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Addressing xenophobic violence in Umlazi Suburb –Perceptions of a migrant family

By

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DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate this work to the living and deceased members of my family. My great grandparents Masuku Magwaza and MaDuludla, as well as my beloved grandparents, Mnguphu Magwaza and MaMdlestshe the Mnguphu brothers, Machanca and Zifufulu, and sisters Zilandile, Mayo, Fakazile, Mpezane. I dedicate this study my Parents Bongumusa Magwaza (Mnguphu son) and Jabu (Makhoza). My uncles, Themba, Nkosiyethu, Khangelani, and Ziphezinhle and Aunts Janet and Thokozani. My brother Sakhile, and sisters Smagele and Nompilo. To all descendants of the houses of Machanca, Zifufulu. Nina boNjiNji, Yengwago, Gigidelzela, Naqondo.

DECLARATAION

I declare that this research study entitled: **Addressing xenophobic violence in Umlazi Suburb– Perceptions of a migrant family** is my own work. I further declare that this dissertation has not been submitted previously by any institution. Theoretical sources cited have been duly acknowledged in the bibliography.

Sphelelisiwe Magwaza

October 2018

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(Hebrew 13-6) *“For the lord is my helper”*

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ABSTRACT

Xenophobic violence is a recurring phenomenon in South Africa, due to the numbers of asylum seekers, immigrants and refugees entering the country. As some black South Africans, believe that African immigrants compete with them for limited opportunities provided for them within the current social stratification. As a means of excluding African immigrants, black South Africans have adopted the negative ideology of —aMakwerekwere to describe and relate with African immigrants. In this dissertation, violence against black African immigrants is labeled as “*Afrophobic* and *Nergrophobic*”. The study adopts the Bio-cultural theory and Relative deprivation theory in order to understand the phenomenon. This study employed a qualitative research method were purposive sample of an African Migrant Family. The study draws on information gathered through in-depth semi-structured interviews carried out in Umlazi from February to March 2018. Research findings were examined through thematic content analysis. Results showed that South Africans are becoming more intolerant of foreigners, Poverty, and political unrest are driving factors for many immigrants coming to South Africa; Xenophobic violence is the attitude, physical and emotional violence perpetrated towards immigrants most especially black immigrants; Violence against foreign nationals operates through a level of physical and cultural appearance and poor black African immigrants living in informal settlements are the victims of these attacks and Negative representations of African immigrants have thus triggered xenophobic violence.

ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

ANC- African National Congress

CoRMSA- The Consortium for Refugees and Migrants in South Africa

CSOs- Civil Society Organizations

DRC- Democratic Republic of Congo

FBO -Faith-Based Organization

HSRC -Human Sciences Research Council

ILO -International Labour Organization

IOM- International Organization for Migration

NGO -Non-Governmental Organization

RDP- Reconstruction and Development Programme

SAHRC -South African Human Rights Commission

SAPS -South African Police Service

UNHCR -United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

US -United States

SUMMARY OF KEYWORDS

Community development, Black African, Foreign Nationals, Family, Migration, Immigrant, Perception, Power, Social capital, South Africa, Xenophobia, Xenophobia Violence, Violence

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Chapter One:

INTRODUCTION

This chapter provides a background of the research problem, research questions and sketches out the research objectives. Secondly, the chapter outlines the research methodology research design, sampling, data analysis, and ethical issues. A preliminary literature review from key scholars is presented. Finally, the chapter concludes with a structural overview of the dissertation.

1.1 BACKGROUND

“No one, whether in this country legally or not, can be deprived of his or her basic or fundamental rights and cannot be treated as less than human further”

(SAHRC, 2008)

Despite transition to democracy in 1994, South Africa has experienced the highest levels of xenophobic violence and intolerance in the world. Nelson Mandela proclaimed that by opening all South Africa’s borders to the world, manifestations of xenophobic violence, discriminatory attitudes, and practices against African immigrants have become a longstanding feature in society (Abrahams, 2010; Crush et al., 2008; David, 2011; Frye 2011; Misago, 2011). Vormans et al., (2011) argue that the severity of xenophobic violence over the years has grown along, with the increasing cross-border migration of asylum seekers, migrants, and refugees coming into the country due to, political conflict, unemployment, and economic deprivation. Empirical research has conclusively shown that the number of immigrants has rapidly fluctuated hence; xenophobic violence has become more prevalent in society because of the rising number of foreign nationals coming to South Africa (David, 2011). Dodson (2010) and Matsinhe (2011) claim that in the 1990s, immigrants from Angola, Zimbabwe, Democratic Republic of Congo and Somalia came from intra-regional countries, constituting 50% of South Africa population. Thus, this dissertation

argues that anti-immigrant discourse is rooted in the large number of foreign nationals coming to South Africa perpetuating fears amongst some local South Africans. As the struggle over scarce social and economic resources according to scholars such as (Peberdy 2009, Nieftagodien, 2011, Mukonza 2014) are some of the causes of xenophobic violence.

This study conceptualises xenophobia and xenophobic violence in South Africa. According to several scholars, xenophobic violence is the concept of hatred and prejudice towards outsiders or foreigners or the "unknown" (Landau, 2009; Hayem, 2013; Dodson 2010; Laher, 2009, Misago et al., 2009). However, Everett (2011) claims the context of xenophobia is not restricted to fear, jealousy and dislike only in South Africa, but attacks are orchestrated by violence. According to Misago et al., (2010) attacks are not targeted only at black immigrants, from certain African countries but also immigrants from the Middle East as well. Thus, throughout this research study, the term xenophobic violence will be used to label the violence as "Afrobophobic and Nergrobophobic". Harris (2001); HSRC (2008); Centre for Human Rights, (2009) CoRMSA, (2011); Amit (2010) agree that it is mostly poor black 'foreigners' who are discriminated against. Hence, the study argues that Black foreigners are targets of xenophobic violence because they are portrayed and depicted negatively by society. As noted by Frye, (2011) the Biocultural theory is used to give account to the victims of xenophobic violence. The Biocultural theory provides insight as to how black foreigners are singled out and victimized based on their physical appearance.

Xenophobic violence is a global social phenomenon. Origins of xenophobia can be traced to the World War II in 1939-1959 where over 2 million Jews were targeted and killed (Charman and Piper 2012, Cronje, 2008; Amit, 2010). Xenophobic attacks have occurred throughout the late twentieth century and early twentieth-first century. Empirical studies by Arogundabe, (2008) and David (2010) for example, revealed that the President of Equatorial Guinea in 2004, led by the mercenary, spurred a clampdown on all foreign immigrants in the country. In 2007, immigrants from western countries were banned from owning businesses in Equatorial Guinea. In June 2015, Chadian military expelled 200 to 300 Cameroonians as part of the 'clean-up campaign against undocumented immigrants. Xenophobic attacks in South Africa manifested its ugly head after 1994. In 2008, 800 African foreigners characterised as criminals, uneducated individuals by fellow South Africans were brutally killed, and foreign-owned business looted (Charman and Piper 2012).

Manifestations of xenophobic attacks are now familiar and well documented. These attacks are increasingly subjected to scholarly scrutiny as a deeper understanding of their causes, consequences, and significance is sought (Charman and Piper 2012). This study explores poor socio-economic conditions that prevail in South African townships in order to understand the underlying causes of xenophobic violence.

Underlying causes of xenophobic violence have been widely investigated by a number of studies highly focusing on the current state of South Africa in accounting to the violence. David, (2011) identifies poverty, inadequate service delivery and negative perceptions of black immigrants as the major causes of xenophobic violence. However, the existing accounts of xenophobic violence have overlooked South Africa's historical past in explaining the attacks. Thus, this study seeks to show how the violence against African immigrants is rooted in the relative deprivation of socio-economic resources and the psychological conditions of black poor South Africans. Gelb, (2008) and Hadland (2010) in their studies found that the prevailing poor socio-economic situation of many township communities in South Africa has resulted in the competition over scarce resources amongst local South African and foreigners leading to tensions, violence and hostility.

Xenophobic violence is largely based upon empirical studies that claim that African foreign nationals in township communities have been subjected to direct and substantive confrontations, such as harassments, violent attacks and even killed (Landau, 2011). The findings from studies conducted by Crush et al., (2009) and Gelbs (2008) found that attitudes towards black immigrants held by certain South African population in society have become more hostile and volatile to violent. Black African immigrants continue to occupy space in poor and marginalized urban and peri-urban areas, which subjects them to racism, intolerant attitudes and practices of violence (Landau, 2011; Geffen, 2008, Bekker et al 2008). Thus, this dissertation argues that xenophobic violence not only threatens the lives of foreign nationals but also has prevented them from securing livelihoods in society. This research examines the emerging role of xenophobic violence in the context of negative perceptions that are built in communities about black foreigners.

