natal and the Cape) were joined. This alliance was an event founded on and at the expense of black suffrage. Measures enacted firstly under the colonial powers and then under the governance of the National Party from 1948 controlled and ruthlessly suppressed any possibility of competition between white and black race groups (Harris & Reilly, 1998). These severe social and economic measures were only enforced to ensure that any commercial activity undertaken by black communities could not threaten the economic interests of British and Boer communities. Any attempts to eliminate competition between migrant and local workers were less rigorous, and hostility towards the former on the part of the latter was also a common feature of the labour system that served the mines (Tati., 2008).

The alliance between the British colonies and Boer Republics marked an epoch in the history of South Africa. It was also an event whose impact on the other racial and ethnic groups in South Africa did not go unquestioned. During the 1930s, several investigative commissions were convened to determine whether economic growth based on a system of racial discrimination was a sustainable form of discrimination; and it was this alliance that also spurred the formation of the African National Congress (ANC) in 1912 (Harris, and Reilly, 1998). Therefore, it marked the start of the prolonged struggle for political participation by Black, Indian and Coloured South Africans.

The social, economic, and political legislation control systems used were based on racial segregation and discrimination, which played a large part in its development and current manifestation. The colonial and Apartheid periods of rule were marked by continual contestation over the right to live and work in different areas and pursue diverse employment forms.



Legislation like the Urban Area Act of 1923 and the male migrant labour system resulted in certain race groups, particularly Black South Africans, becoming temporary and impermanent residents in white urban areas (Maharaj et al., 2017). The process of forced displacement and relocation of settled and established black communities was continuous. By the time of the Group Areas Act of 1950, most Black South Africans had been pushed to the townships at the distant periphery of white areas or banished to homeland areas.

The internal conflict between Black, Indian and Coloured South Africans during this period were not unheard of. Competition over the types of jobs available to individuals due to race led to conflict between these groups. While the ruling powers certainly did not overtly foster racial tension between these groups by any official means, they did not enforce any substantive policies that would mitigate the development or outbreak of such hostilities. Unless, of course, these types of clashes impacted the activities of the white population.

Even though the political, economic, and social system was characterised by race-based segregation and discrimination, South Africa served as a refuge for other Africans fleeing hostile conditions in their own countries. Ironically, the situations in the border states that caused an influx of many refugees into South Africa were often a result of the destabilising effect of Apartheid rule. One of the more well-known examples of this type of forced migration occurred during the 1980s where the Apartheid government authorised the status of political refugees when an estimated 250000 and 350000 migrants fled from hostilities in neighbouring countries. Technically this allowed them to settle in the Bantustans or (black homelands) created by the apartheid government (Crush, 2001). The post-1994 period has been characterised by the growing stigmatisation of and violent foreign nationals due to the triple legacy created by the colonial powers and later entrenched under apartheid rule. These factors include:

- (i) The use of cheap and disposable migrant labour in a country in which high levels of structural unemployment have resulted in waged labour become strongly identified with post-apartheid citizenship.
- (ii) The racial and social stereotyping of migrants by township dwellers who are rooted in the history of urban residency rights; and
- (iii) The indeterminacy of migrants' place in South African society produced by the South African public administration of home affairs through a corrupt and chaotic system of

permits and a massive deportation policy regulating the presence of foreigners by removing them (Fourchard and Segatti, 2015c).

Clashes between different ethnic, racial and cultural groups are not an unknown phenomenon in South Africa, and a historical analysis reveals a pattern of this type of behaviour. The city of Durban has had its share of a history of violent attacks by one race group on another. In 1949 there was a significant amount of hostility between the descendants of indentured Indian labourers and the Zulu community. The hostility arose because of the perception that the Indian community benefited at the expense of the Zulu community, and the resentment built up to create a volatile environment (Cinini, 2015). Violence broke out as members of the community the latter attacked members of the former, to a devastating effect. According Padayachee (1986) the final toll was as follows:

*“142 (87 Africans, 50 Indians, one white and 4 others whose identity could not be determined); injured; 1 087 (541 Africans, 503 Indians, 11 Coloureds and 32 whites; of the injured 58 died); buildings destroyed: 1 factory, 58 stores and 247 dwellings; buildings damaged: 2 factories, 652 stores and 1 285 dwellings”.*

This was not the only time that hostility between Black and Indian South Africans resulted in a brutal attack. In 1985 another brutal attack was conducted by members of the Zulu community on South African Indians. Prejudicial and misguided beliefs fuelled both attacks.

### 3.13 Foreign Nationals and Xenophobia in South Africa

To many outside observers, the African continent seems to be continually characterised by ongoing crises and violent confrontation, resulting in intrastate conflict, collapsing states and failed states Zartman (1995) This has resulted in weak government systems, especially in collapsed states where any structures of legitimacy and authority and legal systems and those that create social order are ineffective or inexistent. The impact of additional people from other countries results in an increased burden on local structures and services. However, in South Africa, the number of migrants is a relatively small percentage of the overall population. Research shows that the existing legislation generally excludes them from being recipients of local social services and their economic activity stimulates local development (Landau et al., 2005). Although attitudes towards migrants vary across South Africa's socio-economic and

ethnic spectrum, there is strong evidence that foreign nationals' groups, especially those from other African countries, are the recipients of discriminatory treatment. This behaviour is widespread and occurs at the hands of citizens, government officials, the police, and private organisations contracted to manage their detention and deportation (Landau et al., 2005). The result is the emergence of xenophobic attitudes that manifest primarily in Afrophobic beliefs and behaviour and are prevalent among lower-income groups. Despite the correlation between poverty and prejudice, Ejoke and Ani (2017) argue that Afrophobia should not be seen as the problem of the poor. They explain that the prevalence of negative stereotyping against African foreigners in South Africa is a consequence of the dynamics of intergroup relations established under the country's authoritarian colonial period and then perpetuated under apartheid rule.

The unofficial treatment by government officials in South Africa has resulted in foreign nationals facing disproportionate difficulties accessing employment, accommodation, banking services, and health care (Landau et al., 2005). It has also legitimised extortion, corruption, and the arbitrary arrest and detention of suspected non-nationals (including children and dark-skinned South Africans). Foreigners are also disproportionately the victims of crime relative to the size of their communities in the population. While past xenophobic behaviour has been directed mainly at foreign African nationals, research shows that increasing reports suggest that new arrivals from the Indian sub-continent are beginning to face discrimination (Landau et al., 2005). However, the current patterns of violence still demonstrate that victims of xenophobic attacks are still mainly comprised of foreign African nationals.

The commitment to universal rights and the promises of cosmopolitanism embedded in the legislative and policy systems in the country fail to prevent refugees, asylum seekers, and other foreign African migrants from experiencing systematic discrimination, social exclusion, and political alienation. This is perhaps amplified because of the government's current failures to address its own citizens' needs in an environment characterised by growing inequality that is still patterned along racial and ethnic lines. Although migrants are generally better educated than the South Africans, they live among them, and many have specialised training and entrepreneurial experience, they still face difficulties finding employment (Landau et al., 2005).

The growth and increase of migration is a growing phenomenon internationally. The impact of globalisation and changes in influx control of different countries has increased immigration to destination countries with perceived economic and social benefits. Between 1960 and 2000,

the number of international migrants in Africa increased from 9 million to 16 million (Flahaux and De Haas, 2016). However, a review of the statistics shows a significant change in their countries of origin. Nigeria and South Africa, which combined contribute almost half of Africa's GDP, experienced declines in immigration in 2016 (Kihato, 2018). South Africa is a significant migration destination on the continent and has historically played an essential role in facilitating regional labour migration to work in mines and manufacturing. However, there has been an increase in pressure on its labour market because of stagnating growth and increasing levels of poverty and inequality. South Africa is subject to the same pressures experienced by other similar Sub-Saharan countries, which are preferred destination points. Their ability to absorb an influx of migrants pursuing work opportunities has faced restrictions caused by a contraction of their larger economies and an increase in the population size of their citizens. The combination of these external and internal factors contributes to their inability to improve or even maintain their own citizens' economic stability and situations (Alwal et al., 2018). The influx of work-seeking migrants to South Africa is prompted by the lure of better economic opportunities and driven by political instability and economic hardship in their home countries (Mosselson, 2010).

One aspect that has been somewhat overlooked when examining the phenomenon of migration both internationally and nationally is the intersection between class differentiation, economic indigenisation and the politics of belonging (Fourchard and Segatti, 2015b). Current research in South Africa has to date devoted a limited amount of attention to the class differences obscured and hiding underneath hostility directed at the xenophobic activity. A full interrogation of the literature that explores all the issues surrounding what is referred to as 'economic indigenisation' is beyond the scope of this investigation because of the restrictions on the length and word count. The most relevant issues concerning this research are that these studies have been concerned mainly with the economic impact of post-independence nationalisation processes. The field of inquiry has been concerned with how trade has been the reserve of nationals and affirmative action programmes; it has hardly ever analysed these processes' discursive patterns and identity dynamics (Fourchard and Segatti, 2015b).

### 3.14 Immigration and Xenophobia in South Africa in the post-1994 period.

Conflict arising from increased immigration has contributed to xenophobic behaviour for several different reasons. These factors vary according to different cultural, economic, political,

and social dynamics and are in a continuous state of flux. Political refugees are prompted by safety and asylum motives, while economic opportunities attract work-seekers. The presence of foreign nationals (refugees, asylum seekers and migrants) in South Africa has given rise to new forms of social division. These can result in varying degrees of tension between migrants and residents who share a common socio-economic position. The post-1994 period may have seen the adoption of a more open political system. However, it has also been characterised by significant growth of deep-rooted fears and dislike of African foreign nationals. The end of Apartheid increased migrants' perceived economic opportunities that the newly democratic country might offer. Competition over scarce resources like jobs and other economic opportunities has substantially influenced perceptions and attitudes to migrants, particularly those from other African countries. Adjai (2010) discusses how the new South African, which was supposed to have been built on the culture of inclusiveness, tolerance and human rights. These values are embodied in its 1996 constitution. The rule of law, respect of human rights and the adoption of liberal economic policies has made South Africa a favourable destination for migrant seeking refuge and those wanting to improve themselves economically. The institutionalisation of these democratic principles has resulted in South Africa becoming an attractive hub for nationals African from countries that are at best described as pseudo-democracies where their citizens have little or no economic prospects (Adjai and Lazaridis, 2013).

A new dimension to the segregation, discrimination and prejudice that dominated South Africa's history has become increasingly prevalent. It is reflected in attitudes towards foreign nationals, especially black foreigners from other African countries (Idehen and Osaghae, 2015). Current research does demonstrate that these outlooks vary across South Africa's socio-economic and ethnic spectrum. Existing research shows strong evidence that African foreign nationals living or working in South Africa face discrimination at the hands of citizens, government officials, the polices, and even those private organisations contracted to manage their detention and deportation (Landau et al., 2005). Foreign nationals face disproportionate difficulties accessing employment, accommodation, banking services, and health care. The South African government's current apathy has also legitimised extortion, corruption, and the arbitrary arrest and detention of suspected non-South African nationals (including children and dark-skinned South Africans). Foreigners are also disproportionately the victim of crime.

The economic causes of xenophobia have been amplified by changes in the demand for labour in South Africa. During the 1990s, the South African mines underwent major downsizing and

retrenchments resulting in considerable social disruption and increased poverty in regions and countries that were sources of labour. By the 1990s, only the gold and platinum mines continued to employ domestic and foreign migrant labour, other local mining sectors in South Africa. Elsewhere in the region (including Zambia, Zimbabwe) had already shifted to a stabilized workforce of either locals or resident migrants in smaller numbers. An interesting trend was that local employees were let go at far higher rates than foreign workers (Wilson, 1976). The result of this was that the proportion of foreign workers rose from 40% in the late 1980s to close to 60 % today. This externalization of the workforce was particularly beneficial to Mozambique, which currently makes up 25% of the mining workforce. This is an increase of 10 % compared to a decade ago (Crush et al., 2005). (Viltoft, 2018).

### 3.15 Xenophobia and the links to post-apartheid identity formation in South Africa

Another contributing factor to xenophobia has been how the current national identity in post-apartheid South Africa has been developed. This identity is firmly rooted in ideas surrounding national sovereignty and the perceived superiority of South Africans compared to foreign African migrants (Beetar, 2019). This belief in their superiority is rooted in perceptions that South Africa offers better economic conditions and employment conditions than other African countries and reinforces South African exceptionalism. In the post-1994 period, the South African government faced the immense task in the newly democratic context to develop the means to establish common bonds between different groups in a diverse, multicultural country that was fractured along ethnic and national lines. Unfortunately, the emphasis on the inclusivity of South African residents was accompanied by a narrative that excluded foreign nationals (Moyo et al., 2018). This narrative of exclusivity was mainly reserved for African foreign nationals and failed to discriminate between recent migrants and foreign nationals born in South Africa. Xenophobic attitudes have not only been fuelled by economic competition and an exclusive, chauvinist national identity. They have also been given expression by the official stance of the current government. This, combined with the neglect and failure of the South African government to acknowledge and address the anger and subsequent hostility of its citizens, only serves to fuel anti-migrant sentiment (Beetar, 2019; Gordon, 2015). There is a critical need to study the causes and the extent of anti-migrant sentiment, better understand what forces are driving it, and how it can be addressed (Gordon, 2015).

### 3.16 Legislation and Immigration in South Africa

Since 1994, the South Africa government has passed almost 200 pieces of new legislation, but despite the continued and increasing numbers of migrants, the development and implementation of laws, policies, and regulations have been comparatively slow (Palmary, 2002). The table below shows the legislation and policy approaches that have been introduced in the pre-1994 to 2006 to regulate immigration into South Africa and control the influx of illegal, irregular and undocumented migrants. The Immigration Act of 2002 has been the subject of criticism because its focus has been mainly concerned with reducing illegal immigration through repressive forms of law enforcement. The discussion of this act is relevant to the topic because it reflects current government policy on the control of illegal immigration in South Africa (Palmary, 2002). The Refugee Act that was passed in 1998 is generally considered a more progressive legislation piece. The most crucial component is that no person should be denied the right to apply for asylum in South Africa (Palmary and reconciliation, 2002)

| Date/period | Legal framework instruments   | Aims  |
|-------------|---|---|
| 1995        | Aliens Control Act 1991 (amended)<br>- employer sanctions<br>- deportation  | Detection of irregular migrants   |
|             | Amnesty offered to mineworkers from 1989 and to illegal SADC nationals who had been in the country since 1 July 1991                  | Amnesty offered to mineworkers from 1989 and to illegal SADC nationals who had been in the country since 1 July 1991  |
|             | Detection of fraudulent use of documents, surveillance of smuggling routes, monitoring of national borders to unauthorised migration. | Prevention of the employment of irregular migrants<br><br>Detection of fraudulent use of documents, surveillance of smuggling routes, monitoring of national borders to unauthorised migration.<br><br>Granting of permanent residence  |
| 1998        | Refugee Act of 1998   | Introduces the right for all migrants to apply for refugee or asylum status if they qualify<br>Allows refugees to apply for benefits like healthcare and access to education  |
| 2000        | Operation crackdown led by the police in areas with a high concentration of black foreigners  | To eradicate crime in areas predominantly inhabited by African Migrants<br><br>Reinforcement of deportation (despite the heavy costs associated with this practice)   |
| 2002        | Immigration Act of 2002   | To fight against irregular migration<br>Increased obstruction of irregular migration (criminalisation of human trafficking, legal disregard of fraudulent marriages, instituting of fines and penalties, disseminating information to missions abroad, training of immigration officials to identify fraudulent passports, visa stamps and permits. |
| 2004        | 2004: Immigration Amendment Act   | Immigration officers are allowed to detain individuals with no documents without needing a warrant  |

|      |  |  |
|------|--|--|
| 2008 | 2008: Refugees Amendment Act           | The Act was expanded to protect children and spouses of migrants<br>However, it removed their right to have the same basic education and healthcare (the same benefits afforded to South African citizens) |
| 2011 | 2011: Immigration Amendment Act        | Migration refined to prioritise skilled labour (which would restrict the entry of unskilled migrants)  |
| 2011 | 2011: Refugees Amendment Act           | Reduction from five to ten years<br>Asylum seekers with expired visas can be imprisoned  |
| 2015 | 2016: Refugees Amendment Act           | Securitises migration and guards against the abuse/strain of the system<br>Increases the sanction on foreigners whose visas expire   |
| 2015 | Operation Fiela                        | Decrease criminal activity in low-income areas where 2015 violence had occurred.<br>Allows the arrest and deportation of illegal migrants  |
| 2016 | 2016: Immigration Amendment Act        | Increases restrictions on irregular migrants   |
| 2017 | 2017: Refugees Amendment Act           | Reduced time available for migrants can apply for permanent residency  |
| 2017 | White Paper on International Migration | Withdrawal of Rights of asylum seekers to be employed, get an education and move freely in the country   |

Table 1. Selected policy measures implemented to regulate irregular migration

(Source: Compiled using Tati (2008) and existing legislation

Subsequent amendments to the Immigration Act and Refugee Act have seen both becoming increasingly restrictive. Amendments to the former in 2004 allowed for immigration officers to arrest migrants who do not have documents without a warrant. Changes those made to the latter in 2008 did allow the children and spouses of migrants to be protected but withdrew their right to the same basic education and healthcare as South African citizens (Lennep, 2019). The amendments made to the Refugee Act in 2017 reduced the time limit for migrants applying for permanent residency from ten to five years. This policy allowed asylum seekers with expired visas can be imprisoned. In 2017, the White Paper on International Migration was introduced. This saw restrictions on free movement, a withdrawal of rights of asylum seekers to look for jobs and further their education (Lennep, 2019). These amendments and new policies have received a significant amount of criticism because there is no form of subsistence or welfare support for asylum seekers by either the UNHCR or the South African government.

The demise of apartheid resulted in a series of unavoidable consequences which caught the new political leaders unprepared. One area where this was particularly noticeable was the impact of re-joining the global circuits of capital, commodities, and people. The influx in both the variety and volume of migrants and asylum-seekers arriving in the country changed



significantly after 1990. Although it did not come anywhere near the “illegal millions” that popular opinion reported, the increased numbers still resulted in the perception that the country had lost control of its borders (Crush, 1999a).

One of the significant constraints to economic growth in South Africa is the lack of highly skilled labour, especially among the African population. The immediate demand can be met by encouraging highly qualified migrants to move to South Africa. However, how the South African media has reported increased migrants primarily as a negative phenomenon. This type of narrative contributes to the perception of excessive numbers whose presence was unsustainable because of the limited quantity of existing resources. Research on immigration internationally in South Africa has generally resulted in positive effects. However, the South African media has continued to report in a manner that frames migrants as threats. Headlines like “an invasion to be halted” only serve to reinforce alarmist opinions because of how immigration is framed. The result has been a rapid increase in intolerance and hostility aimed at outsiders, unlike any other phenomenon in different parts of the world (Crush, 2008).