Lubbe, (2008) says perceptions manifest in communities through social interactions. To better understand the mechanisms of xenophobic violence and its effects (Hayem, 2013; Kunda 2009; Kerr and Durrheim, 2013, Everatt,2011) suggest that negative perceptions of foreigners as the

"unknown other "and intruders, threatening the lives, livelihoods of fellow South Africans is the major cause of intolerant attitudes. Thus, this study highlights the relationship that co-exists between local community members and black foreign nationals in Umlazi. The primary objective is to describe the perceptions a migrant family has of xenophobic violence targeting black foreigners

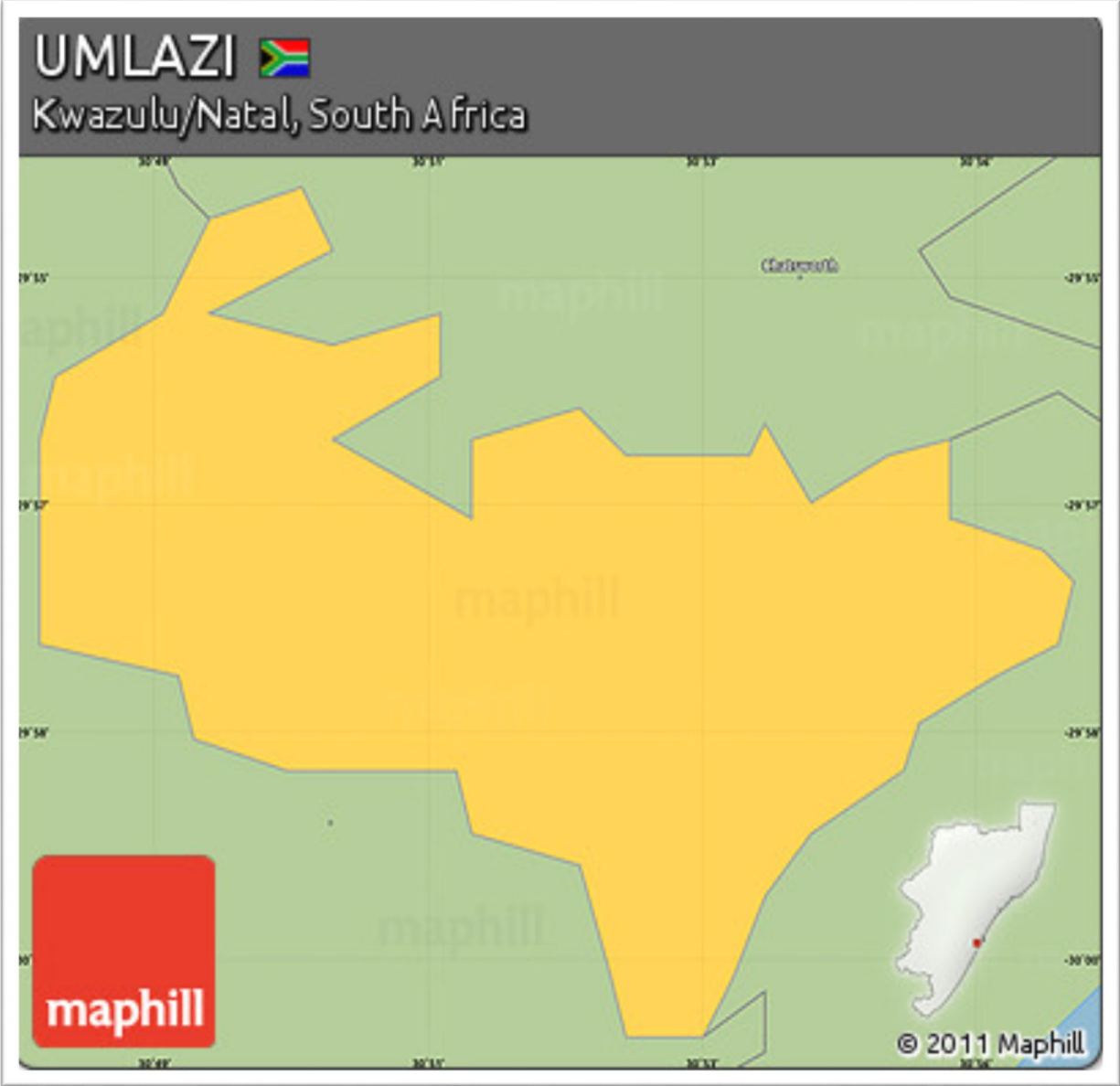
The Relative deprivation theory argues that xenophobic violence needs to be identified based on the grounds of unfair competition amongst locals and non-nationals in relation to jobs, housing and the inability for the South African government to provide resources to its citizens as well as to assist non-nationals (Dodson, 2010). Crush et al, (2013) illustrate this observation by stating, "The more powerless and threatened group members feel, the greater their need to denigrate others below them. Therefore, this thesis argues xenophobic violence is the struggle of the marginalized based on the inadequate distribution of resources. As socio-economic inequalities of black poor South Africans continue to grind them down they find scapegoats to their plight. Hadland, (2010) points out that relative deprivation of South Africans has caused the reoccurrence of xenophobic violence. Thus, this study aims to give account to various factors that triggered the attacks.

1.1.1 Umlazi Township

Umlazi Township is located within eThekweni Municipality, South of the Durban's Central Business District (Dodson 2010). Established under the segregation Group Areas Act (1950), the township is one of the second largest townships in South Africa dominated by black people estimated at 550 000 (Zondi, 2008). It is characterized by high levels of poverty, and unemployment. According to the eThekweni IDP (2014) report, Umlazi faces problems such as severe housing shortage, high unemployment rate, and a high crime rate. 36% of its population has a basic education. While 26% have only matric and 7% have been exposed to tertiary and university education. The level of education is extremely low amongst local community members. The majority are involved in the informal sector as a means of survival. The causes of xenophobia attacks are due to the deficiencies of primarily related resources and the lack of urban economic opportunities (Vromans et al, 2011).

In the context of UMLazi, xenophobic violence has presented its ugly head in the form of violence, murder, arson, internal displacement, beatings, human burning and looting of aliens and their belongings (Dodson 2010; Landau and Misago, 2009; Mapokgole, 2014). The UMLazi Independent Development Framework’s comprehensive report reports that individuals are dependent on governmental resources and grant.

Figure 1. 1 Map of UMLazi



<http://www.maphill.com/south-africa/kwazulu-natal/umlazi/simple-maps/savanna-style-map/free/>

Figure 1. 2 Sections of Umlazi Township



<http://www.mkhombe.co.za/construction/>

Literature attests to the major causes of xenophobic violence in UMLazi emanate from poverty, personal exclusion caused by social inequalities in the distributions of resources among the locals and foreign nationals. The recurring violence against foreigners has threatens social cohesion and community peace. James (1998:5) asserts that "We are different but there is nothing wrong or threatening in that difference". Differences has led the community to exhibit disgust, fear, and mistrust which threatens community peace, cohesion, and love for one another. It is against this background that the research problem was formulated.

1.2 RESEARCH PROBLEM

UMLazi Suburb is home to people of different ethnic, racial and religious persuasions. It is classified as a multi-cultural township, diversity of ethnic group coexisting within a society (Lubbe, 2008:20). Poor living conditions amongst the UMLazi residents have exposed black immigrants to xenophobic violence. Hunger, denigration, and hopelessness has created a divided community between locals and immigrants. Black foreigners are accused of crimes such as, drug dealing robbery, rape and exposing the community to other unsafe factors unsafety (Lubbe, 2008). The situation in South Africa is such that some black South Africans believe that African immigrants compete with them for limited opportunities provided for them within the current social stratification (Yakushko 2008; Vromans et al., 2011; Hayem, 2013). As a means of excluding African immigrants, black South Africans have adopted the negative ideology of —aMakwerekwere to describe and relate with African immigrants (Matsinhe, 2011, Nyamnjoh, 2006). Therefore, mistrust and deep hatred between locals and foreigners continue to be witnessed in UMLazi. Thus, the research problem is the lack of social cohesion between foreign immigrants and locals in UMLazi suburb.

1.3 RESEARCH QUESTION

What can be done to address township xenophobic violence or community peace?

1.3.1 Sub-Research Questions

- a) What is xenophobia?
- b) What are the causes of xenophobic violence?

- c) How does xenophobic violence affect the social harmony between local (citizens) and immigrants?
- d) What may be done to address xenophobia in UMLazi suburb?

1.4 AIM

To describe a migrant family's views for reducing community xenophobic violence in UMLazi Suburb.

1.4.1 Objectives

- a) To explain the concept of xenophobic violence.
- b) To describe a migrant family understanding of causes of xenophobic violence.
- c) To describe the effects of xenophobic violence on immigrants.
- d) To describe possible solutions to xenophobic violence from a migrant family's perception.

1.5 RATIONALE OF THE STUDY

It was through working with foreign nationals that motivated me to conduct this study. I became interested in understanding the reoccurrence of xenophobic violence after hearing of the violence meted at my foreign workmates. The main reason for choosing this topic is that in recent years, there has been an increasing interest in addressing community xenophobic violence in South Africa. Neocosmos (2010) argues that research into xenophobic violence in the past was mainly concerned with causes of xenophobic violence. Despite this, scholars like (Matsinhe, 2011; Mapokgole; 2014; Misago et al., 2015; Kerr and Durrheim, 2013) have failed to incorporate the perceptions of immigrants' families in addressing xenophobic violence.