As one of the more desirable destination countries, South Africa has migrants from all over the world. A significant percentage of these migrants are foreign African nationals, and a significant percentage of them come from neighbouring countries that share a border with South Africa. The arrival of migrants in the current era is a continuation of historical trends where foreign African nationals used to cross over the borders into South Africa to escape violence and instability in their own country. Unfortunately, this has provoked mainly negative responses by South African citizens towards internally displaced migrants from other African countries. Anti-migrant beliefs and hostility towards these groups are becoming more widespread, and there has been a rise in xenophobic outbreaks, which are increasingly characterised by an escalation in violence (Zihindula et al., 2017a). Certain provinces like Gauteng, the Western Cape, Free State and KwaZulu-Natal have become ‘hotspots’ for xenophobic attacks (Crush et al., 2018). The growth of violent outbreaks of xenophobic attacks in the post-1994 period can be dated back to 1995. Groups of migrants found themselves receiving harsh treatment, which often culminated in aggressive physical attacks. Many migrants from countries like Malawi, Zimbabwe and Mozambique who had settled in the Alexandra Township were physically assaulted over several weeks during the January period of that year.

This rapid escalation of hostile behaviour resulted from a campaign called ‘Buyelekhaya (which means go home), originating in Alexander. This had been formed with the sole motive of ‘purging’ foreign African nationals from that locale, as well as from the country itself (Crush et al., 2018). By 2001, the violent attacks had intensified, and when a Zimbabwean migrant was blamed for the death of South African women, residents attacked foreign nationals from Zimbabwe. By the time the violence calmed down, 124 shacks had been torched and burned to the ground, and 74 people burnt. The international outrage from politicians and citizens who came from these migrants’ countries of origin escalated, and South Africa’s hesitance to respond or condemn the attacks gave rise to fears that this would undermine or destroy multilateral peace and trade agreements between South Africa and other countries (Ejoke and Ani, 2017)

### 3.17 Economic Causes of Xenophobic beliefs and behaviour in South Africa

A more recent investigation shows that a considerable number of South Africans harbour xenophobic beliefs and that this is common across the socio-demographic and socio-economic spectrum (Zihindula et al., 2017b). One of the largest sources of anger arises from the perception that South Africa has been ‘invaded by a large number of jobseeker migrants. The most predominant narrative that residents subscribe to is that these migrants have arrived in overwhelming numbers and are a serious threat because they will compete with locals for jobs. Between 2005 and 2008, there was an escalation in the hostility and violence towards foreign nationals. Although there had been an increase in incidences with foreign nationals from other countries (like China and Pakistan), foreign African nationals still consisted of most victims. By 2006, armed gangs consisting of residents alerted the police about undocumented foreigners to assist them in ‘cleaning the township’ of unwanted migrants (Oni and Okunade, 2018). Looting of foreign-owned shops and expropriation of any goods had also become widespread. Xenophobic outbreaks during this time were also spreading rapidly to other towns and provinces. When the 2008 xenophobic attacks began in Johannesburg, they spread quickly across South Africa, and over 60 people were killed in the violence (Magwaza, 2018). While the outbreaks did taper off slightly, foreign African Nationals continued to be threatened by local mobs in 2009. Issues that contribute to xenophobic attitudes are related to economic stagnation, social concerns, poverty and widespread unemployment, and growth in criminal activity (Imelda et al., 2016). Some researchers have also argued that this type of behaviour demonstrates self-hatred on the part of Black South Africans who, having endured centuries of oppression and having their lives devalued, respond by subjecting treating black foreign

nationals to much the same treatment (Tshishonga, 2015a). To some extent, these explanations explain why the incidences of xenophobic behaviour against migrants who are not black are not as frequent and certainly not as violent.

A significant number of studies suggest that foreign African nationals are regarded with hostility and suspicion because of their alienness compared to Black South Africans. They have a distinct culture, language, and colour and look that separates them and differentiates them from their host communities. These aspects play a role in the growth of anti-migrant perceptions and behaviour, resulting in a widespread consensus amongst residents that they should leave and return to their country of origin. The situation in South Africa has changed from a situation where xenophobic outbreaks were intermittent and sporadic to one where they are a common and regular phenomenon. The increase in the violence has been particularly noticeable, and between 2008 and 2015, there were a series of brutal attacks that focused almost exclusively on black migrants of African origin (Ejoke and Ani, 2017). The escalation of these attacks was given impetus by developing negative beliefs about migrants, fuelled by a narrative of false stereotypes. The existence of xenophobic attitudes and anti-migrant rhetoric has been well documented in the public health sector. Public schools and on the streets are well documented. All of these act as pre-conditions for xenophobic violence. These conditions have been further exacerbated by the intolerant and discriminatory statements made by public figures, made either in their capacity or appearing on behalf of their office. These types of statements only serve to legitimise existing negative attitudes held by South African nationals because of the degree of authentic authority associated with the positions held by these individuals

### 3.18 Xenophobia in Durban

Durban is one of four major industrial centres in South Africa and is located in Kwa Zulu Natal (KZN), one of the most decently populated regions in the country. Since the 1980s, there has been a rapid increase of migrants, and Durban is one of the fastest-growing cities in the world (Maharaj and Moodley, 2000). Traditionally, Durban has been the point of destination for seasonal immigration for employment. While migrants from Lesotho, Swaziland, and Mozambique have worked for many years in secondary industry in the Durban region, most returned home when the work ceased. Illegal, documented, or irregular migrants' numbers had grown. Although this issue had been brought to the authorities and public attention in the 1980s, the increases in numbers since 1994 have taken on crisis proportion in the official public mind

(Maharaj and Moodley, 2000). The demographics or profile of the Durban communities show that several migrants come from southern, northern, and eastern Africa and Asian countries. Many of the migrants in Durban have settled in areas where other migrants share their nationality and culture. These communities create a support structure despite working outside their residential areas (Naidoo and Tewari, 2017). The post-1994 migrants did find economic opportunities, which allowed them to improve their status economically and send remittances to their country of origin.

Most of the migrants in Durban are young, male adults with a reasonable level of education. A significant proportion has a secondary qualification and tertiary education and would usually be relatively well placed in the job market. However, one significant constraint is finding a job in the formal sector because of the job shortage and widespread unemployment in both Durban and other cities in South Africa. Some migrants are self-employed and start their businesses. However, a significant proportion of legal and illegal migrants rely on finding casual or regular employment. In terms of the latter, their undocumented status means that they often have limited or no choices and must take any available job to survive. Previous studies show that most employers believed that it is cheaper to employ migrants than locals and say that the former are prepared to work long hours. They are “willing workers” who always do satisfactory work, which improves the operational productivity of the business (Maharaj and Moodley, 2000).

Findings revealed that most employers prefer to avoid registering their migrants or providing them with any benefits like UIF. This means they are employed on a casual or daily basis and are vulnerable to retrenchment whenever business is lacking (Sidzane and Maharaj, 2013). As a result of their irregular employment status, they are constantly at risk for exploitation exacerbated by the absence of an employment contract and benefits.

Research does suggest that those foreigners who are unable to find formal employment often operate as car guards or run hair salons. These sectors are generally at the lower end of the income market and are not generally areas that attract residents, either because of the uncertain income or because they cannot compete with the lower operating costs of foreign nationals. Many migrants become self-employed and small businesses selling basic household products, cell phones and clothing (Desai 2015). Their competitiveness in these sectors has been a subject of complaints by local traders because they drive down prices and usually end up dominating opportunities in small but lucrative markets (Crush, 2018 and Desai, 2015). Desai (2015) also

argues that there is a perception that foreign migrants have taken over the spaces provided for local street merchants, who are increasingly being pushed into the position of being customers and consumers as opposed to business owners.

There is also a prevailing but false perception that foreign African nationals are responsible for increases in crime and violence. This and competition for certain jobs is among the key reasons residents dislike these migrants (Akokpari, 2000). Moreover, the failure of the South African government to deliver and reduce poverty and provide jobs has resulted in shifting the blame to migrants. Making them scapegoats is informed by the underlying premise is that the enemy was no longer the apartheid state, but foreigners who were undermining and exploiting local opportunities (Maharaj and Moodley, 2000).

In 2008, and then later in 2015, xenophobic violence broke out in Kwa Zulu Natal. As mentioned previously, the 2008 attacks started in Johannesburg, fuelled by dislike, envy and resentment of foreign nationals. To date, the level of public violence during these attacks is still unprecedented (Crush, 2018). Although the level of violence did decline rapidly, xenophobia attacks did not cease after that. The main shift in the post-2008 period was the selective targeting of certain migrants, whereas the violence of 2008 had been relatively indiscriminate. Mob attacks since that time have increased focus on the migrants and refugee's business owners in the informal economy, and while the number of attacks diminished, they did not cease to take place (Zihindula et al., 2017a).

The same pattern of behaviour emerged in 2015 after a labour strike took place in Isipingo, Durban. A false accusation had been made where a supermarket owner was accused (incorrectly) of employing foreign migrants to break a labour strike, and residents began looting and burning foreign-owned shops (Desai, 2015). This then escalated after King Goodwill Zwelithini, the traditional Zulu Royal leader, stated that the government must ensure that all foreigners vacate South Africa (Adeogun and Faluyi, 2018). In a pattern like that of 2008, xenophobic attacks also spread quickly across South Africa, where shop owners and African foreign nationals were targeted. The main locations where the attacks took place were Kwa Zulu Natal, Gauteng and Limpopo. The 2015 attack swept across South Africa for the second time. This time, shop owners were targeted, and many business owners were looted and torched in towns in all three provinces, including informal business owners. The king hastily retracted his words and declared war on xenophobia, but the damage had already been done (Crush 2018, Desai, 2015).

### 3.19 The Response of the South African Government to the 2015 xenophobic attacks.

The xenophobic violence in 2015 led to a substantial change in policy by the South African government. Up until this point, xenophobic attacks were not acknowledged and did not have any policy to mitigate the effects (Desai, 2015). The large-scale damage to property and displacement of 1000s of refugees resulted in them condemning the behaviour, but if anything, this just appeared to spur the perpetrators on. There was a suggestion that some of the violence was orchestrated by certain individuals who had a personal interest in the informal trading sector. Therefore, the outbreaks of xenophobia were part of an attempt to intimidate foreign nationals (Crush, 2018). The government's response to the 2015 attacks was to set up barriers between the areas where residents and locals are living in the form of campus.

Nonetheless, in the immediate aftermath of the attacks, the state response to the 2015 violence in Durban was to set up a border between locals and migrants in the form of camps. On 19 April 2015, condemned the attacks and emphasized that the foreign nationals were 'brothers and sisters of South Africans. The then-president Jacob Zuma returned immediately from an overseas trip, and the diplomatic community was assured that the South African government was taking the matter very seriously. The Department of Social Welfare and Development was tasked with providing food, shelter other necessities to displaced persons in a shelter in both Kwa Zulu Natal and Gauteng. At the same time, the government worked closely with civil society to provide all possible support to the displaced as they await reintegration back into their communities.

Crush (2018) explains that a Special Reference Group (SRG), an independent commission of inquiry appointed by the provincial government, was constituted to analyse why the 2015 violence occurred. Some of the main reasons given for the 2015 violence was related to the perceptions that residents held about foreign African nationals. A prevailing concern was that local business owners hired foreign nationals to drive down wages and undermine the protection that unions offer to local employees (Desai, 2015). A widely held perspective is that these types of migrants are 'job stealers' who successfully compete with locals by working for reduced wages. The following factors are also reasoning those migrants are treated with suspicion and hostility:

- The competition between local and foreign national communities in the small enterprise and informal business sector, where the latter perform better than the former. This is one of the more divisive variables and is often a central cause of the violent attacks

- The displacement of many local traders because of the emergence of large retail shops in townships has led to even more competition between local and foreign shop owners, resulting in increased hostility to the latter. The successful model of locally owned spaza shops' that emerged due to entrepreneurial activity disappeared. This, in combination with the ability of foreign nationals to outperform locals in township businesses, has resulted in locals turning their anger on foreign-owned businesses by adopting violent and intimidatory tactics.
- The overwhelmingly negative perspectives of foreign nationals are held by residents.

However, the SRG and the Ad Hoc parliamentary committee's findings were mainly framed around a denial that the clashes were linked to xenophobia. The reports that there were a series of other factors that played a role. The SRG suggested that the violence and looting directed at migrants' businesses and properties resulted from competition for trading spaces and overcrowded trading spaces. The committee also argued that there was limited credible evidence that migrant run businesses created employment. The parliamentary Ad Hoc committee also argued that the competitive advantage enjoyed by foreign-owned businesses was achieved through unfair competition trading practices. The report concluded that most of the violence was due to the actions of criminals who were drug addicts and that although the negative perceptions of foreign nationals held by locals played a role in the attacks, this was not due to xenophobia (Ramachandran et al., 2017).

The 2015 attacks, which saw street battles between locals and migrants in the point area of the city centre, both indicated a capacity of migrants to mobilise when threatened and illustrated the continuing tension and division that could rapidly change to outright into violence (Desai, 2015). They were partially driven by a sluggish economy accompanied by a decline in the formal and informal economic sectors. While foreign nationals fled to places of individuals and groups who had been involved in the violence were now also affected outfits as businesses remained closed. The attacks received attention around the world, and the South African government embarked on a very different process to address the violence compared to its previous stance on xenophobia (Ramachandran et al., 2017). They were also fuelled by negative perceptions of foreign African nationals. The South African government's management strategies to contain the violence were largely reactive, and their response in 2015 was almost a duplication in some ways of their response toward 2008. Victims of the violence were forced out of the temporary camps that they had escaped to and were either bussed home or taken back

to the areas they were attacked in the first place (Desai, 2015). The voluntary return of foreign nationals to their country of origin was encouraged as the most desirable course of action, and authorities actively supported the decision of migrants to leave South Africa (Crush et al., 2018).

One of the more criticised responses on the part of the South African government to the 2015 violence was the launch of Operation Fiela on the advice of the Inter-ministerial committee (IMC). The overt purpose was to eliminate criminal and general lawlessness from our communities, as Fiela means to sweep clean and create a safe and secure environment for all in South Africa (Crush et al., 2018). However, a central strategy was a massive police and army operation involving harassing migrants and migrant owned businesses, locating undocumented migrants, and facilitating their deportation (Ramachandran et al., 2017). This operation also seemed primarily target the informal economy businesses owned by the migrants' entrepreneurs. Critics argued that as a response to xenophobic violence, the action was grossly inappropriate, and it was criticised by international, national and local human rights organisations for engaging in what could only be viewed as state-sponsored xenophobia and institutional xenophobia that blurred stark differences between criminals and migrants (Crush et al., 2018).

### 3.20 The Economic Impact and Contribution of Migrants in South Africa

Despite the perception of foreign nationals being a key contributor to the inability of local business owners to compete successfully in both the formal and informal sectors, research does demonstrate a different scenario. The xenophobic attacks that took place in Durban in 2015 were a response to a sluggish economy accompanied by a decline in the formal and informal economic sector. While foreign nationals fled to places of safety like the Diakonia Church, their businesses remained closed. Ironically, the same individuals and groups who had been involved in the violence were now also affected outfits as businesses remained closed. The attacks received attention around the world, and the South African government embarked on a very different process to address the violence compared to its previous stance. They were also fuelled by negative perceptions of foreign African nationals whose own businesses Although foreign nationals who cannot gain formal employment turn to the informal sector and street trading, where the barriers to entry are lower, this has not necessarily been done at the expense of local street traders. They are not being 'pushed out' from street trading areas. The manager who oversees the street trade sector in Durban's informal trade department has explained that



due to a backlog of South Africans who have applied for trading sites, very few foreign nationals are allocated these places. This is partly because of the concern that any allocation of these sites to migrants instead of locals would once again result in xenophobic attacks (Skinner and Hunter, 2003). Foreign nationals are granted sites in the central business district, but the access here is to the privately-run flea markets. The average cost of the site in these flea markets is far higher than that of the street trading site.

The foreign nationals are therefore paying more money to trade legally. Although the reports from the SRG and Ad Hoc committee argued that foreign nationals do not create employment, the existing body of research shows that their activities do have a positive economic contribution to the local economy in Durban by not only creating jobs for locals but also because of their use of local suppliers for goods. These studies clearly show that contrary to popular perception, about 85% of these foreign nationals obtain their goods from South African suppliers as opposed to other countries (Skinner and Hunter, 2003). At least 40% of traders use goods from other South African cities, mainly Johannesburg and Pietermaritzburg. Only 18% have goods sourced from international suppliers. Despite the conclusion reached in the investigations done after the 2015 clashes, these foreign national street traders are not benefiting because of unfair trading practices. The model's strength comes from a robust social support network with other migrants where almost two-thirds of respondents using migrant link find their suppliers (Skinner and Hunter, 2003).

### 3.21 Challenges faced by migrants in South Africa

African foreign nationals also face an overwhelming number of challenges. In the case of undocumented migrants, they lack any official papers that would enable them to conduct business legitimately and access permanent sites. Migrants and refugees face severe obstacles in accessing a loan from formal sources in South Africa as legal migrants are often unable to provide the collateral most financial institutions required and undocumented or illegal migrants fail to have the necessary papers to allow them to use these facilities (Crush et al., 2018). Additionally, instead of being responsible for rising crime, they are usually more likely to be victims since the lack of access to banks and other financial facilities makes them easy targets for robbery from local criminals. They are also easy marks for corrupt police officers who know that they usually have large sums of money readily available to pay bribes or goods that can be confiscated with little opportunity for legal redress. The difficulties they face in accessing legal advice or recourse, banking systems and other funding sources, and other

challenges facing migrants in the small business sector are therefore compounded by the threat of violence and intimidation (Desai, 2015). Since they are forced to operate in the informal sector, they are conducting businesses in low-income communities where there is a high crime rate. This also makes them more vulnerable to opportunistic and often violent crime in the form of theft, robbery and assault (Ramachandran et al., 2017).

The aftermath of the 2015 attacks also followed a somewhat similar pattern to the post-2008 period where xenophobic incidents have declined. However, these foreign migrants were still subject to a significant amount of harassment and violence, where there is little effort from the police to assist. However, foreign-owned shops are still looted, although on nowhere near the scale as 2008 and 2015 (Magwaza, 2018). Generally, police refused to assist or intervene in such cases and often are involved in extorting bribes or goods from foreign nationals.

Foreign African nationals also experience systematic discrimination by civil servants from government institutions like the Department of Home Affairs (DHA) (Viltoft, 2018). Home Affairs officials are often complicit in delaying the necessary papers or documentation required by legal migrants to ensure that their papers are up-to-date and that they are not in violation of the law. The inability to obtain proper documentation limits their contributions and means that almost any form of employment such as gardening, domestic work, driving a taxi, or even walking in the street is considered illegal. This makes them vulnerable to harassment, arrest and deportation (Landau et al., 2005). Undocumented migrants are vulnerable at all times because of their irregular status. Unlike refugees, whose status can be verified by the refugees' centre at the DHA and who can regularly check their applications' status, undocumented migrants have no such recourse. They can be deported at any point should their status be discovered. Even refugees seeking political asylum are still vulnerable because of discriminatory and even illegal behaviour by DHA officials. Although most research has found that refugees and asylum seekers are reluctant to speak up about the treatment they are subjected to, enough of them have described how they are subjected to extortion and exploitation from a range of different actors (Naidoo and Tewari, 2017).