Thus, this research seeks to understand xenophobic violence from the voices of a migrant nuclear family. The study explores the lives of African immigrants living under constant threats from xenophobic attacks. Hence, this thesis seeks to remedy these problems by critically examining ways of rebuilding social ties and community cohesion between the "aliens" and locals. This study attempts to understand the connection and interaction of individuals within multi-cultural township societies. This study argues that foreign national can be incorporated in grassroots decision-making as a means of combating xenophobic violence. It also attempts to dispel the view that immigrants

are uneducated, poor individuals who threaten the lives of South Africans and the socio-political order. Hayem (2013) argues that these explanations are inadequate and merely speculative in nature.

1.6 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

A constructivist approach best describes the nature of this study. The constructivist approach aims at understanding human experience (Creswell, 1998). This study relied on views expressed by participants under study. This allows for findings and analysis to be based on ground theories essential for understanding the causes of xenophobic violence (Creswell, 1998).

1.6.1 Research design

This study employs a qualitative approach. It uses the constructivist approach that centralises the ability for people to create meaning and interpretations as they engage with experiences, a qualitative approach is utilized in this study. Qualitative research is a descriptive method used to extract data from personal experiences of the participant's (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998; Patton, 1988; Creswell, 2009). The significance of this approach in this study is that it allows the researcher to get personal experiences as it occurs from the participants. First –the researcher experiences first-hand information from the victims. Hence, the approach allows the researcher to understand why African foreigners are attacked and how their experience of xenophobic violence has affected social cohesion and peace with the locals. This enables the participant to give a full detailed response to the question at hand, clarity is also provided by participants (Denzin and Lincoln 1998). Xenophobia is a controversial study that has captured many researchers, but possible solutions are still inadequate in addressing the issue of xenophobia, hence qualitative researchers “anticipate differences and loopholes as they treat them as a valuable source of information about the social life (Creswell, 2009).

1.6.2 Research Methods

1.6.2.1 Interview

In this study, the researcher uses interviews to find perceptions on the causes and solutions of xenophobia in a multi-cultural township. Interviewing is a conversation between the interviewer

and the interviewee where questions are asked by the interviewer and the participant gives an answer (Mays & Pope, 1995). Creswell, (2009) states that interviews allow the interviewer and interviewee to talk about the study focus which leads to discussions and perceptions executed in the interview. A small number of participants was involved in this study. The researcher used semi-structured interviews. The interviews comprised of open-ended questions, which allowed for a thorough understanding of the phenomenon. This enabled the researcher to give participants a chance to engage with the research questions. According to Hennick, Hutter and Bailey (2011) semi-structured interviews are the richest single data source. Silverman, (2006) further asserts semi-structured interviews are free-flowing discussions guided by specific questions and the topic at hand. Semi-structured interviews are applicable for this study as it allows the researcher to combine in-depth understanding of xenophobic violence. It allows the interviewer to ask for clarity on the answers presented by the interviewee (Creswell, 2009)

1.6.2.2 Sampling

Non-probability sampling was used for this study. As noted by Denzin and Lincoln, (1998) non-probability sampling entails systematically identifying the cases, which were sampled, on the target population.

1.6.2.3 Purposive sampling

The researcher utilized purposive sampling as part of the non-probability sampling method. According to Creswell (2009) purposive sampling is a process where participants are selected according to preselected criteria relevant to the research question. Bryman (2001) defines, purposive sampling as the judgment of the researcher. Purposive sampling identifies the target population. . Neuman (2003) argues that purposive sampling allows the researcher to use their own judgment to select the research participants corresponding with their research aims and objectives. Interviews were confined to a family. Schall et al (2002) states that qualitative researcher consists of a relatively small population size; however the population sample ought not to be too small. The study purposefully selected a population that met the criteria for research study. The sample size consisted of the father, mother, the eldest daughter and son.

Mason (2002) and Patton (2002) argue that "in purposive sampling, the sampling units are chosen because they have particular features such as socio-demographic characteristics, or may be related to specific experiences, behaviors, roles which will enable detailed exploration and understanding of the study's central themes (Willig 2001).

Selection Criteria were as follows:

A) Confined to a family (the case being studied from whom perceptions are being sorted)

B) Perceptions were confined to adults in the migrant family, who had attained legal aid of majority 18+ i.e., that was the father, mother, eldest daughter and son.

Sampling selection was specific in the sense that only four family members that were mature enough to articulate the perception of the family regarding how Xenophobic Violence can be addressed in Umlazi Suburb were sampled for this study. Certain regulations encountered by the researcher are indicated in chapter 3 in greater depth.

1.6.2.4 Data analysis

The findings for this study were analysed using a thematic approach. The purpose of using thematic analysis in qualitative research lies in its ability to gather thick descriptive information from participants' interviews (Creswell, 2009). According to Braun and Clarke (2006) thematic analysis comprises of four stages needed to analyze data. Stage one requires that researcher to prepare the datasets which allow them to familiarise themselves with the data that has been collected. Hence, the researcher ensured all data had been correctly organized and checked for any mistakes and repetition.

Braun and Clarke (2006) state that data is induced at stage two where the researcher gathers themes from the original interviews. From the interview transcripts data is broken down into sub-themes. Braun and Clarke (2006) maintain that the induce stage is where codes are data-driven. The third stage allows the researcher to code the gathered themes. Creswell (1998) states that coding is where sentences are grouped; categorised and assigned labels. The researcher uses two different types of codes; open coding which according to (Creswell, 2009) is when the researcher creates categories by identifying themes or patterns. Closed coding, on the other hand, allowed the

researcher to code the already coded themes. This reduces the responses from the interviewees into smaller themes, easy to access and analyse. The final stage interprets and generates meaning from the coded data. Boyatzis (1998) states that; the researcher only selects applicable codes. Hence, codes that best describe the experiences, views and ideas of the migrant families are used to analyse and discuss the research findings from the respondents.

1.7 VALIDITY, RELIABILITY AND RIGOR

Validity and reliability are vital in a research study to measure accuracy and authenticity. According to Bryman (2001) accuracy and authenticity allow for the study to be reliable, merely by ensuring there's a follow-up interview between the researcher and the interviewee. Creswell (2009) describes validity as an instrument used to measure what meant to measure. It allows the researcher to accurately check the responses conveyed by the interview if in fact they accurate hence the sources and the study becomes valid and reliable. Validation is exercised, by emailing participants to comment on the interview transcripts, checking whether concepts have adequately reflected their own views based on the phenomena being investigated. The use of triangulation by using primary and secondary data ensure that validity and reliability is achieved.

1.8 ETHIC ISSUE

Xenophobic violence is a very sensitive topic that needs to be dealt with delicately. Information was confidentiality kept between the researcher and participants. Bryman (2001) states confidentiality is information given by a participant in confidence to the researcher which rightfully stays between them. Therefore, information given privately by a participant is not shared with any other person but utilized only for this research. Another ethical measure utilised by the researcher is anonymity. Participants are rightfully given the right to remain anonymous; hence, names of participants were not disclosed during the interview recording. For Creswell (2009) human rights of the participants should be highly considered. Willig (2008) further says researchers should not impose questions that undermine the rights of their participants or use forceful tackiest. Complying with Denzin & Lincoln's, (1998) argument, participants are issued with consent forms prior to the interview. The consent form allows the participants to be aware of their rights to withdraw from the study and seeks permission for the interviews to be recorded by the researcher. Obtaining ethical clearance are further measures taken to ensure, that data is

collected ethically. As the research, methodology is thoroughly assessed by the ethical board that grants the researcher full clearance. Lastly, Denzin & Lincoln, (1998) states plagiarism is the worst offense that a researcher can commit, to avoid plagiarism the researcher comprehensively acknowledges all sources cited in this study in the bibliography.

1.9 PRELIMINARY LITERATURE REVIEW

Various books and other research studies were utilised to get a feel of underlying central issues that involve causes of xenophobia in multi-cultural communities.

Authors such as Harris (2002) and, Laher, (2009) define the concept of xenophobia as violent, hurtful, dislike behaviors towards “outsiders” and Matshinhe (2011) uses “amakwerekwere”. Xenophobia is understood as a multi-cultural phenomenon. Authors such as Harris (2002), Dodson (2010), Laher, (2009) agree that xenophobia originated from Europe during the World War II (1939-1945)

Close to home authors such as Dodson, (2010), Sheriff et al (1961) have extensively written on xenophobia in a South African context. Dodson, (2010) identifies the lack of socio-economic resources among "outsiders" and the local citizens spark the xenophobia attacks as to how they are distributed also have an impact. Dodson (2010:50) argues democracy in South Africa gave entitlement to freedom but after 1944, the Alien Control Amendment Act of 1995 was implemented in which Dodson (2010:50) reads as an Act that portray individuals who belonged to that country and who were "aliens". Pessimistic and conservative authors such as, Lubbe, (2008) and Matshinhe, (2011) argue that xenophobia is an issue that will always be present in communities unless the government can distribute resources among the rich and poor equally. Optimist Dodson (2010:50) contradicts this argument by saying that there is hope in addressing xenophobia as change starts with the government, as policies need to be readdressed and recreated so as to incorporate foreigners as a legal South African citizen.

1.10 DISSERTATION STRUCTURE

Chapter 1: Introduction of the study focuses on the background of the research, research problems, research question the aim of the study, objectives, research methodology, research design, research methods and lastly a summary of the literature review.

Chapter 2: provides the theoretical framework of the study, and literature review.

Chapter 3: The third chapter is concerned with the methodology used in this study: the research design, methods, sampling and ethical issues.