Applicants are often required to pay bribes to the guards at refugee centres, DHA officials, interpreters, and clerks to file their claims despite the current regulations made freely available (Landau et al., 2005). Although South Africa's right-based refugee legislation has historically allowed refugees and asylum seekers to access a broad array of rights from health services to education and employment, the ability of refugees and asylum seekers to access such services

is limited (Crush et al. 2017). The DHA bureaucrats are responsible for documenting foreign migrants seeking asylum often classify them as economic migrants. This status means that they do not qualify and are not entitled to asylum, making them illegal and subject to deportation (Khan, 2018).

### 3.22 Conclusion

The following chapter starts by looking at the types of immigration patterns and treatment of migrants in different countries around the world. Although xenophobic behaviour varies in different countries, they share common characteristics that can influence outbreaks and clashes. These are exclusive ingroup identities that involve ‘othering’ non-members and hostility and resentment towards the migrants, especially those who appear to be benefiting economically.

It then investigates the same type of behaviour in the pre and post-1994 periods in South Africa. It looked at how anti-migrant perceptions and behaviour have manifested during these times and what specific factors have led to the increase in xenophobic attacks in post-1994. Finally, it looks at how these clashes have been responded to by the South African government and identify some of the general challenges experienced by African foreign nationals are. The xenophobic attacks that took place in Durban in 2015 were a response to a sluggish economy accompanied by a decline in the formal and informal economic sector. While foreign nationals fled to places of safety like the Diakonia Church, their businesses remained closed. Ironically, the same individuals and groups who had been involved in the violence were now also affected outfits as businesses remained closed. The attacks received attention around the world, and the South African government embarked on a very different process to address the violence compared to its previous stance. The negative perceptions of foreign African nationals whose own businesses. For the most part, the cause of xenophobia in South Africa post-1994 has been the result of a combination of the development of an exclusively South African national identity, the growing inequality and lack of service delivery, the inability of the South African government to revitalise a stagnant economy and the false perception that foreign migrants are linked to increases in crime and that those who become involved in informal trade benefit at the expense of locals through unfair competition. The negative perception of foreign migrants is, for the most part, unfounded, however. However, the lack of action and often deliberate complicity on official authorities continue to foster hostile beliefs and legitimise discriminatory treatment.

However, the reality is that most foreign nationals do contribute positively to the economic development in South Africa and continue to thrive despite the obstacles they face. The economic situation in South Africa is perhaps the most influential factor that provokes hostility towards foreign nationals. In any scenario where the economic circumstances decline, the position of dominant groups (in this case, local South Africans) becomes threatened, resulting in subordinate groups being scapegoated. This is because the dominant group members fear that their group's economic advantage will be damaged through competition for scarce resources. In countries with a relatively good economy and limited poverty, the situation decreases the competition for jobs and resources between migrants and the host society (Quillian, 1995).

Conversely, in countries like South Africa, which have a significant percentage of the local population living on or below the poverty line, competition increases between locals and migrants, and the latter becomes a threat. The situation in South Africa currently does raise concerns about the extent to which human rights are extended to local citizens and foreign nationals, and local citizens. The response by the South African government up until this point has unfortunately exacerbated the issues as opposed to trying to resolve them. The consequence has been a demonisation of foreign nationals, which is far easier than addressing the magnitude of economic problems plaguing the country

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND METHODS**

#### **4.1 Introduction**

This chapter discusses research methodology and methods used to explore the perceptions of both foreign African nationals and South African citizens in Durban. It outlines the research design, sampling approach, data collection processes, and analyses used during this study's research process. It will also explain some of the challenges encountered during conducting research and explore how ethical considerations were considered during the fieldwork.

#### **4.2 Research paradigms influencing the nature of the inquiry**

The specific project was guided by both constructivism and standpoint theory. As a research paradigm and, more specifically, standpoint theory. From an ontological perspective, this approach argues that reality is experienced differently by individuals and groups depending on distinctive characteristics such as race, ethnicity, culture, age, religion, gender, and nationality. This list is by no means exhaustive, but the premise of standpoint theory is that it is necessary to consider participants' experiences, beliefs, and perceptions in social science research to investigate social phenomena thoroughly. This means that the most suitable method to conduct such research is usually done by conducting qualitative research.

#### **4.3 Research Design:**

This research used a qualitative approach for data collection. According to Baumgartner et al. (2005), this approach facilitates a more in-depth understanding of factors that would be difficult to get in a quantitative survey alone. As an empirical study, primary data were collected using semi-structured interviews in either English or Zulu (See Appendices 1 and 2) during the fieldwork. However, qualitative research involves collecting and analysing data, developing, and modifying theory, elaborating, or refocusing the research question, and identifying and dealing with any specific threats to external and internal validity. Subjective factors such as opinion, attitude, personality, emotion, motivation, interest, personal problems, mood, drive, and frustration are relatively complex and more challenging to capture quantitatively (Babbie and Mouton, 2012). Its strength as a research approach is that it allows the researcher to explore different constructs and develop an in-depth understanding of various worldviews. Standpoint theory operates because the perceptions and beliefs of participants need to be explored and

understood about the characteristics of the participant and the context in which they live. Participants can attribute meaning to their experience and describe culturally relevant factors that are informative and useful when investigating the research question at hand (Lucas, 2018). This type of approach also allows the use of research instruments that allow participants to explain their experiences guided by the questions in the interview schedule and add information and explore or introduce topics and areas not considered. For the specific purpose of this study, qualitative research allowed the exploration of the participant's perspectives concerning the relationship between local citizens and African foreign nationals in Durban.

Qualitative research allows for three primary functions to be performed during the research process: to explore, explain, and describe the phenomenon of research. It allowed participants to be the authoritative voice on those factors they felt were important to consider when examining such relationships. This type of research is proper when focusing on the experiences of people as well as stressing the uniqueness of the individual's perceptions and ideas. It does this by making the necessary space to accommodate how people interpret and make sense of their experience and the world in which they live (Marshall and Rossman, 2014). The approach of this study was to examine the immediate opinion of both foreign national and South African residents regarding the outbreak of xenophobic violence which has occurred over the past two decades. A qualitative approach in research methodology and methods is a proper method that is useful here because it allows for impressions about social life and experiences to be captured contemporaneously and deepen the understanding of phenomena under investigation. The experiences, ideas, beliefs, and attitudes of the research participants were crucial components that this study explored to collect data about the relationship between African foreign nationals and the local South African citizens to provide insight into both groups' behaviour. The themes and ideas used to construct the interview schedules were designed to collect information that, when considered in conjunction with all the responses from different participants, would provide a rich insight into the relationship dynamics that informed their behaviour (Guba and Lincoln, 1994).

#### 4.4 Project Area

The data collection for this research was conducted in the city of Durban in the province of KwaZulu-Natal. Durban is the largest city in South Africa. It is known as an essential hub manufacturing city in South Africa and part of eThekweni municipality. The current estimate puts the population at 3,176,254 (Statistics South Africa, 2020). The city covers an area of

approximately 225 square kilometres. The most common languages spoken are English (over half the population speaks this), Zulu, Afrikaans, and Xhosa. 72% of the population has Zulu as a home language, and 26% have English (Statistics South Africa, 2020). Over 68% of the population in Durban are of working age between 15 – 65 years old, and 38% of the population is under 19 (Statistics South Africa, 2020). The population growth in Durban is relatively slow, with a growth rate of less than 1% per annum. However, during the late 1990s and early 2000s, it experienced it then experienced a population boom with a growth rate of over 4 per cent during some years. This increase in the population size undoubtedly resulted from the lifting of segregation restrictions where different groups could live based on race. A rapid influx of people from rural areas took place, resulting in an expansion of informal settlements surrounding the central city. The population growth has tapered off to about 1% per year now. The current population demographics for residents are summarized in Table 4.1

| Race            | Percentage |
|-----------------|------------|
| Black           | 51%        |
| Indian or Asian | 24.8%      |
| White           | 15.3%      |
| Coloured        | 8.6%       |

Table 4.1 Demographic Characteristics of Residents within the eThekwin Municipality by race (Source: Compiled using data from Statistics South Africa, 2020).

#### 4.5 Primary Study Site for African foreign nationals: The Diakonia Centre

The primary study location for recruitment of African foreign nationals where the data collection took place was the Diakonia Centre. The choice of this location is because, over the past two decades, the Diakonia centre has served as a place of refuge for foreign nationals during outbreaks of conflict and xenophobic attacks. This is also where migrants can find and meet with human rights lawyers, should they need legal counsel. It is also a place where representatives from different churches and religious organizations can be contacted and a distribution point where they can provide different types of aid, ranging from food to clothing or even religious council. The general area, which includes St. Alberts Park, is a hub of foreign nationals, including salons, repair, and retail shops. It is, therefore, both a convenient and safe place to meet with migrants, and it is also close to where many of them can be expected to be found at any point. Potential respondents were approached, and if they met the selection

criteria, they were either interviewed at the primary location or another location of their own choice.

Recruitment for South African citizens was not specified to one area, although recruitment was still done within proximity to the Diakonia centre. The reason for this was to ensure that respondents for this subsample worked or lived in areas that put them in proximity to African foreign nationals. Furthermore, their inclusion in the study was done to gather perceptions of citizens regarding attitudes to African foreign nationals based on their experience and interaction with them. Therefore, the recruitment of these respondents needed to occur in a locale where the likelihood of this occurring was relatively high. While several studies do exist where the perceptions of South African citizens regarding foreign nationals have been done based on their opinion, this research was interested in their perceptions which their experience had informed of interacting and engaging with African foreign nationals because of working within residing close to them.

#### 4.6 The Study Sample

The respondents drawn for the study sample were divided into two sub-samples. The first subsample was called Group A, which consisted of 10 African foreign nationals, and the other subsample was called Group B, which consisted of 10 South African citizens. The study sample was drawn using non-probability, purposive, judgmental and snowball sampling, which involves a deliberate choice of participants. This type of sampling approach is most useful in the absence of a sampling frame, allowing for some type of probability sampling using random selection. In the absence of a sampling frame, non-probability sampling is often an easier way to draw a sample, ensuring that the key characteristics of the theoretical populations relevant to the study are represented in the study population. Purposive sampling starts with defining those characteristics of the theoretical population that need to be represented in the sample, determining how many study units or participants the sample needs to consist of, and then continuing to draw a sample until the number is met (Babbie and Mouton, 2011).

The use of purposive, judgemental or snowball sampling is based on the premise that the object of the fieldwork is to collect information because the researcher requires more insight and understanding into a specific phenomenon than the existing body of research provides (Merriam, 1998). The research design was therefore constructed in a manner to ensure that respondents were selected because they would be able to provide rich and in-depth explanations that are related to the phenomenon under investigation.



Recruitment took place by approaching participants at the identified location and requesting their participation in the study. Snowball sampling was employed after any event where successful purposive, judgmental sampling took place. The technique that was used follows the general prescriptions that are regarded as best practice when employing such a method. Once a respondent had been successfully approached and interviewed, they were asked if they might refer the researcher to anyone else who satisfied the selection criteria and who might be available and interested in taking part in the study. Snowball sampling is beneficial for a study of this nature, particularly when it comes to interviewing migrants who are in a specific community. This method relies on and partakes in the dynamics of the natural and organic social networks and can be used in cases when the population of interest cannot be identified other than by someone who knows that a certain person has the necessary experience or characteristics to be included (Sadler et al., 2010)

The theoretical population of interest consisted of individuals who had been residing in Durban who satisfied the criteria for inclusion into the study. This theoretical population was heterogeneous, and the main characteristics that were of interest were the nationality of each respondent and the period or duration that they had lived in Durban. Therefore, Respondents needed to be either African foreign nationals or South African citizens living in the area for over a year<sup>1</sup>. Other details about the respondents such as gender, age, occupation, and employment status were also included but were not the primary aspects of interest. They could therefore be from any race group and any gender. Although there is a significant body of research that demonstrates that levels of hostility and subsequent xenophobic violence are at times selectively aimed at migrants from different countries, even when it comes to African foreign nationals, the most recent attacks in Durban have been indiscriminate when it comes to targeting representatives from the latter group. For this reason, this research focused on collecting data from African foreign nationals from a variety of different countries to explore their beliefs and explanations regarding the reasons that this category of migrants are subject to xenophobic behaviour, as opposed to looking at explanations about why they think African foreign nationals from specific countries are disproportionately targeted in these clashes.

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<sup>1</sup> The stipulation of one year's residence in Durban is because the less time that respondents had been living there, the less experience they might have with anti-migrant hostility and prejudice. The deliberate set period of a minimum of one year was set to ensure that the respondent has been in the area for enough time to be able to comment on their experiences.

Although attempts were made to collect information regarding each respondent's occupation, respondents were not pressed for any further information if they declined to disclose it during the interview. The characteristics and demographic details have been summarized in the tables below. Table 1 displays the information for African foreign nationals, and Table 2 shows that of the South African citizens. The categories used include the pseudonym, age, and occupation of each participant. Pseudonyms were given to each respondent following the practices stipulated in the Research Ethics policy of UKZN, which requires that the identity of the study participants and respondents remained anonymous.

Table 4.2 and Table 4.3 show a breakdown of the characteristics of the respondents for this research. Table A displays the information for African foreign nationals, and Table B shows that of the South African citizens. The categories show the 'code name', age, and occupation of each participant. The names used to refer to the respondents are pseudonyms, which were allocated to ensure that the Research Ethics policy of UKZN was complied with and that the identity of the study participants and respondents remained anonymous.

The process of gathering the demographic details and characteristics regarding each respondent attempted to record as many factors as possible. However, if the respondents declined to give specific details, they were not pressed to do so. This process was followed following the institute's ethics policy, where respondents were not pressed to give any information that they felt uncomfortable about disclosing.

Out of the 10 African foreign national respondents, one participant did not give their country of origin, although they did not specify why

Table 4.7 – African foreign nationals.

| <b>Names</b>                      | <b>Gender</b> | <b>Age</b> | <b>Nationality</b> | <b>Occupation</b>              | <b>Employment Status</b>       |
|-----------------------------------|---------------|------------|--------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Respondent A<br>(Michael Takombe) | Male<br>10    | 40         |                    | Interpreter                    | Employed                       |
| Respondent B<br>Salumu 12         | Male<br>12    | 36         | Congolese          | Lecturer                       | Employed                       |
| Respondent C<br>Obina             |               | 30         | Nigerian           | Self-employed<br>(Unspecified) | Self-employed<br>(Unspecified) |
| Respondent D                      | Female        | 32         | Nigerian           | Beautician                     | Employed                       |
| Respondent E                      | Female        | 32         | Zambian            | Hairdresser                    | Employed                       |
| Respondent F                      | Male          | 24         | Zimbabwean         | Student                        | Employed                       |
| Respondent G                      | Male          | 39         | Congolese          | Freight Import<br>and Export   | Employed                       |

|              |      |               |            |                        |               |
|--------------|------|---------------|------------|------------------------|---------------|
| Respondent H | Male | (Unspecified) | Ugandan    | Tailor                 | Employed      |
| Respondent I | Male | (Unspecified) | Rwandan    | Employed               | Employed      |
| Respondent J | Male | 28            | Senegalese | Self-employed (Retail) | Self-Employed |

The African foreign nationals' countries or origin included Senegal, Zambia, Rwanda, Zimbabwe, Democratic Republic of Congo, Nigeria). X of the respondents in this subsample were male and X female. Eight of the respondents were between the age of 24 to 40. Two of them declined to give their age. Almost all of the respondents indicated that they were either self-employed or employed, except for one respondent who indicated that they were still a student (which is an occupation, although not employment). Two of the respondents, however, declined to specify their occupation.

Table 4.8 – Demographic details and Characteristics of the South African Citizens.

| <b>Name</b>   | <b>Gender</b> | <b>Age</b> | <b>Nationality</b> | <b>Occupation</b> | <b>Employment Status</b> |
|---------------|---------------|------------|--------------------|-------------------|--------------------------|
| Respondent 1  | Male          | 36         | South African      | Travel Agent      | Employed                 |
| Respondent 2  | Female        | 34         | South African      | (Unspecified)     | Self-employed            |
| Respondent 3  | Male          | 25         | South African      | Employed (Trader) | Employed                 |
| Respondent 4  | Male          | 36         | South African      | Business          | Employed                 |
| Respondent 5  | Male          | 36         | South African      | Lecturer          | Employed                 |
| Respondent 6  | Female        | -          | South African      | -(Unspecified)    | Employed                 |
| Respondent 7  | Male          | 34         | South African      | Student           | NA                       |
| Respondent 8  | Male          | 22         | South African      | (Unspecified)     | Self-employed            |
| Respondent 9  | Female        | 45         | South African      | Cleaner           | Self-employed            |
| Respondent 10 | Male          | 28         | South African      | Employed          | Self-employed            |

#### 4.9 Data collection methods

Qualitative interviewing is a flexible and powerful tool to capture the voices and the ways people make meaning of their experiences. Unlike an ordinary conversation, however, a semi-structured interview goes beyond the spontaneous exchange of views in everyday conversations; it is an interaction between an interviewer and a respondent in which the interviewer has a general plan of inquiry, including a set of topics to be discussed in depth (Oplatka, 2018).

#### 4.10 The Interview Process

The researcher made an appointment with the respondents and then conducted a face-to-face interview. When interviewing, the approach is to treat the respondent as an expert and try and get as much information during the process (Milena et al. (2008). Therefore, questions had been designed to allow respondents to gather their thoughts. The responses helped the researcher to understand the involvements and meaning of the topic.

#### 4.11 Ethical observations

This study was designed to ensure that it did not breach the University of KwaZulu-Natal Research Ethics Policy. The research proposal and ethical approval form and the interview schedules, supervision contract, letter of informed consent (See appendices 4 and 5), and any other documents required were submitted to the Research Office. Following the ethics policy, respondents were advised about the nature of their study, made aware that their identity would be kept anonymous, informed that they could invoke confidentiality at any point and advised the respondents that they were allowed to drop out of the project at any point during the research. Respondents were provided with an Informed Consent form to sign during explaining how the ethical approach. To obtain the necessary informed consent, respondents were made aware of their right to withdraw from the study at any point, the fact that their identities would remain anonymous and that they could invoke confidentiality regarding the information provided at any point, that there was no remuneration for participating in the study, and that if they wanted, the results of the study would be made available either as a summary or the full results. The interviews were recorded with the permission of the respondents and later transcribed by the research. The supervisor would store the data for five years and then destroy following UKZNs policy.

#### 4.12 Analysing the Data

Data analysis was conducted after the fieldwork had finished. Data were analysed by using a thematic ordering approach which was used to discover patterns, concepts, topics, and meanings., the next important step is to analyse the data to draw a conclusion based on the aim of the study. The thematic analysis was specifically chosen to ensure that the perspectives of both subsamples were captured and analysed using the existing narratives in the research. This was done in part to ensure that the analytical clarification was distinct and that the real perceptions, ideas and beliefs were explored using the themes (Vaismoradi et al., 2016). Therefore, qualitative content analysis and thematic are widely recognized for being transparent and systematic in terms of research processes (Mihas, 2019).

External validity was achieved through the careful selection of respondents from both groups to ensure that the sample reflected the characteristics in the theoretical population that were also present in the sample. South African respondents were able to choose the language of their choice between English and Zulu. This was done to accommodate those respondents who were more comfortable using either of these languages.

#### 4.13 Limitation of the research

During the fieldwork, some challenges occurred, including the amount of time that could be spent on interviewing candidates. Respondents were given the option of responding in Zulu, and care was taken in these circumstances to ensure the translations were accurate. The main limitations of this study included the time taken to interview respondents. Additionally, some respondents were uneasy about being recorded, which meant the researcher had to be careful to ensure that the notes taken were an accurate reflection of what was being discussed.

#### 4.14 Conclusion

This chapter represents a comprehensive description of the research methodology (qualitative research) used to conduct this study, and it let the researcher collect data. The researcher obtained ethical approval from the university to proceed with the research according to the university guidelines to ensure the (security of the data collected, the anonymity of the respondent, and the confidentiality of any information should the respondents ask). The discussion and analysis of the findings are set out in the next chapter.



## **CHAPTER 5**

### **ANALYSIS OF RESULTS**

#### **5.1 Introduction**

This chapter discusses the research findings to explore the perceptions and beliefs about migrants in the eThekweni municipality. It starts with a brief recap by outlining the factors that push people to migrate and the pull factors the opportunities that attract migrants to the receiving country. It also goes on to discuss previous research that has been conducted on the roots of conflicts and hostility in South Africa and xenophobic outbreaks in Durban. The post-apartheid period has seen renewed immigration to South Africa, especially from other African countries. The growing number of migrants in South Africa has resulted in outbreaks of violence, which has been escalating since 2008. Existing research done by Southern African Migration (SAMP) shows that Durban has been the site of some highly aggressive attacks and, at times, has been the epicentre for xenophobic outbreaks (Crush, 2021).

Prejudice and anti-migrant behaviour are not a condition specific to the South African context, and the dislike of foreigners is a phenomenon that is common in many different countries. Within the South African context, foreigners are often blamed for increases in crime, unfair competition for jobs, driving down local wages, and 'stealing' South African women from locals (Cooper, 2019). The reaction to foreigners has become increasingly violent, and migrants have, from time to time, been targeted by angry citizens, particularly in the township where most of the south-south African black urban population lives. SAMP has reported that the most recent nationally representative attitudinal surveys show that South African citizens demonstrate some of the highest levels of hostility and negative perceptions of migrants, mainly African foreign nationals.

While hostility and xenophobic behaviour are not new in Durban, the violent and widespread nature of the attacks in 2008 and 2015 has become a matter of increasing concern because of the implications it has for human rights concerns, economic stability, and the extent to which the current government can address the underlying issues that give rise to this sort of behaviour. While the extent of this research does in no way compared to the magnitude of the more widespread attitudinal studies that have been done, it does present a snapshot of the current perceptions of African foreign nationals in the eThekweni municipality from the perspective of both migrants and South African citizens. It focuses on their perspectives in the post-2015

period. Although the extent of the xenophobic outbreaks and the level of violence that characterised them has declined since the 2015 incidents, anti-migrant perceptions and hostility and continued aggressive behaviour towards African foreign nationals have continued. This suggests that the measures were taken after 2008 and then 2015 to reduce xenophobia in South Africa have been ineffective in mitigating such behaviour. The purpose of this research was to understand the perspective of people living within the eThekweni municipality to try and develop a more nuanced understanding of the opinions and perspectives of foreign and residents. Semi-structured interviews were therefore conducted with representatives from both groups. The sample of respondents consisted of 10 South African citizens and 10 African foreign nationals.

All of the respondents were over the age of 18, and the African foreign nationals consisted of Respondents from many different African countries. The interviews in this chapter presented the opinions of both the African foreign nationals and South African citizens concerning specific topics. There were two subsamples, Group A and Group B. The respondents who are African foreign nationals have been assigned pseudonyms using letters, e.g., Respondent A, B etc. The respondents who are South African citizens have allocated numbers, e.g., Respondent 1, 2 etc. This had been done to make it easier to distinguish between the two different subsamples when presenting their answers on specific issues.

#### 5.1.2 Push-Pull Factors influencing Migration – The Experience of African foreign nationals in Durban

The initial questions in the interview schedule for the African foreign nationals asked about the issues or factors that had resulted in them leaving their country of origin and choosing South Africa, and more specifically, Durban as a destination. The first part of the interviews looked at certain push-pull factors. Security issues arising from internal and regional conflict often serve as factors that influence migrants' decisions to look elsewhere for a more secure future. The type of political system, political stability, and regime characteristics can influence the choice to leave specific areas and the decision to relocate to somewhere specific. The types of economic opportunities in countries of origin and destination may influence the choice of where to immigrate and whether the immigration is seasonal and temporary, as opposed to a longer or permanent stay. Seasonal and unskilled work has always relied on migrant labour from other African countries, especially those who share a South Africa border. This continual flux of temporary, low paid employment dates to the migrant labour system initially developed



under colonial rule and continued during apartheid. Contemporary South Africa is a country that has many qualities that make it an attractive destination. These range from opportunities available for both skilled and unskilled workers, its democratic political system, and the lack of intrastate or interstate conflict prevalent in other areas on the continent. In recent years the lack of skilled labour in certain professions has threatened the country's economic development, and therefore a demand exists for skilled workers. It does offer attractive opportunities for skilled migrants (Miller, 2018). People migrating to South Africa do so using several different methods, where some may enter legally as short-term temporary residents on various types of the permit: business, holiday, study work, contract workers and border passes "(Crush and Peberdy 2018). However, some arrive as asylum seekers, political refugees, or irregular and undocumented migrants (2018). According to Amaral (2018), migration can also be either a permanent or semi-permanent change of residence. There are also two types of migration, which are related to the push-pull factors, and these are voluntary and involuntary migration. Crush et al. (2018) research indicate that 40 % of migrants leave their country for insecurity, 20%t political reasons, 30 % for economic reasons, 20 % for study. Therefore, both the push or pull factors around origin and destination are determined by the type of migration taking place.

When asked about reasons for immigrating to South Africa, the respondents described some different reasons for 'push factors'. Respondent B, who had at the point of this interview been living in South Africa for 12 years, explained her reasons for leaving were due to conflict in her home country.

*"I came here for political reasons because of conflict in the eastern part of Congo. I flee that, I was not safe, and I decide to relocate to South Africa."*

Respondent H also voiced similar reasons for leaving Uganda. He lived in Durban for ten years and described his decision to leave as being based upon insecurity back at home. Security issues were also given as a reason by Respondent G, who originally came from the DRC and had been in South Africa for ten years. Respondent I, originally from Rwanda, did not disclose how long he had been in South Africa. He did not give a detailed explanation regarding his reasons for leaving, but his answer resonated with what other respondents had said as he tersely explained

*"I cannot tell you the reason that pushes me to migrate to South Africa for security reasons. I can only tell you it was for political reason."*

The reasons given by these respondents are backed by those reflected in existing studies on the specific type of 'push factors that cause people to migrate, especially from the countries within the African continent. Yakushko (2009) argues that the existing research on the 'push' factors reveals that many people who migrate for insecurity or political reasons did not choose to migrate. Leaving their country of origin resulted from being forced by circumstances to find a more secure place to live. The responses given by interviewees and those that researchers identify are repeatedly associated factors in countries of origin that compel people to leave. These include declining economies, overpopulation, environmental pollution and contamination, increased violence, depleted environmental resources or social assets, and in some cases, the erosion of cultural values and terrorism (Yakushko, 2009)

Immigration from countries within the African continent is usually related to these issues. Africa is often seen as a continent of mass displacement migration caused by poverty and violent conflict. Influenced by media images of massive refugee flows and boat migration and alarmist rhetoric of politicians suggesting an impending migrant invasion. The portrayal of Africa as a continent on the move is like to stereotypical ideas as Africa as the continent of poverty and conflict (Flahaux and De Haas, 2016).

#### 5.1.3. Reasons for choosing South Africa – Pull Factors

Although 'push' factors are why most migrants who make their way to South Africa, 'pull' factors play a significant role in influencing their choice of this particular country as a destination. The socioeconomic status of destination countries is usually a significant factor that determines where to relocate. The type and nature of any political system, its internal stability, and the absence of large-scale conflict are also features that play a role in selecting a destination country. The availability of job opportunities and well-developed private healthcare and educational system are drawcards, which often result in migrants relocating, even if the 'push' factors in their home countries are minimal. The choice, in this case, is often just about moving to an area with better prospects than those that are available in their country of origin.

Almost all African national foreigners who were interviewed identified the relative degree of security and low levels of conflict as aspects that attracted them to South Africa. However, during the interviews, a common motivating factor for choosing South Africa was the opportunities available. Respondents C, D and E used terms like 'opportunities' and 'a better life' when discussing what drew them to South Africa. Respondent summed their perspective with this statement

*"The reason that pushes me to migrate in south Africa is just that I come here the search of the green pasture."*

Both respondents A and F also explained that economic opportunities influenced their choice and job prospects. Respondent A, who had been in South Africa for ten years, and whose occupation was an interpreter, explained that the main reason that he chose to relocate to South Africa was *'to pursue my study'*.

This sentiment was echoed by respondent F from Zimbabwe, who also said,

*'I come to South Africa to study.'*

The opportunity to obtain further qualifications, particularly in the Higher Education sector, was also a critical factor in choosing South Africa.

The respondents' reasons for selecting South Africa in this research are the same as those identified in previous research. This investigation, like others, shows that characteristics that motivate the choice of location are not only because of the lack of negative issues such as violence, war and political circumstance in the home country of migrants. Economic opportunities, as well as other personal motivations, also play a significant role.

#### 5.1.4 Challenges Faced by African foreign nationals in South Africa

Although the main focus of this research looks at perceptions regarding xenophobic behaviour, the research looked at other challenges faced by African foreign nationals. This is because a significant number of the challenges experienced are related to discrimination and prejudice against migrants, eventually resulting in xenophobic activity. In addition, there are some issues that foreigners must deal with because they are migrants. These range from language barriers, hostile treatment by civil servants, crime, and integration into the wider community.

#### 5.1.5 Social Integration

Social integration is an issue that most migrants worldwide experience, irrespective of how welcoming or tolerant the destination country might be. The term integration in the context of migrants is usually referring to how they assimilate into the destination country's society. This can often be through a one-sided process of adaptation where migrants are expected to give up their distinctive linguistic, cultural, or social characteristics and become indistinguishable from the majority population. They can assimilate, but only if they give up their own national,

cultural or ethnic group identity. The result is absorption into the dominant culture' (Castles, 2000). Integration, in this case, is an instrumental response to the requirements posed by the new society, which assists in finding ways to make a decent living and achieving some upward social mobility. In South Africa, most research shows that 'black migrants are not welcome or not integrated (Reimann, 2004).

"Respondent F, 24 years- old from Zimbabwe, recalls that he initially struggled to fit in:

*'I have learned from other foreigners, on how to behave, where to leave, what to do, they teach you how to leave with the local citizen'.*

Respondent, I also reported that he has struggled to fit in

*'A guy from Rwanda reported It is impossible to integrate the communities, I never been integrated'.*

Other African foreign nationals had different experiences and did not struggle with integration. For example, respondent G, originally from the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), had a different experience and did not struggle to integrate. He explains that this was because of assistance from migrants who had been around for a while:

*'My integration was fine because I have learned from people who came before me, who taught me, how to behave in the city as Christian also I do an honest job not taking their women, not overstepping I said and repeat not all locals are bad I am part of South Africa, and Durban is my city'.*

Respondents A, C and J also reported that integration had not been an issue. Respondent As answer provided some interesting facts. He explained that:

*'It was ok but not very difficult. I met with good people (who) accepted me easily, and because I met them at churches and the academic environment and work, so mostly it was fine. I do not have any bad experience.'*

His explanation and that of Respondent G show how community interaction and a supportive social network assist in integration.

#### 5.1.6 Social Integrations Challenges – Language Barrier

One of the other interviewees also raised an interesting issue: different cultural and ethnic groups in South Africa responded very differently to the presence of African foreign nationals. Respondent D described that her experience with Zulu people was very different to that with other ethnic groups. In her experience, people from other ethnic groups were far more welcoming than those from the Zulu community. Although there were language barriers, she found them very welcoming and lived peacefully with migrants.

*'They (Zulus) do not accommodate other, but when to Venda, and Limpopo, even if you go to Sotho, they are so accommodating, and loving people, they loveable as well both not all of them there is nothing like langue barrier, but in Durban not all of them, their woman is kind'.*

Language barriers play a crucial factor in assisting the integration of individuals into other, dominant groups. 'Communication is the process of transmitting information and common understanding from one person to another (Lunenburg, 2010), and this type of interaction between different groups facilitates the development of shared perspectives. Migrants experience challenges that include language, cultural expectations, social norms, and mores, and in some cases, even the food for others. Language is also exercised to include or exclude individuals and groups. This can happen even if there is a common language that can be used to communicate. Residents in this scenario may refuse to use it and only use their mother tongue when communicating with migrants.

Respondent D explained that when locals prefer to use their home language instead of English, it creates substantial challenges for foreigners. Respondents in this research explained that an inability to speak or understand Zulu and interaction with locals who will not speak to migrants in a language they understand like English makes it challenging to interact. Language barriers, therefore, surface during daily activities such as in offices or workplaces, public transport like buses and taxis, at health institutions, and just generally during everyday interactions with citizens. Most of the respondents were very aware that their inability to understand or speak Zulu affected the relation between them and those from the Zulu community.

Respondent B, a 36-year-old Congolese migrant who was originally from the DRC, elaborated on some of his experiences with Zulu speakers and the language barrier:

*'It was not easy. Most of our brothers from (here) don't like to speak English. Because I was not speaking isiZulu, and here in Durban, they speak isiZulu. When you speak to locals in English, they see you as an outsider. You need to know Zulu to peak with them. When you speak Zulu, it is fine, and you can speak with them. As for me, I did face that challenge because I pass all my time at the university. Most students are civilized and educated and behave accordingly to what they understand.'*

The responses to the interviews regarding language barriers are issues that have also been identified. African foreign nationals' experience difficulties integrating into South African society owing to the cultural and linguistic differences between them and local ( black ) South Africans (Dube, 2018).

Respondent C, a 30-year-old Nigerian, also described the issues that emerge where there is no common or shared language being used between migrants and locals.

*'First of all, is the language, this is the part of the country where they like to speak their language, you will see that most of South African when they come, they will speak to you in Zulu that is the bigger challenge like as we are in business some time you need to call someone to interpret for you'*

Everyday communication becomes a trial because in the absence of a commonly spoken language, conducting business and just general interaction becomes difficult and often requires someone to interpret on behalf of both groups. Respondent C also noted that the differences between locals and migrants in other aspects only compounds the issues relating to a language barrier.

*'Our way of life is different in what we do, what we eat and what we wear. (We are) Nigerian, we are from the eastern part of Africa, and when you try to make them understand that that is the way it is, they will say no. You end up having a conflict or misunderstanding'.*

Studies done on effective communication show that the quality of any communication is linked to aspects during the communication process. A problem in any of these can undermine communication attempts and consequently reduce the effectiveness of the communication process (Lunenburg, 2010).

*'Moreover, most African foreign national language barrier is a big issue. It benefits to speak the local language while you are at your workplace at the hospital at school and on the taxi bus* Respondent D

The consensus by the African foreign national respondents is that a limited ability to speak local languages or engage with locals in a common language created impediments in almost every part of their lives. The problems arising from a limited ability to communicate are not just minor causes of frustration. Respondent C indicated that an inability to create understanding might: *'end up having a conflict or misunderstanding'*.

Bach and Schraml (1982) explain that when foreign nationals and citizens speak different languages, any interaction between them is limited and leads to encounters they refer to as a virtual "dialogue of the deaf". Lack of communication over disagreements can have a significant and often negative impact because this can lead to misunderstandings

#### 5.1.7 Causes of Existing Conflict between African foreign nationals and South African citizens and mechanisms for Dispute Resolution

One of the objectives of this study was to identify the causes of tension between foreign nationals and local citizens. Respondents from both sub-samples were asked questions to get their perspectives about the root causes of conflict between African foreign nationals and South African citizens in Durban. The issue of conflict between migrants and citizens is an issue that has become increasingly significant during the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Globalisation has allowed for increased movement and travel between different countries and has made it easier for migrants to leave their own countries and relocate to others, which offer better advantages ranging from political stability to economic prospects. However, one of the effects of increased migration has been increased clashes between migrants and residents. In South Africa, the escalating conflict and its spread have resulted in a situation that makes it crucial to try and find means to resolve these disputes. Patterns of behaviour like intergroup conflict is not usually a result of misperceptions or misunderstandings. On the contrary, this type of conflict is often rooted in and based on fundamental differences between groups (Deutsch et al. (2011). This, however, can often be exacerbated by subjective processes that influence how individuals and groups see and interpret the world and how groups function in the face of differences and perceived threats. However, unpleasant the situation, what needs to be understood is that conflict is "normal in human relationships, and conflict is a motor of change" (Lederaeh, 2003). However, the

conflict that escalates to violent attacks and destruction of private property rapidly leads to instability and dysfunction in any country.

The following section explores the perceptions of both African foreign nationals and South African citizens regarding the cause of xenophobia. Next, it looks at existing efforts to manage this type of conflict and what impact this has had. It then looks at the means or possible strategies that could be used to resolve these issues.

#### 5.1.8 Causes of Conflict: Perceptions of African Foreign Nationals

The responses to interview questions about causes of inter-group conflict between African foreign nationals and South African citizens generated some different themes. However, the answers from both show that these interviewees believe that there are at least seven key factors that result in conflict. These were concerned with: economic issues, competition over local women, job opportunities, and perceptions about crime or drug dealing. Two other, less critical issues brought up in the interviews relate to the perception of African foreign nationals' involvement in crime and those that have to do with cleanliness and crime. These issues were identified by several African foreign national respondents during the interviews. A final issue that emerged during the interviews is the suspicion on the part of locals that foreign nationals were accessing and benefitting from public services that, in their perception, should be solely the preserve of citizens.

When asked about what issues or problems result in hostility to migrants and xenophobia, Respondent G suggested a combination of issues. These ranged from economic issues to the development of jealousy or envy of migrants by citizens.

*"Local is insecure about the ability, willingness, availability and readiness that the foreigners have to work hard to get a living. So, they are threatened and the wrong perception that foreigners are making a lot of money from the shops and taking their women. From my point of view, our black brothers don't know how to cohabit with a foreigner, and they are suspicious not only of black Africans. Look what they said about Indians and white people. I understand them because of the history of South Africa; it will take time to understand globalization."*

He suggests that the history of South Africa and interaction with other race groups do excuse some wariness on the part of locals and felt that locals needed to understand the increased number of migrants as part of globalisation.