Chapter 4: The fourth chapter presents and analyses the research findings.

Chapter 5: The final chapter draws upon the entire thesis, tying up the various theoretical and empirical, and includes a discussion of the implication of the findings to future research into this area. Finally, the conclusion gives a summary and critique of the findings.

Chapter Two:

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter outlines the conceptual framework of the research. It defines key concepts such as xenophobia, violence, xenophobic violence, immigrants, power, and family. The Relative deprivation theory and bio-cultural theory are further provided as theoretical frameworks that anchor this research. Furthermore, a detailed literature review focused on examining various scholars aimed at answering the objectives and research question of this study is presented. As the literature reviewed in this chapter establishes a framework essential to understand the problem investigated. Empirical perspective in the last section is presented, as it systematically shows new light on past and recent debates presented by previous research. Finally, a brief conclusion is given

The purpose of this chapter is to provide an overview of the existing literature on xenophobic violence. Since May 2008, xenophobic violence in South Africa continues to take place against African immigrants amongst townships communities. This, in turn, has threatened the lives and livelihoods of many African foreigners living in South Africa (Bekker et al, 2008; Hayem, 2013; Dodson 2010; Frye, 2011; Kunda, 2009, Fabricus, 2014). Violence against foreigners has generated fear and insecurity in township communities undermining community solidarity and cohesion in townships. Misago et al., (2015) argue that, the manifestation of xenophobic violence occurs in various ways that include prejudiced attitudes social segregation, harassment, and blatant forms of interpersonal and collective violence. The chapter argues that xenophobic violence is the consequence of the alienation of poor black South Africans in the post-apartheid.

2.2 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

The conceptual framework for this dissertation provides various clarifications to key terms used in this study such as xenophobia, violence, xenophobic violence, immigrants, family, and the

power that allows fostering a deeper understanding of the manifestation of xenophobic violence for this particular study. Thus, this section aims to develop an understanding of the various concepts as part of answering the objective of this study. Several attempts have been made to define the prevalence of xenophobic violence in South Africa.

2.2.1 Xenophobia

A variety of definitions of the term xenophobia have been suggested. From the linguistic and morphological perspective, the word “Xenophobia” according to Crush (2008) and Misago et al., (2015) is taken from the Greek understanding as Xeno refers to outsiders, stranger or foreigners, whereas phobia is understood as fear. In the context of this study, xenophobia is, therefore, the fear constructed from hatred, disgust towards those seen and labeled as outsiders. Charman and Piper (2012) further point out that, xenophobia is a deep dislike rooted from prejudice caused by nationals of recipient states towards those non-nationals. As Arogundade, (2008) and Hayem (2013) assert that xenophobia is merely a denigration of individuals or groups based on perceived differences.

Monson (2011) links xenophobia to nationalism and ethnocentrism. Xenophobia is related to ethnocentric “syndrome” on beliefs based on national superiority (Landau, 2015; CoRMSA 2009; CoRMSA, 2011, Mapokogole, 2014). Xenophobia is therefore tied to nation-building. Monson’s, (2011) empirical research found that xenophobia is a consequence of nationalism and nation-building. In view of all that, xenophobia in South Africa manifests from negative perceptions, distrust and suspicion, deep dislike, fear and national superiority that result in violence.

CoRMSA (2011) and Crush et al., (2008) draw our attention to a social psychologists’ perspective that describes xenophobia as anti-immigrant sentiments associated with economic and political instability of a country. Vromans (2011) asserts that xenophobia is related to the process of social exclusion of foreigners exposing them to stereotypes and prejudices. Thus, the term xenophobia according to Harris (2008) is most appropriate in understanding prejudices toward recent immigrants based on the social exclusion in South Africa. Throughout this dissertation, the term xenophobic will be used to refer to attitudes of jealousy, negative perceptions that manifest through acts of discrimination and violence towards immigrants (Fauvelle-Aymar et al, 2011, Dodson, 2010; Everatt 2011). Esses et al point out that:

As Xenophobia, in the psychological sense, is an irrational and debilitating anxiety induced by fear of strangers, foreign things and places. Like other phobias, it afflicts individuals and can be treated or cured by the therapist (Esses et al 2001:20).

Esses et al (2001) definition serve in understanding the psychological dimensions behind the manifestation of these attacks, which helps to answer one of the research objectives that identify the causes of xenophobic violence. The study demonstrates that high levels of jealousy and negative perceptions motivate locals to perpetrate violence on black foreigners in relation to competition over scarce resources,

2.2.2 Violence

Bekker (2010) argues that understanding xenophobic violence in the South African context need to be conceptualized. Generally, violence is understood as deviant human behavior or physical violence. CoRMSA (2011) and David (2011) view violence as any form of action or arrangement that results in harming individuals either physically or non-physical. Hence, violence is either physical or verbal. For Everatt, (2011) violence is the use of power, or threat against oneself, or another person, or against a group or community that either result in injury, death or maldevelopment or even deprivation.

From a philosophical perspective, Henry (2000) defined violence as an exercise of power over other by some individuals, agency, and social process of which human dignity and rights are violated. Likewise, Riches (1986) agrees with Henry's definition by stating that it is an act of physical hurt deemed legitimate by the performer or illegitimate. Some authors (Everatt, 2011, Vromans 2011,) criticizes Riches' definition, by arguing that the definition fails to incorporate emotional and psychological pain caused by those more power over others. From these definitions, violence is either physical or verbal but lacks the fundamental understanding that violence is psychological. Studies thus far have linked xenophobia to violence, as proposed by Yakushko (2008) who views violence as psychological. He further argues "Psychological harm is violence that affects the human mind and weakens a person's emotional and mental wellbeing.

Two definitions are adopted with references to this study that best describes the prevalence of xenophobic violence in the context of South Africa. Throughout this dissertation, the term violence

refers to Garver's (1977) definition. Garver (1977) argues that violence is not a matter of physical harm, but a violation of a person's basic human rights connected with being a person. Whereas for Bauman (1995) violence is motivated by hostility and a strong intention to cause harm. These definitions are compatible with the research problem, and research objectives for this study. Garver (1977) definition argues that xenophobic violence violates the rights of immigrants. In this regard, from the provided arguments the use of violence by communities' members is to intentionally cause physical harm.

2.2.3 Xenophobic violence

From the previous definitions, xenophobic violence is argued to be actions of violence rather than an attitude. Charman and Piper (2012) assert that xenophobia should not be understood on its own. Dodson, (2010) argues, the term xenophobia needs to be reframed to incorporate acts or practices that include violence's, of murder, body harm, looting, and physical abuse. Xenophobic violence thus refers to the collective act of violence (from local community members, crowds) towards foreign immigrants. Hence, according to scholars, xenophobia not only entitles hatred, but it is frustration and aggression that result in the killing of foreigners (Amit, 2010; Abrahams, 2010; Bekker et al, 2008; Dodson, 2010; Davids, 2009; Hayem, 2013; Mapokogole, 2014, Gastrow and Amit 2013, Hickel, 2014 Zagefka et al 2007)). In this context, it is clear, that xenophobic violence is a combination of negative attitudes, frustration that results in violence. In support Misago et al (2009:13) claim that:

Xenophobia in South Africa translates into a broad spectrum of behaviors including discriminatory, stereotyping and dehumanizing remarks; discriminatory policies and practices by government and private officials such as exclusion from public services to which target groups are entitled. Selective enforcement of by-laws by local authorities; assault and harassment by state agents particularly the police and immigration officials; as well as public threats and violence commonly known as xenophobic violence that often results in massive loss of lives and livelihoods.

CoRMSA (2009) view xenophobic violence as a discrete set of attitudes that manifest themselves in the behaviors of violence. This concept is implicit to nationalism and ethnicity, particularly in South Africa. Substantial evidence from several studies further indicate that nationalism and

ethnicity, associates immigrants as 'outsiders' (Esses 2001, Dodson, 2010, Everatt 2011, Davids 2009) This in turn socially excludes immigrants. Xenophobic violence according to Vorster (2008) is a growing social and human right issue present in the new contemporary South Africa and the world. Sinwell (2011), further states the main manifestation is a collective fear and subsequent aggression by a community against foreign immigrants. In this regard, Misago et al., (2009) labels, xenophobic violence as the scapegoat mechanism for the intolerance and disunity fellow South African have towards African immigrants. More so, could the manifestation of xenophobic violence be because of strategies and practice that have been implemented in the new South Africa?

Previous research findings into xenophobic violence claim that all immigrants (Neocosmos, 2010; Campbell, 2009; Crush, 2008; CoRMSA, 2011) do not uniformly experience violence. Studies conducted by Dodson, (2010) and Everatt, (2011) found that the primary victims are black foreigners, particularly from SADC countries. Thus, this thesis then captures a sense of black on black social conflict. This supported by Neocosmos (2010) who asserts that a new post-apartheid era of "black on black violence has occurred from xenophobic violence. Hence, Everatt (2011) defines xenophobic violence as neophobic, afrophobic. According to Frye (2011), the term 'Afro' in this context means African. With respect to Afrophobia, it refers to the irrational fear or dislike of black foreigners or Africans from other countries constructed by black South African citizens. This thesis, therefore, labels xenophobic violence as the collective act of fear and violence committed by a collective group of black South Africans against African immigrants.