Respondent A identified similar issues in his answer.

*"I think we hear that coming from the local citizen saying that those foreigners, they are taking our jobs, taking our women; and taking this and that, confliction is probably over the employment, business opportunities and some don't like it when a woman date a foreigner, it can be everything and anything, I think to dig deeper there is nothing serious".*

Respondent B points out that, rightly or wrongly, there are many negative attributes associated with African foreign nationals. He argued that there is a somewhat limited and flawed perspective of migrants, where South Africa's believe that:

*'We are here to bring drug, bring diseases, the problem of competition of jobs in the informal sector and formal sector, and the informal is whereby they do own business like a salon, the flea market',*

When people feel insecure because of what they might see as threats, they will begin to develop resentment and hatred against the source of the perceived threat. These threats may not even be real or strong enough to cause harm, but the perception that they exist is enough because it still influences attitudes and opinions, causing hostility and fear. So, the hatred does not necessarily depend on real competition in the job market regarding employment. If the perceived threat is strong enough, it generally gives rise to resentment and prejudice (Chinomona and Maziriri, 2015).

#### 5.1.9 Causes of Conflict: Perceptions of South African citizens

South Africa is a country with one of the most uneven societies in the world. The most deficient 20% in the country receive less than 1.6% of the country's total income, while the richest 20% receive 70% (Ashman et al., 2011). The economic challenges limited public services, and a failure to make good on the promises that were expected after the 1994 elections have resulted in a situation where the perceived success of African foreign nationals, relative to their South African counterparts, has resulted in them becoming the focal point for resentment.

These sentiments and those raised during the interviews with African foreign nationals were also expressed in the interviews with South African citizens. When asked about what might cause such conflict, Respondent 7, a student living in Durban, gave the following reasons:

*"Competition for jobs (high unemployment rate in SA), Competition for partners, especially males, the competition of spaces, competition for overburdened infrastructures, i.e., hospitals/health care. There is a perception that foreigners are involved in criminal elements. E.g., drugs, human trafficking, trading of inferior products not approved by SABS".*

The response by Respondent 2, a South African female, also concurred with the other interviewees. Her response succinctly summed up all of the issues expressed by respondents from both groups.

*"First of all, the local citizens always complain that foreigners are taking their job marring their sisters, they are not clean, they are doing crime, foreigners are violent".*

Respondent 6 also noted the same or similar issues in response to these questions:

*"It is the frustration you know, some of the problem they use the issue of unemployment, people are frustrated because they are unemployed. Some of these people are not educated just to make an example, we are in tertiary institutions, and you find someone who never finishes matric accusing you with master and PhD qualifications. Taking his job, how are you taking his job? It doesn't make any sense, seating at home does not continue your education. Looking to a person with a higher qualification taking your job, they are taking their frustration and looking for people to blame. On top of that, they are complaining that some of the foreign nationals commit a crime and sell drugs. Not all of them but the same, pointing some areas like point road and selected area that is the issue.*

His answer, along with those from both groups of respondents, is interesting because it raises whether there is a genuine cause for grievance on the part of South African residents about migrants' stealing' jobs and benefiting from opportunities that should only accrue to citizens or whether this is the result of perceptions. However, the frustration of locals described by both groups of respondents does reflect what previous research has shown. This type of frustration can lead to hostility towards the perceived causes of the aggravation. Irrespective of how accurate the issues are, research shows that it is the belief that migrants benefit unfairly at the expense of locals results in resentment by South African citizens to African foreign nationals.

When Group A respondents were asked why xenophobic attacks were disproportionately aimed at African foreign nationals, many aspects were brought up in the interviews. Respondents, to

some extent, felt that the government had not conveyed the message that these migrants are beneficial to South Africa. They also felt that South Africans were also not well informed because of poor education because they have an insulated, parochial perspective about migrants, African countries, migrants, and their contribution to the economy.

The explanation by Respondent 5, a 36-year-old South African citizen, raised these issues when discussing the perceptions of locals and whether they were justified:

*'I think it is because these people are not educated. If we talk about foreign national people, think about other Africans. Meanwhile, so many people are foreigners in South Africa, the Chinese, the white people, so many people who are here. I don't know maybe it is because of these terms we use when describing people, they are limiting people. You can hear even the leaders who are talking, they are not talking about other people they are talking only about African people, which is sad, very bad like in 2008 and 2015 people who were targeted*

Early psychological theories concerning the role and nature of residents explain that prejudice and discrimination are the way people express hostility arising from frustration towards others Mothibi et al. (2015). Growing frustration because of an inability to achieve goals and objectives when others (in this case, African foreign nationals) can often result in aggression against them. With the exclusion of the migrant labour system, migration of black African to South Africa was not a common practice. Ironically, especially because of South Africa's racialised past, white foreign nationals are treated with far more tolerance and acceptance than African foreign nationals from the SADC region' (Kerr et al. (2019).

Respondent 4, a 36-year-old male citizen, also raised a relevant issue and pointed out that African foreign nationals are perceived as alien and different despite being black. Their darker skin<sup>2</sup>, dress style, food and accents are all ways in which locals identify them. These characteristics also become how they are 'othered' or excluded. Research on African foreign nationals shows that xenophobic attacks are almost solely aimed at them, whereas white foreign nationals are usually treated moderately and not seen as a threat. Black South Africans are generally more tolerant of white migrants than black migrants (Dube (2018).

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<sup>2</sup> A number of African foreign nationals come from countries where their skin colour is very dark. This is something that is noted by South Africans and is one way that foreigners may be identified.

Respondent 2 believed that a fair proportion of the resentment and envy towards African foreign nationals was because local South Africans feel intimidated if the migrant was more qualified. The resentment arising from this envy is then compounded when they are also happy to work for less remuneration.

*'Is because as South Africa, we are easily intimidated anyway, so if someone comes in and qualified (for) the job that I am doing and can do it for less money than I am getting, and he does it better. I will be hungry and intimidated; there is that sort of competition. We are intimidated. After all, they (are) hard-working because they are willing to do anything. .... foreigners can do whatever can if somebody they get opportunities.'*

Respondent 3 also raised the issue of education, but he referred to people being unaware of the benefits that migrants provide and having old-fashioned viewpoints on migrants.

*'I think it is something we lack, we think people of different colour they bring a huge difference in the society why as I say it is a lack of education.'*

This was also noted by Respondent 1, a 36-year local woman. She explained that African foreign nationals might be black. However, it was to identify them as not South Africa: citizen

*'As South Africans, we can easily see that this person is a foreigner he doesn't look a person to my side of the border, for white people except they have accented both look the same.'*

He also raises a point that was touched on in the literature review. This is the argument that xenophobia in South Africa is a form of Afrophobia, reflecting internalised self-hatred of Black South Africans.

*'We think thing still how it was before our mother our grandmother uses to be employed by the people of the different colour. That problem also is because we look down on our colour. We don't believe in our self as black people or think good can come from us. That why it ends up in black people fighting black people.'* (Respondent 3).

The colonial and apartheid system created this internal hatred. It formed a system where the worth of people was tied to the colour of their skin, race, culture, and ethnicity. By treating Black South Africans that they were not equal to other races, it contributed to self-hate, which

was inextricably linked to skin colour. In the contemporary situation in South Africa, this hostility gets turned onto other Black Africans.

When Black South Africans are analysed as groups, research does show that it is almost only white people who are tolerated as migrants (Dube, 2018). Respondent 8 believes that the differing responses to white, as opposed to African foreign nationals, is linked to a residual fear of the former because of previous systems of rule:

*'Because the black person fears white, they target only black. It is natural when a black person sees a white person, he sees a boss, and we were colonized by white, and we still fear a white person.'*

This was also noted by Respondent 6, who explained that while apartheid was over, most Black South Africans are still disadvantaged and that this has resulted in fear of African foreign nationals who are seen as perhaps new oppressors:

*'(It is) because the local citizen is still oppressed about other foreigners, they still fear them even after apartheid.'*

This does describe what most research in contemporary South Africa shows. While Black South Africans might not be actively oppressed under the current system of rule, they remain oppressed because of past disadvantages, which are still reflected in a country where there is inequality of wealth and power.

Dube (2018) states that it is essential to note that the hostility towards some MA kwerekwere (and the welcoming of white foreigners) is not unique to South Africa. What is different in South Africa is that these feelings of superiority are expressed even at the highest levels of government, thus reinforcing these views in the public. This is rather unusual in Africa because most public pronouncements by leaders are almost always characterised by platitudes of African solidarity, brotherly love, and equality. Therefore, xenophobia in South Africa is far more than hostility, fear, and prejudice against African foreign nationals. It can be viewed as a form of internalized racism among black South Africans created under colonial and apartheid rule and perpetuated in the current environment. That is typically presented as xenophobia should be considered as a form of black-on-black racism, especially new racism, practised by people of the same population groups, which has characterized post-apartheid south African black social relations (Kerr et al., 2019).

#### 5.1.10 Specific Reasons that explain the emergence of Xenophobia still occur in Durban

Over the past two decades, Durban's status as a port city has resulted in a continual flux of migrants. The border shared with other African countries is also not as tightly policed as it was during Apartheid. This also results in increased numbers of African foreign nationals. Some of these migrants are seasonal. Others intend to stay for an extended period, if not forever, and some are documented, whereas others are irregular in South Africa illegally. Increasingly, the presence of foreign nationals has sparked conflict, and an increase in xenophobic behaviour, as tensions between locals and foreigners increases. Migrants or African foreign nationals in Durban are what Radford et al. (2016) refer to as an outgroup, living amongst but not accepted or assimilated into the dominant ingroup for various reasons. These types of groups can face multiple threats whose resentment at their presence can escalate to violence.

When Respondent 3 was asked his opinion on this matter, he discussed how he thought other issues impacted and complicated xenophobic behaviour. He specifically pointed out that in part, the behaviour is difficult to control because of the lack of any substantive, as opposed to procedural measures enacted by government, as well as a stern condemnation:

*'It is because the government doesn't do much to resolve the issue or to educate people about xenophobia (and) how it wrong how it is against a notion because we are a rainbow nation, we need to accommodate other people'*

Respondent 4 also raised the issue of economic problems and just a fear of the unknown on locals. He feels that this issue mainly affects Black South Africans who have limited knowledge about countries on this continent (in his perspective). He explains that they are more likely to know what occurs in places like Europe and America than Botswana and Namibia. He explained that:

*'The economics, and the fear of the unknown, when you don't know something anything you fear it, and they don't know about any other Africa country. For them, they are linked to American and every think link with Europe, so they don't know what is happening in Botswana and Namibia.'*

An aspect raised when looking at why Durban experiences a specific type of xenophobic behaviour was the role of the government in addressing these issues. This was linked to broader concerns about state capacity to put in place measures to reduce violent clashes.

*'It is because the government failed to put the line in everything. (The) locals are saying foreigner is getting South African papers illegally. They say most businesses are hiring foreigners under cheap labour but if the government put the line stipulate the south Africans and foreigners get the same salary so they can be no conflict'. (Respondent 8)*

However, it is not just the inability to specifically address xenophobic behaviour that the respondents felt exacerbated the conflict. Respondent 8 astutely noted that there is the perception that the government has not generated any measures to ensure that foreign nationals are not able to benefit at the expense of local South Africans. He also touched upon irregular and illegal migrants, whose presence is a concern for locals. Their status makes them vulnerable to exploitation and, therefore, willing to work for lower remuneration than locals. The more significant situation was either lack of government capacity or willingness to take on more direct involvement in these matters

#### 5.1.11. Conflict over Employment Opportunities and Perceived Competition over jobs

Conflict over employment opportunities has been identified as one of the major sources of conflict between African foreign nationals and South African citizens. In South Africa, finding employment is widely seen as the key to escaping poverty. Although there are political programmes and strategies in place that aim at trying to resolve unemployment and poverty, they often only result in side-lining and isolating a large number of working poor, whose employment or unemployment do not fit into the definitions employed to describe the jobs vs poverty dichotomy (Alenda-Demoutiez and Mügge, 2019). In the aftermath of xenophobic events, one of the main issues that have been identified for resulting conflict has been a belief that African foreign nationals are taking jobs away of locals (Chinomona and Maziriri, 2015).

#### 5.1.12 Perceptions of Foreign African Nationals about conflict over job opportunities

Almost all African foreign nationals interviewed raised the issue of a perceived competition over jobs and employment opportunities. The general explanations are given by Respondents A and G in the previous section explicitly identify this as just one of the main aspects that give rise to clashes. Locals believe that African foreign nationals are taking jobs that should belong to South Africans. In a situation with declining jobs in both the formal and informal sectors, 'job stealing' becomes a key source of resentment.

Respondent A also went into detail regarding the issue of economic hardship and the availability of jobs as a cause of conflict:

*‘One of the main reasons is the state of the economy, as poverty is high and the same people come in Durban, generally in South Africa to try to look for better opportunities as there is also the scarcity of resources it happened that there is some fight. poverty is the point reason for that situation.*

The answers given to these questions show that African foreign nationals are aware of the perceptions of locals held in this regard, and this is reflected in the nuances of explanations like the following:

*“The problem is mainly economic, employment, I see where South African looking for jobs in formal and informal, when also foreigners come here to look for jobs that become problematic, the this like of foreigners they think that foreigner is here to bring drug, bring diseases, the problem of competition of jobs in the informal sector and formal sector, the informal is whereby they make own business like hairdressing (salon), the flea market, this tension will not end because, also the local citizens have a bad perception of foreigners, in the formal sector (they) cannot secure the event of a job....and in the informal sector we see those are uneducated, many of them struggle to run a daily living, and we see the informal sector of them don’t just to you to earn some” (Respondent B).*

This explanation also raises an issue that compounds the negative reactions over competition for jobs, which is the accompanying development of jealousy and resentment about migrants who are seen to be doing better from an economic perspective compared to locals. Envy and jealousy are a theme that is echoed in the interviews with African foreign nationals. Respondent H, who is originally from Uganda, expounded on this matter and said:

*‘Some of the citizens here need a living, they are also poor and when they see foreigner looking for life, you may succeed before them and because some of the foreigners are qualified where there are coming from that why you will see conflicts.*

He went on to say,

*“According to the local citizens, they believe we are here to take their resources, and there is poor, there they became poor because of us, they have been used by their local citizens, government.’*

The explanation given by Respondent C concurs with this perspective.



*“Most of the thing that bring conflicts are envy when most of the foreigner is doing will more than the local citizen, same instead of going to the foreigner and ask them, what you are doing they will be the jealousy of them they will start attacking them they are the shop it is envy.*

Respondent B did, however, raise another very pertinent issue when he pointed out that there is a perception that foreigners are not just ‘stealing’ any jobs:

*“When they see you here in South Africa, they think you are here to compete with them. The main problem is jobs, which job because you can get a job in the government, they think also.”*

Envy and jealousy over jobs and access to money were a theme that was constantly reiterated in the interviews with African foreign nationals. These perceptions and the accompanying emotions were also perceived as not only confined to issues about employment. Issues raised in the broader discussion about competition for employment concerning perceptions about whether foreign nationals were taking government jobs and benefitting from public services that locals believed should be reserved for citizens. Issues around a preference by South African women for foreign nationals was also touched on as an area that enhanced negative sentiments.

#### 5.1.13 Perceptions of South African citizens about conflict over job opportunities

During the interviews with South African citizens, the same issues were repeatedly identified regarding competition over jobs. Respondent 5, who is a lecturer at one of the local tertiary education institutions, said the following on this matter:

*“Normally the tension we normally hear it regard the jobs, some people are saying that foreigners are taking their jobs thy are unemployed because foreigners come and take their jobs.”*

Resentment related to the belief that foreigners being hired in preference to local citizens has grown rapidly. This is a common and persistent narrative that emerges from research on xenophobia and the association with completion over scarce employment

Respondent 4, raised these narratives shared by citizens:

*‘As well as we can say is xenophobia, we can see that it starts with the economy, if you talk to locals, they will tell you how company hire a foreigner and give them half of what they can give to local and in the business as well*

According to Respondent 3 25 years -old local citizen,

*‘The roots are simply about the money, it is about surviving it about opportunities, because if for example I am from Durban if I can see the opportunities and the foreigners can see as well’.*

The primary causes of xenophobia can be traced to fear, aggression and hatred of perceived strangers within society, combined with insecurity (Amusan and Mchunu, 2017). Moreover, The various version of group conflict theory shares the central premise that negative attitudes of group members toward other social groups are essentially rooted in perceived intergroup competition for scarce goods (Billiet et al., 2014).

An aspect raised by both groups of respondents was the perception of the type of jobs or employment taken up by foreign nationals and whether there is any real competition by locals. A substantial amount of research done on foreign nationals (not just specifically those from African countries) suggests that some of the opportunities that result in self-employment or paid employment are in niche areas that hold no attraction for citizens. This was an issue that Respondent 5 pinpointed when discussing the type of jobs and whether there was competition. He remarked that

*“.... some are complaining that foreigner takes cheaper jobs so if they reject those jobs as South African, foreigners will come and take and there is no way of them getting employment, so they complained around that.”*

He later expanded on this explanation and went on to state that:

*“Again, when it comes to job competition, the question rises, which job they are talking about? No one ignores that African foreign nationals are not working in government-owned institutions or companies, neither they are working in (the) formal sectors. The issues of job competition come from the informal sector where African foreign nationals run their business, such as spaza shops, selling on the streets and so forth, now the challenge becomes to know when the locals say foreigners are taking their jobs, someone wonder which job they are talking about.”*

This was also an issue that Respondent 7 pointed out:

*“The foreigner comes in South Africa they face the same problem, and when they don’t get jobs in the formal sector, and they try to create their job in the informal sector, so they can gain a living.”*

Although the South African economy may be perceived as resilient compared to many other African countries, it has continued to experience high unemployment levels over the past two decades. Unemployment in the 3<sup>rd</sup> quarter of 2020 was reported to be 30.8% in official unemployment<sup>3</sup>, which showed an increase of 7,5 percentage points. The criteria used for expanded or broader unemployment showed that the current rate was 43.1%, showing 1.1 percentage points (Statistics South Africa 2020). More than a fifth of workers in South Africa live in households unable to meet a basic need, and 58 % of poor south Africans lived in households with employed persons (Alenda-Demoutiez and Mügge, 2019). Unemployment seems to be a severe source of conflict between local citizens and African foreign nationals living in the city that has emerged in the interviews. Most respondents reported that due to the high level of unemployment in the country, locals think foreigners take their jobs, making them unemployed.

The issue of conflict arising from competition for scarce employment opportunities is delicate, and in some areas, the concerns by citizens are well-founded. There are unskilled, low-paying jobs where foreigners can complete successfully with citizens. A significant body of research done in South Africa points out that this is increasingly found in rural areas. There is competition between foreign migrants and locals for employment as farm workers ((Misago, 2017). Despite an official minimum wage set for this employment sector, research shows that foreign nationals are more than willing to accept lower rates, thus reducing either job opportunities for locals or driving down wages. However, in urban areas, the issues are somewhat different.

As mentioned earlier, foreign nationals offer to move into niche areas to provide services, which do not attract local competition. South Africa is also facing constraints to economic

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<sup>3</sup> There is a distinction between the definitions of official and the expanded definition of unemployment. The former is a strict or narrow definition that refers to individuals above a certain age who satisfy the following three criteria: 1) People who are without work and have been classified as unemployed; 2) People who are at the time currently available for work which, either due to paid employment or who are self-employed; 3) People who are in the process of looking for paid employment or self-employment. The latter broad definition also includes those who are not actively involved in looking for jobs (Natrass, 2002).

growth because of the shortage of skilled labour in many sectors. In such cases, these posts filled by foreign nationals serve an existing gap in the labour market (Chinomona and Maziriri, 2015). Conditions in which job scarcity and unemployment prevail have impacted foreign migrants and local workers (Crush and Peberdy, 2018)

This results in a situation where foreign workers trying to avoid becoming jobless are prepared to work for lower rates of pay and often take up employment in jobs that are perceived as unattractive by locals. This is usually because they are dangerous and dirty and have “become racialized as they are associated with foreign workers to such a degree that national of host countries refuse to undertake them despite high levels of poverty and unemployment” (Chinomona and Maziriri, 2015). In South Africa, the perception indeed does exist those foreign nationals are prepared to take on jobs irrespective of how society perceives its standing and value, without seeming to take into account the financial returns.

In the last two decades, South Africa has become a major destination for economic and forced migrants. Most live in urban areas where they compete with locals and each other for jobs and other services. because many migrants fail to secure formal employment on arrival, they join the burgeoning informal economy, particularly street and spaza shop retail trading. (Tshishonga, 2015a). When it comes to self-employment and entrepreneurship, foreign nationals do perform well as street traders. They generally start as street operators, either complementing existing businesses or providing new services or products. These markets are easier to enter than the larger, formal business opportunities, but they are still subject to competitive activities (Tsoeu, 2003). Local traders in Durban explain that how no trader could occupy another person's site or stand or sell the same goods as others at a discount.

The business rules that exist are unwritten but fair and based on the common understanding that street traders are poor (Sidzatane and Maharaj, 2013). They operate in such a manner that allows street traders to make a modest living while still acting in solidarity with other traders. There is an acceptance and acknowledgement that at times, there will be a need to make room for new entrants, trading in basic commodities such as in the solidarity of the street fruit and vegetables, and this is accepted if there is adherence to the unwritten rules of the trade. However, their presence and relative success result in discord, hostility and sometimes open harassment from local citizens who perceive their involvement in this sector as an encroachment on local traders’ rights (Tshishonga, 2015a).

The discord arising over employment opportunities is also linked to the broader issues regarding access to employment opportunities or benefits and public services perceived as rightly belonging to South Africans only. This introduces the issues raised in the preceding section, which looks at conflict arising from beliefs about access to public services and benefits.

#### 5.1.14 Conflict as a result of Perceived Access to Public services and Benefits: The Perspective of African foreign nationals

The concern over African foreign nationals accessing public services and benefits that are supposed to be primarily reserved for South African citizens is a perpetual theme that emerges, from existing research, about also in the narratives from locals and migrants when it comes to identifying the contentious issues that exacerbate the relationship between these two groups. This concern is not unfounded, as research has shown that the public health sector in South Africa is a draw that attracts short-term ‘medical migrants’ and foreign nationals whose intention is to remain in the country for a significant period. However, most of the time, migrants battle to access the services provided by the public health sector. The denial of public health services to migrants in South Africa has led researchers like (Crush and Tawodzera, 2011) to refer to this behaviour as medical xenophobia. Despite these types of practices constituting a violation of international human rights obligations (Muswede and Mpofu, 2020) this type of behaviour is a growing trend that researchers attribute to the failure of the South African government to address the general growth of xenophobia which has been prevalent and increasing since the 1990s (Crush and Tawodzera, 2011). The perception that African foreign nationals’ access public benefits and put an extra strain on already under pressure system is not limited to public health. Concerns about low-cost housing and the belief that migrants benefit from this at the expense of locals are also part of the issues that promote ill-feeling towards foreign nationals (Ubisi et al., 2019)

Respondent B explained how their limited capacity on the part of the South African government when it came to service delivery was an issue that was often partially blamed on migrants:

*‘Service delivery, the South African government have a problem with services delivery to their population, job, health, housing, and accommodation. They think that the foreigner will have the same right and same access to the services in the South African government is unable to deliver, so local citizen thinks that with the presence of the*

*foreigner, the government will get for them for foreigner, what they could have for themselves now they would need the share, it just a misperception, if they knew who is.*

#### 5.1.15 Conflict as a result of Perceived Access to Public services and Benefits: The Perspective of South African citizens

During the interviews with South African citizens, this question resulted in a range of responses. Many of the respondents from both groups did explicitly point out that in addition to a perception of favourable economic access that seems to be afforded to African foreign nationals, another contentious issue is that of access to public services and benefits like health, houses, free education, and jobs) are among the roots cause of conflict.

Respondent 7, at one point, introduced the issue of problems that arose because of the belief that foreign national access to limited public services contributed to poor service delivery and remarked on

*“Competition for overburdened infrastructures, hospitals / health care”.*

He later revisited this issue and elaborated further on his earlier point, saying:

*“The issue of housing, we don’t talk much about that one, but I hear people talking saying that they are people who don’t have government houses, but they have foreign people who are owners of those houses, and it causes problems”.*

In his answer, he clearly distinguished that this was the locals' perception and not necessarily substantiated by evidence. However, as with many other beliefs regarding foreign nationals, the lack of evidence does not prevent these narratives from being believed. The reaction by locals still contributes to the development of hostile feelings and resentment, even if it is unfounded.

Respondent 5 also described this as an issue and went on to discuss how

*‘Some local citizens think that foreigners are benefiting from the government support for the free housing, which is not true, and it never happened, some Respondents reported that the housing issue is not raised most often, but it is one of the causes of conflicts.*

The limited and often poor service delivery available in South Africa compounds the resentment felt by residents because of the perception of access by migrants. They feel that it is, to some extent, the presence of migrants that has led to these facilities becoming overburdened and failing under strain. In combination with a stagnating economy and limited employment opportunities, conflict is almost inevitable between migrants and citizens, increasing xenophobia. Although these issues are essentially the result of widespread political and economic problems, foreigners are easy to blame for poor service delivery.

#### 5.1.16 Conflict as a result of Perceived Access Competition to South African women: The Perspective of African foreign nationals

One of the more contentious issues that surface as a constant refrain and complaint about migrants is that they ‘steal’ local women from South African men. This is partly a result of the perception that migrants are economically better off than many local men. The belief is that South African women find them more attractive and preferable to local men because of their financial status and because they can use money as a lure. Dube (2018) explains that “foreigners by South African are not only the commission of various types of crimes such as armed robberies, human trafficking and drug peddling but also the stealing of jobs and women”.

Respondent A reported that along with many other issues that result in ill-feeling about foreign nationals, the issue of migrants and local women is a key issue:

*‘I think we hear that coming from the local citizen saying that those foreigners, they’re are taking our jobs, taking our women’s and taking this and that.... probably the employment, business opportunities and some don’t take it when a woman dates a foreigner. It can be everything and anything. I think to dig deeper there is nothing serious*

The existing research shows that this complaint is prevalent and that local men constantly accuse foreign nationals of coming to South Africa ‘to steal their women’. The perceived financial advantage of migrants has led to the belief that foreign nationals are preferable partners because they have the means to spoil local women (Chinomona and Maziriri, 2015).

This was undoubtedly an issue that Respondent G expounded on, and he reported that:

*'Locals are insecure about the ability, willingness, availability and readiness that the foreigners have to work hard to get a living, so they are threatened. And (there is) also the wrong perception that foreigner is making a lot of money from the shops, and they are taking their women. From my point of view, our black brothers don't know how to cohabit with foreigners. They are suspicious not only of black Africans. Look what they said about Indians and white people. I understand them because of the history of South Africa. It will take time to understand globalization'.*

The answer from Respondent C corroborates these perspectives and points out that this does create an undue amount of resentment and jealousy

*"Still on envy, they say we are to take their women, we found out their lady come after us and living them".*

#### 5.1.17 Conflict as a result of Perceived Access Competition to South African women: The Perspective of Local South

Respondent 5 described how local men resent African foreign nationals because migrants normally have an advantage because they may be in a stable financial position and can afford to buy gifts etc., for these women. The response to questions about whether African foreign nationals are 'stealing' South African women from local men provoked a wide range of responses.

*'It becomes problematic when some locals think foreigners mostly, from African countries are here to steal their jobs, to take their women. As if women are something that you just come and take with you anyhow, ignoring the rights of women to love anyone of their choice.'*

He points out that this perspective is rather ludicrous because it assumes that the women have no agency in this matter, whereas the choice of dating or even marrying an African foreign national is the woman's prerogative.

*The worse is to go out with someone's wife, but this is not always the case. The issue here is that local citizens do not want to see a love relationship between their females and African foreigner males.*

Several of the interviewees from Group B concurred with Respondent 5 about the belief held by local men who think that the African foreign nationals have an advantage because they are



generally better off financially and can provide better resources. The interviewees also believe that local women prefer foreign nationals.

Respondent 8 also pointed out that it is not just the competition over women. It is also because African foreign nationals are associated with taking or selling drugs.

‘ *Basically, drugs and girls. They accuse them of doing drugs and taking for women. Those are those things that make locals fight foreigners.*

This raises the issue of crime and the perception that it is due to African foreign nationals.

#### 5.1.18 Crime and African foreign nationals

South Africa has one of the highest crime rates in the world. Crime has increased to unprecedented levels and has become increasingly violent. The perpetuation of disadvantages from pre-1994 and the continued economic problems has led to an increase in poverty and criminal activity (Cheteni et al., 2018). Respondents from both subsamples reported that crime had been a massive issue that threatened their lives at varying times.

Several researchers specialise in looking at what causes certain types of crime., They are also involved in assessing the effectiveness of the strategies that have been crime, and what strategies can be employed to alleviate or mitigate situations that give rise to illegal behaviour. Their perspective on the rapid increase and spread of different types of crime in South Africa is that there is no satisfactory explanation or reason (Schönteich and Louw, 2001). Criminologists emphasize that when trying to determine why criminals behave in certain ways, it is important to consider how factors in the broader environment contribute to its emergence and spread (Lamond, 2007).

#### 5.1.19 Perceptions of African foreign nationals and Crime

This perceived link between migrants and crime is a commonly held opinion that is restricted to everyday people. Over the past decade, senior civil servants and politicians have made statements blaming foreigners for increased criminal activity. This has resulted in the tension between citizens and African foreign nationals increasing exponentially because it appears to endorse and add legitimacy to expressions of prejudice and hostility directed y citizens to migrants. Even at the official level in government, not only by citizens but also at individuals from very senior levels in government.

Most of the respondents from Group A acknowledged that South African citizens associate migrants with crime. Respondent B elaborated on this issue:

*‘They think foreigners are here to sell drugs, and they are involved in criminal activity.*

There is an assumption that a causal relationship between migration and criminal conduct. Crime statistics show that police regularly report the apprehension of illegal migrants for things like armed robbery, car-jacking and rape (Crush and Peberdy, 2018). However, migrants are more likely to be targeted by criminals than engage in illegal behaviour.

#### 5.1.20 Perceptions of South African citizens and the association between crime and African foreign nationals

The perception that migrants are largely to blame for increases in crime has become more, and more widespread. Several studies, that have been conducted on South Africans' viewpoints and what they felt contributed to a rise in criminal behaviour. 48% of South Africans, nearly half the population, felt that migrants are largely responsible for the post- 1994 crime wave and were a criminal threat (Crush and Peberdy, 2018).

Respondent 2 from Group B, raised these issues when asked for her opinion:

*‘The root of the conflicts is that most of the people don’t know these people are. We don’t know why they are here. They say that we are them saying, that there is war in their country.... but the war is finished (and) they’re still here. (This is) the root of conflict, why we accommodate these people.... we don’t go to their country. Most of the time, you can hear people saying that if I sell the drug to your country or do whatever you are doing here, they will kill me. It has been an element (that is) unfair like there is nothing we can do about it. We have this person, and we need to accommodate them.*

The respondent, in this case, did express her dissatisfaction with African foreign nationals involved in crime because of how it impacts her. This is frustrating when the option to leave is not feasible, and citizens are constantly affected.

However, not all South Africans attribute the growth in crime to foreigners. Respondent 4 indicated that he does not associate all migrants with criminal activities or blame the increase solely on them. He also acknowledges that drug smuggling and dealing poses a severe health threat to youngsters in the community who are taking them:

*‘For me when African foreign national are brothers who work very hard but when it comes to drugs, I don’t say that locals do not do, you can see Nigerian, with the drugs issue there is a problem because when you see the young kids are taking this drugs that are making them lose weight.’*

While Respondent 4 does point out that although the prevailing viewpoint associates foreigners with crime and drug dealing,

*(The) reality is that ‘you got only a few foreigners dealing with that, but they blame them all, which is not good.’*

#### 5.1.21 African foreign nationals as victims of crime.

Research on migration to South Africa shows that migrants, particularly those from African countries, are vulnerable for a variety of reasons. They are far more likely to be victims of crime than perpetrators (Cinini, 2015).

The areas where both African foreign nationals work, congregate or live have become more unsafe, and Respondent 1 noted how this impacted the safety in different areas. Described how the increase in crime had led to previously safe areas becoming dangerous:

*‘You will find in the area like people are no more feeling safe.’*

He also raised another issue regarding the state of these areas,

*‘Cleanliness we need to work in those areas before we used to walk in those areas, we grow up in those areas the cleanliness is not there.’ (Respondent 1).*

The issue of cleanliness is also a factor that is associated with African foreign nationals. This does not necessarily refer to their physical hygiene. It concerns areas that have become degraded and messy. This issue is also blamed on migrants. However, it has been noted, locals attach crime and employment to foreign nationals or nationality, and link crime to Nigerians and think African foreign nationals are criminals. From a general point of view, it is important to understand that not all African foreign nationals are into crime as several Respondents are exposed.

Irrespective of whether opinions about the link between African foreign nationals and crime is true, South Africans associate them with illegal behaviour. This can result in resentment towards African foreign nationals because of this association. Local citizens in Durban blame

migrants for the rapid increase in crime, and the combination of blame and resentment can result in a volatile situation where the likelihood of violent conflict is high. One of the biggest challenges that still has yet to be dealt with effectively has been developing and putting in place strategies that could promote the economic empowerment of previously disadvantaged groups. Implementing measures to alleviate poverty and promote the development of small and medium-sized enterprises have been inadequate. The result has been only reinforced the discrimination and inequality established under colonial rule and perpetuated under the National Party. The increase in inequality and poverty in South Africa has created the perfect environment for expressions of xenophobia. It has resulted in the development of other issues that often emerge in impoverished areas, and this is the widespread use of drugs, especially by young men and boys. This is not surprising in a country where youth unemployment is currently 55.75 % (Statistics, S.A., 2020). Therefore, it would not be surprising that drug-related crime is more prominent, where poverty is pervasive and growing.

Concern about drug usage amongst young Black South Africans is on the increase, and there is a widespread point of view that African foreign nationals are the ones who are bringing drugs into the country and selling them in the community. The narrative that has been developed to explain the high levels of crime identifies migrants as the source of these drugs. This was certainly a theme that emerged from the interviews with Group A.

Respondent 2 described the scenario in Durban that supports the narrative:

‘ *The presence of foreign nationals has made a big change in terms of they came with We hear they are the one that brings the drug in our country and drugs play measure negative role in our country. It is one of the most issues people are always complaining about, and people will say, “this street used to be nice now the street is infected by foreigners. I hear people saying that if you want (want to) go to the beach, you need to pass by Nigeria first. They are just all over, and they are taking over with drugs.*

Drug dealing or usage is not the only problem that influences how African foreign nationals are viewed when it comes to drugs. Respondent 2 also described the exasperation that can arise because of their perceived lack of manners and perceptions about their hygiene.

*‘They not very clean, not conforming to the standard of our living. Like us South Africana, when we (are) talking, we can’t have a person pass through us<sup>4</sup>. They can stand can even know where to pass, passing through people for us is disrespectful. That means I need to go into the road. They don’t even bother to say sorry. Maybe they don’t know.’*

While these might seem petty annoyances, it is the cumulative effect of these things that can often lead to violence.

#### 5.1.22 Strategies for avoiding or reducing Xenophobic attacks.

Efforts to reduce the type of xenophobic behaviour have been attempted, and certainly, after the 2015 clashes, the South African government has taken a more pro-attractive stance. However, behaviour modification is also something that takes the grassroots level by groups or communities engaging in different ways to try and avoid conflict. These range from government-based approaches to voluntary community-based initiatives. This section looks and what interventions are able, what has been used, and how successful these were.

#### 5.1.23 Coping Strategies for Xenophobia: The Experience of African foreign nationals

Coping strategies to try and avoid harassment or violence during xenophobic outbreaks is one mechanism that can be employed to try, and limit the spread, or stop it completely. The Respondents from Group A were asked whether they used any coping strategies, as well as how successful they were. They were also asked to give their opinion on what other means could be used, and if anything, else could be done, and how this would take place.

Respondent F, who was from Zimbabwe explained that most people: *‘They just avoid the conflict other people know where to be and know what to do.’* In this type of scenario, discretion is the better part of valour and violent clashes are avoided.

When Respondent B was asked, he started by explaining that these types of situations would usually be resolved by community leaders, law enforcement and several other individuals, including government representatives. The authority imbued with the position that these leaders occupy lend a sense of legitimacy to decisions being made or advice given. whose authority would be respected and listened to. However, how African foreign nationals are

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<sup>4</sup> This is referring to the migrants pushing their way through the centre of groups.

viewed and treated means that attempts to address these types of issues are usually stifled and very short-lived.

Respondent B elaborated on the use of community leaders but also pointed out why this approach was unable to be used in the South African context. He described some of these issues:

*‘(When it comes to) coping mechanism most of the time you are the community leader, but us we can’t go to the community leader. If you come to report South African, so they won’t give you justice. If you go to the police station, the police will open the case but will not consider it, and because they are first South African, the police protect these citizens protect them. as opposed to the victims of crime.*

He pointed out that in absence of a community leader who would engage in good faith to try and resolve the issue, there was a limit to what could be done. The battle to get any type of helpful response from the authorities is just one of the many battles faced by migrants in Durban. Respondent B explains why he thought this happens:

*‘The community don’t know you if you go to report a South African, but they will do nothing, (about) the xenophobia and discrimination.’*

Respondents all indicated that the South African police generally treat migrants callously and will block any official process or investigation if the complainant is foreign and the partner is American. He also expressed the view that staff working for different government institutions failed to assist. The only avenue or strategy that presented itself at this point would either be to persist with enquiries to the police or drop the issue and even the score later.