2.2.4 Immigrant

In legal terms, migration is defined as the movement of people into a country of which they are not native or do not possess citizenship in order to settle (Laher, 2009; Kerr and Durrheim, 2013; Landau, 2011; Solomon and Kosaka, 2014; Steenkamp, 2009). In this regard, immigrant refers to individuals residing in one country but born in another (Dodson, 2010). While International Organization for Migration (2008) states immigrants are permanent residents or naturalized citizens that take-up employment as migrant workers or temporal foreign workers. However, with the rapid influx of migration, it is evident that some enter illegally. It is argued by Frye (2011) and Geffen (2008) that illegal migrants are foreign individuals that enter a country without proper

documentation. Landau and Monson (2010) further proclaim illegal immigrants are also those who have expired visa but still live in that country. For this study, Smith (2015) conceptualization of immigrants will be adopted. Mosselson (2010) illustrates, immigrants who migrate into a country still retain their citizenship in their country of origin.

2.2.5 Family

The word "family" in the 17th century was understood as being the parents and children that made up the family. Anthropologist Malinowski (1884-1942) defines a family as collectively consisting of a mother, father, and children who interact with each other daily. Feminist scholar, Mosselson, (2010) argues that not all family structures consist of these three units described by Malinowski where in some cases, it is the mother and child or visa -verse. Thus, Mosselson, (2010) refers to a family as being a group of people that are either related biologically, emotionally, legally or depended on one another. Family refers to an organized network of kin and non-kin. From the provided definitions, a family is not based on genetic ties but broadly encompasses other features as asserted by (Mosselson, 2010). Throughout this thesis the term nuclear family is used to refer biologically related individuals that are commonly structured by the father, mother, and children. This study complies with principles of community development definition suggested by McDonald (1999). McDonald (1999) defines a community as a family that is not biologically bonded. For McDonald (1999) a sense of family is a relationship that exists between individuals and their ability to coexist with each other. Hence, a lack of understanding of what a family is amongst South Africans is evident. More so Abrahams (2010) argues a family does not necessarily mean biologically related but people who share a bond and are connected to each other by a common interest.

2.2.6 Power

Power is understood from the writings of Niccolo Machiavelli (1469- 1527) and Thomas Hobbes (1588-1634) in the early 17th century centuries. Machiavelli defined power as a means and not a resource. Bauman (1995) argues Hobbes focused on sovereignty that creates power hegemony (Bauman 1995). Though literature put an emphasis on deprivation as causes of conflict, however rebellion within a society occurs when there a shift of power (Gaventa 1998) in this case South Africans claim they have informal power over foreigners. Those labeled as "outsiders" pose no

social power making them powerless. Powerlessness is said to be structured within a human being existence rooted in conditions of social inequality and disempowerment (Foucault, Gaventa 1998).

This study used the definition suggested by Giddens (2009) who argues that modern societies struggle with power inequality. Power is exercised by human agents and is created by them, which in turn power tends to influence them, and limits them. This distinction is exemplified by the attacks in township communities between Black South African and black African immigrants. With regards, to the thesis objectives “could the prevalence of xenophobic violence in the contemporary South African be based on the power struggle amongst black South African and foreigners” be the cause.

2.3 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This section provides the theoretical framework for this study. Xenophobic violence is a complex phenomenon hence this study uses two theories: the relative deprivation theory and Bio-cultural theory. Explaining xenophobic violence in South Africa according to (SAHRC 2008, Davis 2007, Mukonza2011; Neocosmos, 2006; Nieftagodien, 2011) there is a need for theoretical approaches capable of fundamentally identifying the underlying causes, proximate factors, and triggers of township violence. The RD provides psychological and accounts to socio-cultural explanations for the reoccurrences of xenophobic violence. The bio-cultural theory serves as a correlation of the RD. The bio-cultural theory makes provision to how black foreigners are singled out and victimized based on their physical appearance. According to Harris, (2002), the bio-cultural theory provides an explanation “for the asymmetrical targeting of African foreigners by local South Africans.

2.3.1 The Relative Deprivation theory

Relative deprivation theory suggests the psychological factors of xenophobic violence as key in explaining social conflict specifically amongst urban poor South Africans and African immigrants. According to Landau (2011), relative deprivation refers to feelings of dissatisfaction, alienation based on perceptions of deprivation, as the poor or a group feel frustrated and alienated based on value expectations and value capability one is entitled to in the social and physical environment.

The Origins of the relative deprivation theory are traced back to economist writer Veblen in 1909 who states that deprivation reflects relative income and interdependent.

Nieftagodien (2011:15) argues:

Origins of relative deprivation literature lie in the psychological conceptualization of individual aggression as the product of anger produced by frustration, where frustration results from impediments placed in the path of goal-directed behavior.

Social psychologist Opfermann (2008) described relative deprivation as a concept of reference group; the theory has been applied to situations where people assess their circumstance in relation to others in their own racial groups. Pillay's (2008) empirical study provides an analysis of Runciman's (1966) work. Runciman (1966) defines the broad use of the relative deprivation theory as

Relative deprivation is (where Person A feels deprived of object X): Person A does not have X; Person A wants to have X; Person A knows of other people who have X; Person A believes obtaining X is realistic (Runciman 1966:16)

Pillay (2008) refers to relative deprivation as the inadequate social necessities of those socially marginalized. The Relative deprivation theory has over the years evolved and emerged from various scholarly thoughts within different decades as it gives accounts to social phenomenal that persist within modern societies. The relationship between xenophobic violence and relative deprivation has been widely investigated (Misago, 2009 Landau, 2004, Monson, 2010).

RD demonstrates the levels of xenophobic attacks because of frustration, aggression created from the dissatisfaction over inadequate service delivery, and the corruption over RDP houses which in turn foreign nationals end up being scapegoats (Human Science Research Council, 2008, Solomon, 2007). Pillay, (2008), Gelb, (2008), Ramalepe and Shai (2015) concur that xenophobic violence manifests itself amongst individuals at the lower end of the socio-economic and educational spectrum. Gurr's (1970) claims that discontent arising from the perception of relative deprivation is the basic, instigating condition for participants in collective violence. Relative deprivation sees the dissatisfaction and frustration in redressing apartheid inequalities that have led deprived masses

to collectively attack foreign nationals. Therefore, this theory argues that when there is a gap between reality and aspiration, social unrest develops, and violence occurs (Harris, 2006, Waddington et al, 2005 Sharp, 2008). Therefore, an ideal situation like this xenophobic violence flourishes.

As far as the relevance of the RD is concerned, it sheds light on the causes of xenophobic violence in South Africa as it accounts for socio-economic factors that people see themselves in. Various scholars such as (Crush et al, 2009, Pillay, 2008 and HSRC, 2008, Smith, 2015, Solomon and Kosaka 2014) have used the relative deprivation theory to provide explanations of xenophobic violence in contemporary South Africa. Relative deprivation theory holds that instead of the absolute standard of deprivation, inadequate provision of service delivery in township communities, and a gap between expected and achieved welfare social injustice leads men to political violence. Hadland (2010) and Neves and Du Toit (2012) claim that poverty levels are very high in South Africa, as over 70 percent of the South Africa population live in absolute poverty.

The Relative deprivation theory does not blame poverty as a cause of xenophobic violence. According to Steinberg (2008), the relevance of the Relative deprivation theory recognizes poverty as an underlying condition. In Gurr's (1970) own terms: "Discontent arising from the perception of relative deprivation is the basic, instigating condition for participants in collective violence". A number of studies have found that frustration boils over to the most vulnerable individuals. This thesis claims deprivation runs along the sense of collective majority feeling they welfare states have failed them, making them feel inferior to others that they compare themselves. Bekker (2010), claims that the RD suggests that the failure of service delivery is blamed on those who are perceived as being well off than local South Africans. From the relative deprivation, it is frustration that leads to anger, and this anger is turned on "frustration scapegoats", namely foreigners (Harris 2002). According to Mapokgole (2014) the relevance of the Relative deprivation theory is that deprivation is an attitude that could be seemingly be based on the grounds of unfair competition between the locals and non-nationals in relation to jobs, housing and the inability for the South African government to provide resources for its citizens. This study therefore, acknowledges the relative deprivation to explain South African violence against foreigners.

Scholars such as Matsinhe (2011), Kunda, (2009), Neocosmos, (2010), Vromans et al (2011) and webb (2008) question the usefulness of the Relative deprivation theory. Relative deprivation according to these scholars only accounts to micro-level explanations of the manifestation of xenophobic violence, falling short in giving explanations as to why xenophobic violence was targeted at precisely poor foreigners. Relative Deprivation theory does not knowledge measures implemented by the post-apartheid government into promoting social cohesion and racial diversity (Neocosmos, 2010). Ramalep et al., (2015) claim that it is merely indispensable because it highlights the relation of xenophobic practices to the capitalist mode of production and recognizes the crucial role plays within the capitalist economy" limitation with this explanation.

Previous research has indicated that RD fails to incorporate other spheres of society (Neocosmos, 2010). It has conclusively been shown that interpretation of the RD overlooks historical explanations; as an outburst of violence can be associated with being psychological and cultural spheres (Matsinhe 2011). One possible implication for this is that relative deprivation of resources is something this theory clearly explains. However it fails to take into consideration from initial observation that South African being deprived resources does not give them the liberty to kill nor destroy (Chakravarty and D'ambrosio, 2006). Relative deprivation fails to account as to why African foreign are most vulnerable to these attacks (Chakravarty and D'ambrosio, 2006).