*‘Still, on it is no open in the big institution government institution, you don’t have an organization you can go and complain, the mechanism it is just to let it go because the police will tell you a story., the coping mechanism it just let it go, or set you to mind, even the police score.’*

Most of the respondents from Group A voiced their concerns about approaching the police because of bias against foreigners, specifically those from other countries in the African continent. Irrespective of the amount of evidence, and often even when there have been eyewitnesses, the default position for police is to take the side of South African citizens over African foreign nationals. The victim trying to report a crime often ends up experiencing re-

victimisation and further trauma because the police will not intervene because of their own biases and prejudice. This has led to foreign nationals mistrusting police involvement and being extremely reluctant to report any sort of crime. Migrants, therefore, prefer not to report to the police because they don't trust them., they reported that they had lost trust in the police.

Respondent E, who was from Zambia, weighed in on the topic

*'You just let them go because if I go to the police, they will not take it seriously, and they don't take your side or the side of ..... a foreigner reporting a South African. One of my friends got attacked (by) the people she knows. They stole her bag; she went to the police to report the case the policeman says she is lying, and they cannot arrest a south African for a foreigner.'*

The consensus from the respondents in Group A was that if you were a victim of a crime, it was better the let matter go, and not report to the police, because of your nationality, you will not be able to open a case as a foreigner. Some of the respondents had been told that because they were foreign nationals, they had no rights and therefore could not open a case. For the most part, the police themselves seem to be extremely resistant to afford any type of protection to African foreign nationals and are engaging in a low form of xenophobia behaviour themselves.

Respondent J, who was from Senegal said that he has never experienced any clashes with himself, however, he had heard of it happening. And just recently he heard the following:

*'Took the matter to the police station, same time they get help some time they don't'*

The interviewees were also interviewed about what personal challenges they had experienced. For instance, when asking about personal challenges in the city, Respondent E reported

*'My challenge is this street, you can't walk at the night, you can work at day, even when you wear your wedding ring, even in your house they will come and take things., the robbery in Durban is too much.'*

Most African foreign nationals believe that the criminal justice system cannot protect them or assist them because as foreigners, they have no rights. In cases where there are foreign nationals and South African citizens, judges need to the entire justice system should be aimed to prioritize the crime and as opposed to favouring one side over the other.

#### 5.1.24 South Africans Perceptions of Coping Mechanisms

This section looks at the type of coping strategies that South African citizens sometimes adopt to deal with xenophobic attacks. While South Africans are not usually the subject of such violence, the impact on the broader society needs to be assessed to determine what other factors exacerbate this activity. These outbreaks are a reminder that South Africa is a deeply dysfunctional system, and there have been no substantive strategies put in place to deal with these issues. The violent clash in South Africa reflects a deeply flawed system characterised by tremendous wealth and critical power. While South Africans are not the target of xenophobic attacks, the violent outbreaks and subsequent impact have resulted in some direct and responsive strategies.

Respondent 1 explained that many South African citizens, including themselves, avoid areas where conflict is occurring and *'have chosen to stay away because of the possibility of being caught in a violent fight'*.

Respondent 2 explained that the type of responses:

*(Are mostly dependent on who you are and what conflict it is, same Other people will go to the police station to complain, others will call the alder to intervenient in the matters, other will take justice to their hand. '*

A pro-active response that would necessitate representatives from each group meeting, who could facilitate working towards a successful strategy, was raised by Respondent 8. Due to his experience with foreign nationals, Respondent 2 felt that this type of intervention would be less controversial and had a better chance of dealing quickly when situations were volatile.

*Respondent 8 local citizen 32 years old I never have a conflict with a foreigner. but we need to understand that we are African brothers I think we can sit down and solve the problem.*

Aside from the local hostility, it was found that the prevalence of xenophobic attitudes, as mentioned been linked to a public institution, including DHA, and South Africa police services (SAPS) (Viltoft, 2018). Some respondents raised this issue because when a foreigner does try and report a crime, the police officers have told them that they have no rights because of their nationality

#### 5.1.25 African Foreign Nationals and Legal concerns



South African blame foreign nationals for dealing with crime in the country. Although there are instances when people engaging in criminal behaviour are foreign nationals, this is an extremely small number of people. However, several respondents from Group A believed that the criminal justice system in South Africa was ineffective when dealing with African foreign nationals.

#### 5.1.26 Xenophobia and Human Rights.

An issue that is linked to how migrants are treated, is whether they are legally in the country, and possess the necessary documents that are a requirement. Without legal documents and a work permit, irregular and illegal migrants are very vulnerable to abuse. Respondent H described how even if migrants have their documents in order, they can still be subjected to prejudicial and hostile behaviour.

*‘You got protection once you have paper, but sometimes we don’t get protection like to get a license to work is not easy.’*

Foreign nationals in South Africa are however guaranteed certain rights, increasingly though, these are being ignored by both the public and civil servants in this country. According to the Human Rights Committees (*Defeis and L., 2009*)

*‘All persons are equal before the law and are entitled to equal protection of the law without discrimination and that the law shall guarantee to all persons equal and effective protection against discrimination on any of them’*

South Africa, there should treat all foreign nationals fairly, regardless of whether they are legally in the country or not. However, issues that emerged in this research, and have also been found in other research is the complicity of certain public sector departments and discriminatory treatment of African foreign nationals. The Department of Home Affairs is widely condemned because of how it treats migrants, A delay in processing applications, misplacing documents, or just refusing to issue permits has created a growing body on African foreign nationals, whose permits have yet to be updated and who are therefore in the country illegally.

#### 5.1.27 Difficulties in acquiring official Documents

A constant theme that kept being revised by respondents was difficulties in accessing necessary documents, even though they have been officially allowed into South Africa. Discriminatory

tactics, coupled with the large number of people trying to access their papers at the DHA “Participant complains about the documentation, permit status and asylum to be illegal in the country. Applying for asylum status is done through the department of home affairs. The waiting period is enforced on migrants by the DHA as they process the documents. This is especially problematic when it comes to processing applications and appeals for asylum seekers and refugees (Sutton et al. (2011) find that international migration researchers have paid considerable attention to the long queue that migrants wait in to enter a country. The consequences of this range from not being able to apply for formal jobs, having medical treatment delayed or refused, and even not being able to open a bank account. Respondent 3 describes the consequences for migrants in absence of official documents which means *you will sleep outside... (due to the) issue of the document most of the foreigner doesn't have a document*

A lack of identity documents or other recognised papers can also allow unscrupulous employers to abuse employees who find themselves in this state. Since they are not in the country legally, this also means that they are unable to lodge complaints with official bodies (Landau et al., 2005).

#### 5.1.28 Attitude and treatment from African foreign nationals in Durban

The experiences of African foreign nationals in South Africa is not unique, “The experience of a migrant in South Africa is by no means unique. Many migrants come to South Africa in search of better economic opportunities and a better life. While they may be benefiting economically. They may also become victims of mistreatment, xenophobia and discrimination (Gebre et al., 2011). When it comes to migrants coming from different areas, though Black Africans are most likely to be considered illegal migrants or aliens even before they have crossed the borders. As anti-migrant perceptions grow, so too has the means to control the entrance of migrants (Nyamnjoh, 2006). New migrants, like earlier groups, are vulnerable to xenophobic violence and structures of segregation. their status of migrants and the increasing threats of xenophobia leave them feeling insecure (Seedat-Khan and Johnson, 2018).

Previous research and the information collected for this investigation indicate that the treatment of migrants by South Africans varies. Respondent C discussed the behaviour and said that only

a small proportion of South Africans treat migrants badly and that, *'80% of them like foreigners they treat us nice'*.

Respondents all indicated that at times it is almost impossible to have a good relationship with migrants, because of the prejudice against them. However, the type of behaviour towards migrants is often dependent on where interaction takes place and how migrants interact with locals. Respondents from Group A indicated that foreign nationals are treated far better than normal at schools, universities or churches. Respondent A has never been treated badly, and explained and attributes this to several factors,

*'I think majority treat them well same it depends on the class they are in, if they secure they will show it if they don't feel it they will show by attacking. It also depends on which place you meet them like if you meet them at the church, they will treat you well if it is not, it became different.'*

Respondent F also feels that the treatment of migrants is related to *'the attitudes and how you behave'*.

Treatment of migrants and interaction with them, therefore, varied, even amongst the respondents in this study. Respondent D attributes the poor treatment she has been on the receiving end to jealousy and resentment at times. Respondent J also discussed how he made been on the receiving end of poor treatment at times, even by the same person and stated that *'(the) same local citizen treat you bad they disrespect you, but you just let it pass and the same one treat good it depends,*

The treatment of migrants does vary, depending on their country of origin, although the 2015 conflict seemed to focus on African foreign nationals, irrespective of their nationality. Generally, though, migrants from certain African countries receive very different treatment. Hostility and prejudice experienced are therefore linked to their nationality. Respondent E discussed how distrust is linked to beliefs about the migrant's nationality and gave the following example

*'Mostly Nigerian, they believed that Nigerian is the one who brings drugs, they bring prostitution that why they don't like them, we find our self in the same situation because of them'*

What did emerge during the interviews is that is useful was the perception that education played a role. Respondent F *raised this issue and then elaborated on it,*

*‘Those who are educated treat you well and those are not treated badly’.*

He did however also explain that level of education was not the sole determinant of how migrants were treated

*‘The problem is also that even the police who have educated the treat you some way and the talk against the foreigners they don’t assist foreigners’*

The information collected during the interviews shows that a significant number of locals do not treat African foreign nationals badly, and for the most part generalisations about this would be inaccurate. The importance of education, which was raised in this last section is a strategy that could be used when it comes to how government should deal with the matter.

#### 5.1.29 The Role of Government in Preventing Xenophobia

Respondents from both groups were asked for their opinion about the role that government should play to control and reduce xenophobic attacks.

The issue that both groups felt was important was integration, and that government should therefore be attempting to facilitate the integration of migrants into the local communities. Although respondents’ ha previously noted the limitation of community leader involvement and leadership when trying to address violent clashes in South Africa, the respondent did still feel that community leaders should engage with government representatives to try and reduce the conflict. This then led to many different strategies that respondents felt would be useful.

The first set of strategies suggested looked at how community leaders and government officials could educate the local citizens about the positive aspects of foreign nationals. Research that looks at the means used to reduce conflict can, amongst other initiatives, open up a dialogue with foreign nationals and South African citizens, and allow for better communication. The prevention of conflict is linked to the basis of education, open communication, and democratic participation (de Rivera, 2004). In cases like xenophobia, the government needs to be more proactive and advance prescriptive measures that prevent conflict from developing, as opposed to symptomatic treatment that tries to mitigate the harm done after clashes have occurred.

Respondents from both groups were in favour of extensive campaigns to develop more tolerance on the part of South Africans towards foreign nationals.

Respondent D explains

*‘More education, more enlightenment so people they should know, and government should tell them that we are one. The problem also with South African people is that they don’t travel, if they should travel and meet with people, they will understand that there is nothing like a language barrier. And they will understand that we are just one as African, even in the government they will need to talk about it and doing it by announcing on television on caring and loving each then telling people not to kill’*

In addition to just calling for a halt to the violence and spreading the message for migrants to be treated better, respondents also indicated that educating South Africans on the contribution that foreign nationals make to the country is also important. According to Respondent A, this could be done if they

*‘Sensitize the population informing them that other foreigners are brothers and sisters, and they should unite as one to quick out poverty, to also show the contribution of others foreigner is helping south Africa during apartheid. They should teach them and show them that other people contributed a lot to the liberation of the freedom of South Africa today, to keep on working hand to hand with other African countries to quick out the poverty in the African continent.*

Respondent 5 added his contribution to the issue of education by pointing out how the government could interact with community leaders, and argued that they both could play an important role:

*‘I think it the community leader, not just the government event the traditional leaders if they can talk to people to the community, about this issue that will help. We have the people who are educated and understand how we can leave with one another but with the people in rural areas, I think no one is talking about the issue. If we involve the community leader the traditional leader to educate them’*

Respondent 10 also agreed with involving community leaders because,

*‘They hold a very prominent, role in communities as they might have been elected or just respected the can use this to their advantage advantages by using peaceful interventions.*

Respondent 5 also thought that working through youth structures and educating them would also help and using the media to convey the message through TV programmes might get people thinking and talking.

*‘We need another leader, even youth structure, we need their leader to get involved. All those youth structures that are here, we need those leaders to talk to people, I know some others are doing that but they’re not well funded, the government can get involved in that. And the media, the media they can have a platform if they can use that to provide some issues..... people love entertainment watching TV, when you watch the drama, they talk about these issues you learn certain things. Drama is not just for entertainment.....because their certain way you can address to people, same people are seating at home watching drama and learning something on how foreign national should be treated*

Respondent 3 suggested how government, whom he criticised for not being proactive enough on these issues, could begin to resolve the issue of migrants driving down wages. He raised the issue of how migrants getting into the country illegally allows them to be exploited by businesses who would pay them less than citizens,

*‘Say most businesses are hiring foreigner under cheap labour but if the government put the line stipulate the south Africans and foreigners get the same salary so they can be no conflict’*

Respondents A and D spoke about the need to make South Africans aware of the very valuable contribution made by migrants to South African society.

Respondent A explained in detail,

*‘I can also mention education it is something we need to look at it very closely if they are more educated, they will see that foreigner is bringing they share in the country to develop the country., They are not only taking away but they are contributing to the economy when they are paying their taxes, I think education will help people to understand the contribution of the foreigner, and reduce hate toward migrants.’*

He then went on to say that,

*‘They should also sensitize the population informing them that other foreigners are brothers and sisters, and they should unite as one to quick out poverty, to also show the contribution of others foreigner is helping south Africa during apartheid. They should teach them and show them that other people contributed a lot to the liberation of the freedom of South Africa today, to keep on working hand to hand with other African countries to quick out the poverty in the African continent.*

South African respondents indicated that from their perspective, the South African government did not take an active enough role in protecting potential victims, but also protecting South Africans against job losses. This could be done with help from the communities.

*‘So, the role of the community it protects them, as the coming from the other country. It is our government who have a responsibility to make sure that the people are protecting the people threatened like a citizen, help them find a job helping and protecting them.’*

Respondents 1 and 4 also argued that the government needed to emphasize their shared humanity and promote tolerance:

*‘Their role is to send a united message to people of loving each other and accommodating each other’* (Respondent 4). thought that any xenophobic violence also needed to be dealt with harshly and that this would convey the message that violence was unacceptable:

*‘I think the government shall concentrate speak to local citizen tell them that they must come together..... South Africa and the countries must come together, and whoever attacks foreigners must be locked up.*

Respondent 5 also argued that the majority of South Africans today are unaware of the role that these countries played in assisting them under apartheid, and the factors that occur in their own countries that result in them having to leave. The need to educate South Africans on this is paramount from their perspective, especially about *‘the reason why foreign nationals are here because some come to South Africa fiercely and others for education people don’t know about that.’*

The suggestions made by both groups of respondents are very similar to those advocated by the UN refugee agency which argues that xenophobia is very really dealt with properly and is not responsive to outside criticism. However, ‘grassroots initiatives and locally-led activities might be more effective than broad, far-reaching international programs that focus on states

communities, in addition, international and contact theory world indicate that meaning interaction between host and newcomer populations can help overcome misperceptions and stereotypes.

The importance and value of skilled African foreign nationals should also be made more obvious, especially since the violence is actually exacerbating and adversely affecting skilled African immigration into the country, and further exacerbating Respondent 4 South Africa's battle with brain drain (Tembo, 2019). These suggestions are also aligned with those put forward by other researchers who suggest that this type of approaches 'offer an effective means for the peaceful handling of deep-rooted difference through inclusive, just and accountable social frameworks' (Harris and Reilly, 1998). Initiatives to combat xenophobia using some of these different approaches has been used in other countries to combat xenophobia toward refugees and migrants, and global figures include UN secretary-general figures, Ban-Ki – the moon and current secretary-general of UN Antonio Guterres, have spoken at length about the importance of tolerance and need to combat xenophobia (Miller, 2018).

Suggestions about integrating foreigners through education and raising awareness, however, do not mitigate the perceptions of migrants 'stealing' jobs. Respondent A argues that addressing the real issue here would mean enacting a range of programmes to reduce poverty and improve the standard of living of citizens.

*'One of the main reasons is the state of the economy, as poverty is high and the same people come in Durban, generally in South Africa to try to look for better opportunities as there is also the scarcity of resources it happened that there is some fight. Poverty is the point reason of that situation, I can also mention education it is something we need to look at it very closely if they are more educated, they will see that foreigner is bringing they share in the country to develop the country, they not only taking away but they are contributing in the economy when they are paying their taxes, I think education will help people to understand the contribution of the foreigner, and reduce hate toward migrants.'* (Respondent A)

This approach mentioned above is part of a broad array of programmes, which allow for double integration. This approach focuses on integrating refugee and migrant newcomers, and also people from other segments of the population who have been excluded because of systematic barriers such as their geographic location or access to economic opportunities (Miller, 2018). Poverty reduction and more extensive education are important, particularly because



uneducated people are easily influenced by hate groups. Any initiatives that foster collaboration between citizens and migrants does allow for common ground between the two groups to be identified. The most important thing though that should arise from dealing with xenophobia is to promote a dramatic change in behaviour on the part of both citizens and foreign nationals. This is because “ *a successful case of conflict transformation is one where the parties, the issues, and the expectations are changed so that there is no longer a fear of war arising from the relationship*’ (Bar-Tal (2000)).

This chapter has looked at the perceptions and beliefs of African foreign nationals, and South African citizens about the causes of, and solutions for xenophobia. While fear of unknown actors and lack of familiarity with other cultures can contribute to xenophobia, the root causes identified in this research are poverty, perceived competition over employment and South African women, the belief that migrants are contributing to rising levels of crime, as well as jealousy directed at foreign nationals who are perceived to be doing well economically. Nonetheless, completion disagreement with jobs mostly cited above local citizens and African foreign nationals appear to be frustrated, some of the local citizens perceive African foreign nationals as a threat to the economy.

### 5.1 Discussion of the findings

South Africa remains an extreme case of uneven and combined development: an advanced industrial economy and first-world lifestyles exist with abject poverty and unequal social relationships and resource distribution of all kinds (Ashman et al., 2011)". Limited growth, declining investment, rising unemployment, rural degradation, and income and wealth inequality all contribute to the resentment of African foreign nationals. This resentment often results in the type of violent xenophobia that has become increasingly common (Ashman et al., 2011). The effect of xenophobia includes injury to people, loss of property death, displacement of victims, loss of jobs, women being raped, political instability, violation of innocent people, children's rights being abused, businesses being destroyed, and the country's image being tarnished (Tsoeu, 2003)

This research was designed to be an empirical study, using primary qualitative data collected during the fieldwork process and secondary qualitative and quantitative. The location of the research was the city of Durban, in the eThekweni municipality of KwaZulu-Natal. The procedure for collecting data was done by conducting semi-structured interviews—the respondents in this research were divided into two Subsamples, Group A and Group B. The

former consisted of African foreign nationals, while the latter consisted of South African citizens. Sampling took place using non-probability, purposive judgemental and snowball sampling. There were ten respondents in each sample group, all over the age limit needed to give informed consent for participation in the study. Once the data had been collected, a thematic analysis was conducted on the results from all the interviews to examine areas of agreement or contention about the cause and nature of xenophobia. Data were analysed by comparing the results of this research to previous studies to determine areas whether there were common findings and any unusual differences. The results were then interpreted using the theories that had been selected to construct an analytical framework.

The study involved two groups, and during fieldwork, participants from each group were contacted to partake in the interview process. Each subsample had a specific schedule of interview questions that had been designed for that group. These were designed to try and gather information about how they viewed xenophobic attacks, what factors they thought caused it, and what might work to try and control the outbreaks or prevent them.

The research for this project discovered several interrelated issues, all of which contribute to the development of hostility, stereotyping, and violent clashes between different cultural, ethnic or racial groups.

#### 5.2.1 Crime, Drugs and African Foreign Nationals

The previous research found a perception that increases in crime in South Africa, especially those concerned with drug smuggling and dealing, were due to African foreign nationals. While the respondents from Group B, who were South African citizens, did acknowledge that the perception of the number of migrants in South Africa and their involvement in the crime was far less than people believed. Most of the previous research and the results of this investigation suggest that African foreign nationals are far more likely to be victims of crime than the perpetrators.

The relationship between African foreign nationals and criminal activities is one where the dynamics see them as vulnerable to certain types of crime, especially if they are undocumented. Since they are in the country illegally, there is no recourse when they are attacked. They also risk being detained if they try and report the crime at a police station.

### 5.2.2 Employment, Jobs and Businesses.

Immigration is characterized by historical experiences (war, political insecurity and instability and other crises). However, Push and pull theory are closely connected in this people are pushed into migration and at the same time pull into a country of destination in expectation of finding something better.

Another issue that had been identified in previous research, and that was found in this investigation was that a considerable amount of conflict and hostility concerned the perception that migrants were taking jobs meant for South Africans, driving down wages by accepting lower wages, and competing successfully against locally owned, locally run businesses. This last issue was given as one of the reasons for the 2015 xenophobic attacks by the task team that investigated the issues. This, however, is not substantial in any available research. In Durban, most African foreign nationals conduct their street trade businesses are licensed privately as 'flea market' sites. At the same time, local traders are assignment reserved sites belonging to the public sector. These migrants also usually worked in niche areas that did not attract citizens and met with existing demand. The issue of foreign nationals' financial acumen was also an issue raised because of the belief that these migrants were successfully stealing South African women away from locals because their financial status made them attractive than locals.

The findings of this research also identified many challenges experienced by African foreign nationals in Durban. One of the most significant issues is their ability to integrate. The differences in culture or ethnicity that manifest in food and dress preferences, behaviour, and even look result in many difficulties when trying to integrate. Not being able to speak the local language was also problematic, especially when locals, in this case from the Zulu community, would not use a common language like English to converse with them. Deutsch et al. (2011) state that in conflict, misunderstandings are especially likely because individuals interpret utterances to be consistent with their attitudes. The problem can become considerably more problematic when the parties to the conflict use different languages to communicate, and such misperceptions are common in conflict. Also, when official communication between the parties is constrained or blocked as it often is in protracted conflicts, track two compliments the first track by opening up opportunities for communication across the conflict lines, understanding the other's interests and desires, con- firing one's interest, of both parties (Gawerc, 2006).

The language barrier indeed was identified as one of the major obstacles when it came to integrating into the existing communities in Durban. Two interrelated issues that were also

problematic concerned the type of treatment that foreign nationals are subjected to by government departments. The responses by foreign nationals during the interviews also show a similar trend and patterns that have been observed in previous investigations. African foreign nationals find that how the police in South Africa respond to them trying to report a crime, especially if the criminal is a South African and the complainant is an African foreign national, will often refuse to investigate the crime. In some cases, this has resulted in police trying to blame foreign nationals. The result of this has been that foreign nationals very rarely report crimes committed against them because no subsequent investigations are conducted. The high levels of crime in South Africa are, in fact, detrimental to South Africa's development. Generating equitable economic growth is a priority for the government of South Africa, and the high level of violent crime in the country is frequently mentioned as a constraint on growth (Stone, 2006).

#### 5.2.3 Public Services and Benefits

One accusation that surfaces about migrants are that they have access to benefits and services that should only be accorded to South Africans. Declines in service delivery and public benefits are also sometimes blamed on the foreign nationals living in the country. Again, the truth to this matter is far more complicated. While political refugees and asylum seekers are guaranteed certain rights if they have applied for the requisite services correctly, most African foreign nationals are not accessing these benefits. Research shows that migrants needing medical care in South Africa are often subjected to medical xenophobia and have their treatment denied because they are not South African. The perception that South Africa is home to enough migrants whose presence and access to public services is rooted in erroneous ideas that have been circulated irresponsibly by the media and repeated by political and public figures. The amount of African foreign nationals in South Africa is far lower than is perceived, and certainly not enough to compromise the existing health system or services provided by other government departments.

#### 5.2.4 Discriminatory Treatment by Government Employees

Another issue that emerged concerning how government employees treat foreign nationals has to do with The Department of Home Affairs. The issue here has to do with renewing important documentation and applying for other types of documents that are needed to allow these foreign nationals to remain in South Africa legally. This type of behaviour is not just directed at normal African foreign nationals living and working in South Africa. It is also directed at asylum

seekers and political refugees applying for permits related to their status. DHA's authority over the renewal or issuing of these important documents can result in migrants either having to leave the country and return only once they have sorted out these documents back home. Alternatively, this can result in migrants staying in the country illegally, which increases their vulnerability and the possibility of them being used or abused. Both the research conducted for this study and previous investigations have found that African foreign nationals are also often targeted by civil servants and government employees for bribes to get their paperwork processed. Resistance or refusing to pay the bribe can also result in applications for documents being sabotaged.

#### 5.2.5 Access to Financial Institutions

Migrants, especially undocumented ones, have the battle to access financial assistance precisely because of their illegal status. This does make migrants vulnerable to being robbed or solicited for a bribe by criminals and government employees.

The specific measures used by African foreign nationals to counteract xenophobic treatment are limited. The most successful approach seems to rely on avoiding any type of scenario when conflict is a possibility. Attempts to better integrate foreign nationals into the broader South African community also used strategies to advance. Both sets of respondents in this research indicated that they felt that the South African government needed to play a more active role instead of only responding once xenophobic violence had already started. One of the possible measures suggested was working with community leaders from local and foreign national groups. All the respondents felt that educating people about foreign nationals was a very important step. This included informing them about the actual number of migrants in South Africa, their roles, and their contributions to the country, especially in economic development, taking a stand against xenophobic behaviour and actively working to suppress it. This included ensuring that perpetrators did receive some form of punishment for participating in xenophobic activities.

However, the researchers acknowledged that if the level of poverty in South Africa remained high, efforts to reduce hostility and prejudice against African foreign nationals would have limited efficacy. This is especially true in communities where migrants and South Africans competed for unskilled, low paid employment. "As long as South African urban in – migrants foreign African migrants remain similarly socially and economically marginalised competition for limited opportunities in and environment of disadvantages and poverty, the potential for

conflict remain, yet as the case studies in this special issue of CIAS demonstrate places and must be understood and managed in – sensitive ways (Dodson, 2010).

How government department's function and how migrants are treated in South Africa is an issue that needs to be addressed from several different perspectives. One of the most problematic issues in South Africa is the stance and perspective taken towards foreign nationals by public figures. Anti-migrant statements made by these figures, irrespective of whether it has been made in their capacity, as opposed to a statement on behalf of their position, can often create the impression that anti-migrant positions and actions carry some degree of legitimacy. Unfortunately, this conveys the impression that certain types of treatment are therefore appropriate because it has the backing or appears to support authority figures.

Another issue that the South African government needs to address is how applications for political asylum are dealt with. The current process is cumbersome, inconvenient and puts applicants under a significant amount of strain. Applicants coming from conflict-ridden areas are sometimes forced to enter the country illegally rather than wait for their applications to be processed correctly. The amount of time taken to do the latter can put them at risk. This also raises the general issue of efficiency of departments like Home Affairs. How they have been structured allows for interactions of any possible clients (which includes foreign nationals and citizens) to be conducted in a manner that is both efficient and efficient effective.

An issue that is of particular concern when addressing xenophobic outbreaks is the extent to which recommendations made by any commissions, panels of inquiry or research institutes are followed. The recommendations made by the South African Human Rights Commission in the wake of 2008 xenophobic violence were largely ignored, and the conflict that occurred in 2015 is to some extent due to this. A general obstacle to the development of national strategy on xenophobia has been the consistent and very public refusal of the government to admit that xenophobia even exists in South Africa and detach xenophobic violence from prejudice, discrimination, and intolerance (Crush et al., 2018).

## **CHAPTER SIX**

### **CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

This research has looked at the perceptions and beliefs of African foreign nationals, and South African citizens about the causes of conflicts, and solutions for xenophobia. While fear of unknown actors and lack of familiarity with other cultures can contribute towards xenophobia, the root causes identified in this research are poverty, perceived competition over employment and South African women, the belief that migrants are contributing to rising levels of crime, as well as jealousy directed at foreign nationals who are perceived to be doing well economically.

The research used a theoretical framework that looked at what specific issues acted as 'push' 'pull' factors that led to their migration. Push factors usually are negative issues or variables ranging from droughts and famine to intrastate and interstate war. The theories selected also covered the types of challenges that migrants often face in their destination country, which can manifest into conflict and xenophobic violence. Push and pull theories are closely connected. In this instance, people are pushed into migration and at the same time pulled into a country of destination in expectation of finding something better. However, immigration is characterized by historical experiences (war, political instability, political insecurity, and other crises. Nonetheless, the economic situation plays a major role in the migration of individuals. Pull variables are usually related to the regime type and political stability, the economic opportunities and future jobs, access to better healthcare and educational systems, and in some cases, freedom from persecution directed towards minority groups.

Nevertheless, the findings demonstrate a lack of employment and or poor services delivery accurate a raise of protest African foreign nationals leaving in Durban, Completion disagreement with jobs mostly cited above of local citizens and African foreign nations appear to involve frustration, some of the local citizens perceive African foreign nationals as a threat to their economy. Findings revealed also, that the same local citizens believed that the foreigners are taking their jobs, that its leadings to their job's loss and unemployment, unemployment in South Africa remain high and many south African are struggling to gets one and access to the basic services, and Africans foreign national represents a threat to their possibilities to secure employment, but most of the African foreign nationals do not have secure jobs. However, the formal sector has been selective most African foreigners are in informal sector business (salon, tailor, street vendor). the xenophobic violence in most affected areas was organized by a self-serving member of the informal sector and some opportunists who felt

fear and negative attitudes toward non-nationals. It was argued that local citizens attitudes toward African foreign nationals are related also to crime, that these negative attitudes toward African foreign nationals who are related to illegal business, and drugs. Crime in South Africa is among the big challenges the government is facing, the crime rate in South Africa is the highest among the African countries. It was shown that many local citizens are against crime and the attack against foreigners, and they have good relations some of them work together and agree to accommodate do not have a problem living with them and are married and have children.

The findings show again that foreigners experience difficulties to integrate into South African culture, different languages society by the inability for them to speak South African dialect. Moreover, the language barrier has been one of the major issues between the two groups, not all migrant speaks English some of them come from the countries whereby they speak other languages and dialects (Portuguese, French, Swahili, Shona, Lingala, Igbo, Yoruba, Chewa, and Nyanja) and local citizens do not understand their languages, and local citizens do not understand their languages, that make it difficult for them to communicate. It leads to misunderstandings, stereotypes, and prejudices that affect the ability of the two groups to manage the conflicts between them successfully. And make it difficult for them to communicate. While those who speak a similar language with south Africans, find it easier to interact with local citizens. However, these negative attitude of some local citizens toward African foreign nationals, have influenced their relationship, and not all local citizens are agreeing with violence most of them are against violence and believe that this can be changed by the government and the community leaders as the third person developing a creative group process and group decision making. Such a process clarifies the nature and the causes of the problems that the conflicting parties are confronting, helps expand the range of options that are perceived to be existing, facilitates realistic assessment of their possibility as well as desirability, and facilitates the implementation of agreed-upon solutions. However. Mediation, conciliation, arbitration, problem-solving workshops, counselling, and other forms of intervention into conflict are widespread of conflict transformation needed.

Suggestions from the respondents ranged from improved education about the benefits of refugees and disproving beliefs about their involvement in a crime. Many participants in this study suggested that the South African government needs to take a far more active role in this matter in addressing xenophobic beliefs and behaviour. The Labour department needs to



address the issue of minimum wage in the government and private sector, also fighting poverty by creating more jobs. Educate both groups on the culture and behaviour.

The research suggests also that the government the community leaders should intervene in involving the structure of living arrangements to improve life satisfaction and intergroup relations and arrange in improving the wellbeing of the local citizens. The South African Police Service is required to keep the two groups in harmony, preventing any opportunity that might lead to violent incidents among the two groups. It can be suggested that there should be a creating of a local institution that motivates the collaboration between African foreign nationals and local citizens, reframing the issues in conflict to find common ground, The same platform should save as a supportive structure in dealing with issues of socio-economic needs of both groups and help build a society that forgives and accept diversity in a way to addressing the root causes of conflicts and ensure peace prevails in the country. changes in intergroup relations occur when successful cooperation in the achievement of a joint goal is promoted.

## **Appendix 1**

### **INTERVIEW GUIDE (LOCAL CITIZENS)**

1. Are you comfortable living with foreigners? Why?
2. What do you think would make it easier for you to accommodate nationals?
3. What do you think can be done by the local populations and the government to prevent Violence between South African and African foreign nationals?
4. What is the role of the community leaders in dealing with conflicts between local citizens and foreign nationals in Durban?
5. What can population and government do to normalise relationships and play to peace between African foreigners national and local citizens?
6. What are the existing tensions or conflicts between local citizens and African foreign nationals in Durban?
7. What are the root causes of conflicts between local citizens and African foreign nationals in Durban?
8. why do South Africans consider African foreign nationals as a threat?
9. what mechanisms do you use to resolve a conflict between you as local citizens and the African foreign national?
10. why do you think xenophobia violence still occur in South African?
11. when we speak about xenophobia, why is this targeting only African foreign nationals?

## **Appendix 2**

### **Umhlahladlela wokuxoxisana ( isakhamusi sasekhaya)**

1. Ingabe uzizwa ukhululekile uma uhleli nabantu bezinye izizwe? kungani?
2. Uma Ucabanga, ni ezokwenza kube lula kuwe ukuba uhlalisane nabantu bezinye izizwe?
3. Ucabanga ukuthi yini engenziwa izakhamuzi zendawo kanye nohulumeni ukuvimbela udlame oluphakathi kwabantu base ningizimu Afrika nabakwezinye izizwe e Afrika?
4. Iyiphi indima yabaholi bomphakathi wase Thekwini abayidlalayo ekubhekaneni nezingxabano phakathi kwezakhamizi zendawo nabangaphandle?
5. Yini abantu nabasebenzi ba hulumeni abangayenza ukuze balungise ubuhlobo futhi badlale ekuthuleni phakathi kwezizwe zakwamanye amazwe nezakhamuzi zendawo?
6. Yiziphi izigxabano noma izinxushunxushu phakathi kwabantu base Mzansi Afrika – ikakhulu eDurban?
7. Yiziphi izimbangela zempikiswano phakathi kwezakhamizi zendawo kanye nabase-Afrika abangaphandle kwamanye amazwe e-durban?
8. Kungani iningizimu Afrika ibheka izwe laseAfrika namazwe angaphandle njengengozi?
9. Yiziphi izindlela ozisebenzisayo ukuxazulula izingxabano phakathi kwakho njengezakhamizi zendawo kanye nezwe langaphandle? Kungani udlame lwezokuhlukunyezwa lusekhona emazweni aseNingizimu Afrika?
10. Ucabanga ukuthi kungani ubugebengu bokuhlukunyezwa bukhona okwenzeka emazweni aseNingizimu Afrika?

11. Uma sigxila mayelana nokucwaswa kwabantu, kungani lokhu kuhloswe kuphela ngabantu base-Afrika kwabangaphandle?

### **Appendix 3**

#### **Letter of informed consent**

Request for participation in this Research

to whom it may concern,

My name is Bibi Nathalie Katubadi and I am currently conducting research on "conflict transformation and peace study in contemporary society: a case study of the relationship between African foreign nationals and local citizens in the city of Durban" I would like to ask you to participate in this study. Participants in this will not be remunerated in any form and participation is voluntary. Any participants can withdraw from this study at any point should they choose to do so. additionally, should any participant wish for confidentiality, the information that they disclose will not be utilized? should you wish to be informed regarding the results of this research your contact details will be recorded.

My contact details are:

Email: nathaliekatubadi@yahoo.fr/bibinath2017@gmail.com

Cell number: 0839853956

Che contact of my supervisor:

Belinda Johnson

Email: johnsonb1@ukzn.ac.za

Cell number: 081 250 5421

Ms Phumelel Xima, University of Kwa Zulu Natal. Research office

Email: ximbap@ukzn.ac.za

Phone number +27312603587

Your participation would be appreciated.

Sincerely

## **Appendix 4**

### **Incwadi yemvume enolwazi**

isicelo sokuhlanganyela kulolu cwaningo

Othintekayo,

Igama lami ngungi Bbi Nathalie Katubadi kulesicelo ngenza ucwaningo mayelana "nokuguqulwa kwezingxabano kanye nokufunda ngokuthula emphakathini. Loluhlwano lwamacala obuhlanga phakathi kwabantu bangaphandle kwase Mzansi Afrika kanye nezakhamizi zedolobha letheku, kwazulu-Natal. Ngingathanda ukunxusa ukuba ubambe ighasa kulolu cwaningo.

Ukubamba iqhaza kungukuzithandela njengoba wunke umuntu obambe ghazu engahoxisa noma ahoxe. Kulolu cwaningo nganoma isiphi isikhathi uma ekhetha ukwenza kanjalo.

Ngaphezu kwalokho, uma wonke umuntu ohlanganyele kulolu cwaningo efisa ukufihla imininingwane yakhe kanye ulwazi ngeke lushicilelwe noma lusetshenaswe. Uma ufisa ukwaziswa mayelana nemiphumela yalolu cwaningo imininingwane yakho yokuxhumana izogoshwa.

Imininingwane yokuxhumana yilezi:

Imeyili: nathaliekatubadi@yahoo.fr / bibinath2017@gmail.com

inombolo yeselula: 0839853956

othintana nomphathi wami kule mininingwane

Igama : Belinda Jonhson

Imeyili: johnsonb1@ukzn.ac.za

inombolo yeselula: 081 250 5421

Ms Phumelel xima, University of KwaZulu Natal. Ihhovisi lokucwaninga

Imeyili: ximbap@ukzn.ac.za

Inombolo yefoni +27312603587

Ukubamba iqhaza kwakho kuzothunyelwa.

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