2.3.2 Bio-cultural theory

The second theory used in this study is the bio-cultural theory as it indicates the biological and cultural features of foreigners which makes them stand out from the native individuals (Harris 2012). This theory accounts for the visible difference amongst South African and African immigrants. Several writers have vigorously challenged the biocultural theory in recent years; it provides socio-cultural explanations for the manifestation of xenophobic violence. Commenting on Harris (2012) argument, (McKerracher *et al*, 2017) add that the bio-cultural theory is the causal interactions between biological adaptations and cultural constructions that are rooted in the biological human life cycle. Therefore, the bio-cultural theory explains xenophobic violence as monolithic about South Africa, because only black immigrants bear xenophobic attacks (Harris 2012). The bio-cultural theory highlights the way South African collectively perceives African

immigrants. It draws out attention to the perspective that African immigrants are disliked and hated by other fellow Africans based on the cultural and biological difference for instance color and race.

According to Valji (2008), the bio-cultural theory claims that, immigrant's resemblance, their language and cultural norms are similar to those of fellow South Africans. This method of identification has resulted in several people even including dark-skinned looking black South African being targeted and attacked. Several experts reveal those of lighter skin are not victimized (Crush *et al*, 2008; Neocosmos, 2008; Sharp, 2008; Pillay, 2008 and Dodson, 2010). The purpose of the biocultural theory provides a relationship between skin complexion profiling and how it allows for certain foreigners to become targets whilst others do not. At this point, the correct question that needs to be asked is why do South African citizens seem to only target foreign national from third world countries as opposed to their European counterparts that are predominantly white? For Vromans et al (2011), "xenophobia is a construction 'woven' by think-tanks to protect the country from the 'foreign Africa migrants' mainly those from other African countries; and this is the reason why xenophobia manifests itself as Afrophobia."

Cronje (2008) is critical to the conclusions that Arogundade, (2008) draws from his findings that biological-cultural attributes stand as indexical markers of difference. Nevertheless, so does language, accent, clothing and physical features of white and Asian foreigners who also represent the otherness. However, these groups are not automatically immune to xenophobia, but relative to African foreigners. Adjai *et al.*, (2013) argues one way of understanding why black foreigner's scapegoats of violence are is to postulate a new hypothesis. According to Everatt (2011) violent attitudes towards African nationals is directly linked to the class they occupy within a society.

The biocultural theory has been summarized by HSRC (2008) and Hadland (2010) which claims that those who become exposed to xenophobic attacks are those that dress, speak and look in a particular way that is different to South Africans. The relevance of this theory explains how xenophobic violence is unequally applied. As it is argued xenophobia does not apply to all foreigners, but it is particularly those of a darker complexion that are at a greater intensity than others are. Steenamp (2009) asserts that this theory offers a more vivid explanation as to why Nigerians, Congolese, Zimbabweans are more identifiable as to other races. Harris (2002) further

states that it merely because of their physical attributes and the inability to speak South Africa indigenous languages. The otherness of these individuals aids the identification of whom to target.

Xenophobic activities that are carried out in Africa are heavily due to cultural and biological differences in Africa (Harris 2012, David 2009, Cronje, 2008, CoRMSA, 2011). The bio-cultural theory indicates how xenophobic violence in this study is not only racialised as argued by Smith (2013) who suggests, that xenophobic violence is linked to racism. Matsinhe (2011) and Everatt (2011) use the terms 'Negrophobia' and 'Afrophobia' instead. HSRC (2011) notes that the most important principle determining the levels of hostility toward African migrants is their inability to blend into the local community through cultural rituals and the inability to speak some South African languages makes them more vulnerable to being victims. This then indicates victims of xenophobic violence's are those that dress, look and speak in a different way.

South Africa needs to situate xenophobia within its transition from a past of racism to a future of nationalism. This then involves looking at the role of broader social institutions, such as the media. There are specific generated images of African foreigners in the country which are perceived in a certain way different to those of "color". Hence, theoretically, there is a need to look at the mechanisms of nationalism and the ways in which xenophobia itself has been represented in South Africa (Matsinhe 2011, Harris 2001, Hayem, 2013). These theories consider that a foreigner is treated as a homogeneous category. Although the bio-cultural is most comprehensive in accounting for the victims of xenophobic violence, it does suffer from several flaws. Crush (2008) notes the biocultural theory fails to provide explanation as to why only black immigrants are targeted in these attacks instead of other immigrants. A weakness with this argument is that this approach overlooks immigrants from neighboring states such as Swaziland, Lesotho, and Botswana that are perceived differently (Adjai *et al.*, 2013). The bio-cultural theory fundamentally fails in taking into account all social and systemic dimensions that perpetrate these attacks (Everatt 2011). Crush (2014) brings about a new theoretical framework, xenophobic violence needs to be situated within the South African transition.

2.4 EMPIRICAL RESEARCH

This section addresses previous and present research related to this study. The aim is to use previous research for purposes of enriching this study in several ways. Related research may

provide useful data for this study on the bases of methodological aspects such as sampling, instruments of data collection, and sharpening items. Other benefits presented in this section, is identifying pitfalls to avoid in this study by learning from other researchers.

Several empirical studies investigating manifestations of xenophobic violence have been carried out by various scholars such as (Crush and Ramachandra 2009, Everatt 2011, Dodson 2010, Mapokgole 2014). Dodson (2010) empirical study "Locating Xenophobia: Debate, Discourse and Everyday experience in Cape Town, South Africa" critically provides substantial evidence of the 2005 xenophobic attacks that took place in Cape Town. Data were collected from 20 local South Africans residing in Khayelitsha. The sampled participants consisted of black male: 5 were employed and 5 unemployed and also 5 black females that were employed and 5 unemployed. The findings from this study make several contributions to the current literature. The analysis of Dodson (2010) undertaken here, has extended our knowledge of the different perceptions that employed and unemployed South Africans have regarding xenophobic violence.

From Dodson's (2010) study, the overall research findings from the respondents were that violence against black immigrants was instigated from allegations, rumors conveyed by the media, press, the community, and politicians according to all the employed participants. The key strengths of this study are its long duration and the empirical findings in this study provide a new understanding of to the different perceptions expressed by the unemployed participants as competition for employment, housing, facilities, services and space according to them caused the violent discourse on black immigrants. More so, Everatt's (2011) qualitative study aimed at understanding racist attitudes South Africans had towards foreign nationals particularly African migrants was conducted. Inequality and social class influence were demonstrated.

Hierarchy and social classes in society perceive foreign immigrants differently (Mapokgole 2014). This study demonstrates poor black participants, perceived problems that they faced merely due to the influx of foreigners migrating to South Africa. This research has several practical applications. Secondly, it points to a crime, poor service delivery and unemployment as causes of this social division. However, when it came to the black participants and those of color who were either middle or upper-class one noted the response was very much different as black foreign nationals were seen as well-educated, hardworking individuals who contributed to South Africa's

economy. The empirical findings in this study provide a new understanding of how educated South Africans view African immigrants different than those who are subjected to absolute poverty. Therefore, it demonstrates that not all South Africans are Afrophobic but instead, xenophobic violence has largely become a fight between relative poor South Africans and poor African immigrants as discussed by various authors (Croucher, 1998; McDonald, et al., 2000; McDonald & Jacobs, 2005)

Vorster's (2012) study also conclusively argues that South Africa historical past has influential attributes to triggering these attacks. In support empirical studies from experts, such Nyamnjoh (2008), HSRC (2009), and Crush (2008) found that just a single event or even the poor economic issues that have been raised by other experts did not perpetrate xenophobic violence in South Africa. The generalisability of these results is subject to certain limitations. For instance, Nyamnjoh's (2008) study conducted in 2007 reveals causes of xenophobic violence are triggered by a myriad of historical and socio-political issues that continue to persist within our township communities

In their study Misago *et al.*, (2009) found that xenophobic violence is fueled by anger, poverty, frustrations of poor South Africans in this township. Charman and Piper's (2012) study claim that police officials indicate that 60 percent of its criminal activities are committed by foreigners on the locals. This confirms previous research conducted by Bekker et al., (2008); Amit (2010); Esses et al., (20010, Fauvelle-Aymar and Segatti (2011) who suggest that negative perceptions that South Africans have towards foreign nationals is based on criminal activities committed by foreign nationals. This study enhanced our understanding of the causes of xenophobic violence in South Africa which is an essential aspect of answering the research objectives for this study.

Landau's (2008) study Xenophobic Violence, Business Formation, and Sustainable Livelihoods provides additional evidence with respect to negative perceptions of foreign nationals being inter-generational, as he further argues that chain reaction of negative generalization made by certain people end up being perceived as true fuels the practices of xenophobic violence in a country. Applicability is shown by the studies presented as enriching to the study, as they encapsulate an understanding of why local South Africans resent other nationals particularly black foreign immigrants. Mukonza (2011) alludes to Landau's study by arguing that 'When a group has no

history of incorporating strangers difficult to be welcoming'. Reitzes and Bam (2008) investigated social relations of Mozambican residents in Winterveld, highlighted how foreigners who lived in South Africa for many years and who had embedded the South African culture were also targeted during these attacks

Research conducted by the Democracy, Governance Programme Human Sciences Research Council (2008) aimed at investigating the lack of social capital amongst South Africans, and Foreign national in marginalized township communities. The study makes several noteworthy contributions as it criticized the on-going xenophobic tendencies that have created trust issues amongst nationals and African immigrants. The present study confirms previous findings and contributes additional evidence that suggests South Africans do not trust African immigrants. The study has confirmed the findings of Kerr and Durrkeim (2013) and Landau (2011) which found that xenophobic violence escalated from 2006 to 2016 has destroyed social relation and coexistence between South African and black immigrants. Several limitations to this piloted study need to be acknowledged. The sample size is of focus groups was utilized as means of collecting data where interviews took place in township communities, Alexandra, Mamelodi, Tembisa in Gauteng, Imizamu Yethu in the Western Cape Mamelodi, Tembisa. The most important limitation lies in the fact that despite its exploratory nature, this study offers some insight into how diversity, creates the misconceptions and mistrust amongst nationals and foreign nationals.

Hayen's (2013) study on xenophobic violence discusses the challenges and strategies for facilitating and promoting anti-immigration policies. In her review, Hayen (2013) suggests government and private sectors have failed to address the reoccurrences of xenophobic violence. In support, Muchiri's (2016) and Hadland (2010) study systematically reveals how xenophobic violence lacks jurisdiction policies. Hence, perpetrators of violence go unpunished. For Muchiri (2016) this is due to the levels of denialism found in governmental structures that prevent effective jurisdiction policies. Vorster (2012) claims that the prevalence of xenophobic violence in modern South Africa will continue to linger on in township communities. Vorster (2012) argues that voices against xenophobic violence remain silent in addressing racial discrimination and political discourses of the post-apartheid South Africa.

2.5 LITERATURE REVIEW

This section is divided into two sections that provide key explanations for the prevalence of xenophobic violence. Section A examines xenophobic violence from international and national countries. Section B critically analyses the manifestations of xenophobic violence in South Africa.

2.5.1 SECTION A: XENOPHOBIC VIOLENCE IN GLOBAL AND NATIONAL COUNTRIES.

This section provides a brief overview on the manifestations of xenophobic violence from an international and national level. Xenophobia sentiments and violence are global phenomena not limited to South Africa only. Thus, this study uses countries such as Germany, the United States of America, Zimbabwe, and Nigeria, as case studies.

2.5.1.1 Prevalence of xenophobic violence in International countries

Studies have documented the rise of xenophobic violence against ethnic immigrants in developed and developing countries (Crush et al 2009). Xenophobic violence is a global issue not peculiar to South Africa only. Previous empirical research indicates that the earliest trace of the sentiments of xenophobia and violence was documented in Eastern and Western Europe countries during the Second World War II. In Europe, 2 million Jews living in Europe were targets of brutal attacks and killing. Crush et al (2009) argue that Hitler believed it was the Jewish conspiracy that resulted in Germany's defeat. Xenophobic violence documented from countries such: Germany, USA, France, United Kingdom, according to Necomosmos (2008) based on the assumption that one's country 'is defined by and should maintain its dominant white European heritage'.

This distinction was exemplified in 1914, where thousands of Mexicans, Italians, and Asians immigrants were attacked in the USA (Frye et al 2011). Studies have found that Jews in such countries have frequently been subjected to violent massacres. Meanwhile, xenophobic violence came in the form of anti-immigrant attitude towards Muslims and other race groups in South Korea. For Yakushko (2008) South Korea was once a country highly dominated by Chinese, Japanese, immigrants were blamed for the unemployment and economic instability faced in Korea.

Many analysts argue that in the early twentieth-first century and late twentieth century, incidents of violence are against legal and illegal Muslims in countries such as Rome, and America USA has also been witnessed (HSRC, 2008; Landau and Misago, 2009, Geffen ,2008, Harris 2002). After the September 2001 attacks in the USA an alarming surge of racism and xenophobic actions against Arabs and Muslims occurred. Crush et al (2009) note that this was Islamophobia. Muslims living in these countries were subjected to harassment, and to regular security checks. A similar case in Britain occurred where only white immigrants from developed countries were welcomed into the country, as black immigrants were excluded. According to Dodson (2010) the Britons and the British government allegedly claimed that black immigrants would contaminate their culture and national identity.

In 2005, xenophobic sentiments in India were carried out against Bangladeshi immigrants. As Bangladeshi immigrants were accused of all social ills India was facing in 2005. Political leader Sarbananda Sanowal of the Asom Gana Parishad party when interviewed, he argued ‘illegal migrants from Bangladesh are a major threat to our identity and them coming to India has resulted in us becoming foreigners in our own land and the only way to stop this is if we keep these people out of Assam’. The studies presented thus far provide evidence that xenophobia in India is unique compared to other countries. This can be illustrated briefly by stereotypes against Bangladeshi migrants based on their religious backgrounds (Landau and Misago, 2009). This is exemplified in the work undertaken by Crush, (2008) who argues that Muslim Bangladeshi viewed as criminals. The bases of religious ideologies have been the result of Muslim Bangladeshi (Hechter et al 1982). The evidence of xenophobia can be clearly seen in the case of Israel. According to Fauvelle-Aymar et al., (2011) and Nieftagodien, (2011) state that xenophobia in Israel was not only caused by the insufficient economic growth that seems to trigger xenophobia in many countries but (Worby et al. 2008) reveals that other than economic instability the major force is a religious affirmation.

2.5.1.2 Xenophobic Violence in SADC countries

Africa has been known for its long history of intolerance of immigrants and xenophobia as literature in the 1990s points out (Esses et al 1996). This is evident in the case of Rwanda, president Mobutu in 1981-decreed citizenship to all Burundian immigrants. It has been suggested that levels of xenophobic violence were thought to have been competing with local Rwandans for economic

opportunities and for their land. Neocosmos (2008) states that Mobutu used feelings of hatred towards immigrants to inspire ethnic cleansing in North Kivu in 1993 while expelling Congolese Tutsi in 1996. Omar Bongo from Gabon in 1975 ordered violent attacks and mass expulsion of immigrants to be deported from Gabon mainly to stabilise the Gabonese political and economic state. According to Omar, this could only be done if he diverted Gabon from any intra-ethnic tensions. Attacks in countries such as Nigeria, Uganda, and Ghana have continued to exclude groups based on ethnic nationalist criteria (Whitaker, 2005).

Other studies have considered the November 1969 Aliens Compliance Order by the Ghanaian government Kofi Busia as the cause of violence. Many Nigerians were expelled from Ghana. Under the Aliens Compliance order, all document and undocumented migrants living in Ghana were ordered to leave within two weeks. As a result, various immigrants from countries such as Nigeria, Togo, Niger, and Burkina Faso were expelled. The underlying cause for the Aliens Compliance Order was the deteriorating economic crisis in Ghana at that time, as this crisis was believed to have been created by immigrants (Oppong, 2008). Immigrants were used as scapegoats. Crush Neocosmos (2008); Sharp, (2008); Pillay, (2008) and Dodson, (2010) agree that when a country faces economic problems such as the cases of South Africa and Ghana it is inevitable that xenophobic violence would occur.

The same occurred mid-January 1983 in Nigeria as economic recession took its toll, Nigeria oil prices decreased tremendously leaving thousands unemployed. The decline of Nigeria's economy in early 1980 following its economic boom in the 1970s, expelled more than 2 million immigrants from Nigeria in 1983 (Aremu 2013). Kimou (2013) reports that 1 million out of the 2 million expelled were Ghanaian immigrants. Another wave of expulsion occurred in Nigeria against 300 000 Ghanaian immigrants in 1985. The worsening of Nigeria economy constituted these expulsions against Ghanaian immigrants. This then caused the Nigerian government to order all immigrants to leave within a month. Xenophobic violence in African countries are Afro-phobic (Misago et al, 2010).

In Eastern Congo migrants that originated from the Eastern parts of Rwanda and Burundi were granted citizenship under the governance of Mobutu in 1972. This is exemplified in the work undertaken by (Miraftab, 2007) who argues that citizenship was granted to all migrants in Congo

in 1950. In 1981 Congo redefined its constitution which in turn defined citizenship to be more rigor. Claims of citizenship were then understood differently now. Mukonza (2011) asserts that Congolese now only grant citizenship to those living on its soil. This then led to the attacks of 5 000 Banyarwanda in 1993. This can be seen in Ivory Coast. Ivory Coast is known for its migration and most migrants that come from the North. However Ivory Coast is very much unique as pointed out by Misago et al, (2010) who report that locals had a good relationship with migrants; they were allowed to occupy the land. In turn, they had to serve the local community in terms of labor or giving money to the community. The evidence of the occurrence of xenophobic violence can be clearly seen in Miraftab, (2007) arguments who asserts notes that when land was abundant, a strong function amongst locals and migrants is evident this they led to the heterogeneous community. Together these studies provide important insights into the cohesion amongst these two groups which was short lived when President Laurent Gbagond in 1988 proclaimed the second war of liberation in Ivory Coast. This was to strengthen the right of the autochthonous population from Western migrants. In doing so 5000 Burkina and Northern migrants were massacred, some had to leave Tabou. Similarly, to Congo, Ivory Coast reclaimed its citizenship which after 1988 legislation was put into place forbidding land ownership to foreign migrants.

In Botswana, xenophobic attitudes have been targeted at African immigrants as well as Indian immigrants. Certain Batswana are alleged to dislike Indian immigrants because they perceive them as being disloyal and were to blame for the unemployment in Botswana; however, these perceptions were motivated by the fact that immigrants that lived in Botswana were well-educated and therefore seen as threats (Steenkamp, 2009).

A possible explanation was in 2004, when the President of Equatorial Guinea, led by the mercenary, spurred a clampdown on all foreign immigrants in the country (Roberts, 2009). Several immigrants were allegedly thought of being foreign were intimidated and some were expelled. More than 1000 immigrants from Cameroon were expelled (Human Rights Watch 2009). Part of the law enforcement in Equatorial Guinea, its state permitted arbitrarily arrests to all those that were allegedly suspected of being illegal foreigners (Human Rights Watch 2009). While in 2007, the government banned Western Immigrants from owing business in Equatorial Guinea. Roberts (2009) reports that this order was a nationalistic initiative that ensured jobs for the locals (IRIN News 2008)

The recent terrorist attacks in Kenya by the Somali al-Shabaab group have raised negative perception against Somalis (Neocosmos, 2008). The Westgate attack in 2003 caused the Kenyan government to authorise the closing down of the Dadaab camp which belonged to Somali refugees. Operation Usalama Watch in 2014 resulted in the arrest of approximately 4 000 Somalis (Boru-Halakhe 2014). For Monson, (2011) Kenya's government attempt to address the threat of violent extremism saw the Somali Kenyan community being stigmatized in the process. In comparison to Kenya, the June 2015, suicide bomb attacks in N'Djamena by Boko Haram resulted in the death of 29 people and left 100 wounded (Channels Television 2015). As one of the measures that the Chadian government implemented in response to these attacks was the expulsion of all foreign immigrants. Thus, the Chadian military expelled 200 to 300 Cameroonians as part of the 'clean-up campaign against undocumented foreigners' (Ernest 2015). In July 2015, over 2 000 undocumented Nigerians were expelled from Kousseri in Chad (Webb, 2008). In view of all that has been discussed so far, the overview of both developed and developing countries clearly indicate that xenophobic violence is a worldwide phenomenon that affects migrant communities of that country.

2.5.2 SECTION B: XENOPHOBIC MANIFESTATIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA

The main objective of this section is to critically review literature that examines xenophobic violence in the South African contexts and townships and informal communities. It aims to provide historical and contextual explanations as to how and why xenophobic attacks have occurred in contemporary South Africa. Drawing from empirical data and empirical literature, this section puts emphasis on South Africa's socio-economic and historical conditions as causes of the outbreak of the xenophobic attacks. As the relative deprivation used for this study argues, poor socio-economic conditions of local South Africans are fundamental attributes in understanding the tensions and discontent and anger that South Africans have towards black African immigrants.

2.5.2.1 Xenophobic violence in contemporary South Africa

Xenophobic violence in the context of South Africa is a phenomenal dated beyond apartheid (Dodson 2010). Historically before the Cape Dutch colony in 1652, South Africa was home to three clans the Bantu clan, Koi-koi clan, and San. According to Frye et al, (2015), the settling of the Dutch in the cape was not to make the cape their permanent home but merely a refreshment

station. Colonialisation changed societies in South Africa. As SAMP, (2008) and Misago et al., (2009) argues, societies no longer belonged to the Bantu clan, Koi-koi clan, and the San people but societies were now divided between white and black. Analysts such as Kynoch, (2005), and HSRC (2008), asserts that inequality manifested whereby whites people were the colonialist (owners of production) whilst blacks people were the native who was ruled by whites".

The legacy of apartheid has driven xenophobic violence. A recent study suggests despite South Africa political transformation, many communities have remained impoverished and underdeveloped due to the manifestations of inequality caused by colonization. Hadland (2010) argues that racial oppression and the legacy of colonisation and apartheid has played a role in not only fostering xenophobic sentiments but also encouraging violence against foreigners.

Hadland (2010:19) further proclaims that:

Apartheid has instilled a mindset in people about the way in which the lowliest in society can be treated that is proving hard to shake off. Maybe the struggle against apartheid has created a particularly fiery brand of protest, one that involves violence at times, and so protesting against foreigners in a violent way does not seem unusual or unacceptable to some.

Inequalities and impoverishment in South Africa still go along with race. This then gives accounts as to why xenophobia occurs. Von Holdt et al (2011) note that race, and social class remain a major dividing factor. Marginalized communities particularly, those dominated by black people still do not bear the same social benefits than those of rich white communities.

The Citizens Rights in Africa Initiative (CRAI, 2009:1) argues that:

the racial segregation and isolation under Apartheid created fertile ground for xenophobia in several ways: First, "it created racialized notions of identity and worth, which encouraged Black South Africans to see themselves not only as inferior to whites but also as separate from the rest of the continent." Second, it encouraged separation and compartmentalization of various populations as a means of governance and discouraged

integration or contact between groups. Finally, it institutionalized violence as a means of communicating grievances and achieving political ends (CRAI, 2009:1).

In turn township and informal communities experience high levels of powerlessness. Kunda (2009) asserts violence has been a persistent feature of township life characterized by decades of social and economic disadvantage, repressive policing, criminal predation and a consequent recourse to vigilantism. Many township communities such as Umlazi, the Cape Flats, and Khayelitsha have been neglected and endure great poverty and deprivation over the years. According to Parsley & Everatt, (2010) issue of poverty in the township and informal communities appears to be worsening. Thus, this study makes a link between the high poverty rates witnessed in South African to the reoccurrence of xenophobic violence. Scholars such as Landau (2010) argue that poverty translates into a psychological dimension whereby the poor feel discriminated against, insecure, politically repressed and victimized by a public agency.

In this regard, xenophobic violence is a social and political phenomenon that continues to contribute to the marginalization and exclusion of non-national from national and social factors. It has become commonplace to distinguish 'passive' from 'active' forms of violence, aggression and brutality towards migrant groups represent extreme and escalated forms of xenophobia, as in the case of South Africa. Landau (2011) argues that citizens regularly echo long-standing discourses and blame foreigners and migrants more generally for the country's socio-economic ills.

According to an HSRC (2008):

South African citizens literally feel 'besieged' by a range of socioeconomic challenges. This feeling is particularly acute for men of working age who are struggling to find employment or make a living and feel most directly threatened by the migration of large numbers of 'working men' from other parts of the continent. In this context, the 'foreigner' is the nearest 'other', against which this sentiment can be expressed (HSRC 2008: 11).

2.5.2.2 DETERMINANTS OF XENOPHOBIC VIOLENCE

Xenophobic violence thrives from various underlying causes of that country. Empirical studies indicate causes of xenophobic violence still remain difficult to ascertain (Crush et al., 2014 Hayem,

2013). Factors such as political discourse, economic deprivation, crime, border control, immigration laws, and poor service delivery are causes that have perpetuated violence. However, experts such as Neocosmo et al., (2010) argue that causes of xenophobic violence are historically rooted in the history of that country. This study therefore examines the determinants of xenophobic violence by understanding its historical and current influences in a county.

2.5.2.2.1 Globalization

Historically, the era of globalization increased the level of capital and labor whilst increasing the flow of goods. Thus, the interconnection of countries allowed for the movement of people to migrate across international borders. Boundless opportunities have increased free movement of capital, which creates economic inequality amongst countries and other regions. In the Mid 1990s, Sub-Saharan Africa witnessed close to 120 million immigrants migrating globally (Misago, Landau, and Monson, 2009). By the 21st century, an estimated 175 million foreign immigrants were living outside of their countries of origins across the world. These numbers are exaggerated hence, these numbers quickly become accepted as fact through uncritical repetition and contribute powerfully to the idea that South Africa national territory is under siege from the outsiders (Matsinhe, 2011).

Globalization was intended on regulating immigration and encouraging the free movement of trade, and capital (Maharaj and Moodley 2000). Hence xenophobic violence is perpetuated by the unrestricted movement of individuals which also perpetrates political and sociological issues.

Peverdy (2009:10) states that:

With globalization and technology, people are moving across the world for one reason or another, and in increasing numbers, from one place to another, from one country to another, from one continent to another. This global move and global movement transform the human world into a multi-cultural world sheltered by hostilities in the destination country. "As they move, migrants are constantly made aware of their vulnerability to state practices of inclusion and exclusion (Peverdy 2009:10).

Beck (2008) draws our attention to globalization as a means of denationalization". Seemly so, scholars such (Solomon, Kosaka, 2014) affirm globalization as a primary driver of xenophobia sentiment and xenophobic violence. Numerous studies have compared Xenophobia manifest from a Marxist or political economy perspective (Berm, 2006). Neoliberal policies and structural adjustment policies implemented undermine livelihoods and spur violent competition over scarce resources such as jobs and housing. Globalization, therefore, induces a state of hybridity, flux, and moral anomie that triggers violence. Hence, the Marxist perspective is correct to claim that xenophobic violence is a reaction to neoliberalism (SAMP, 2008; Misago et al., 2009).

Xenophobic violence is very much a reality in South Africa, as an unregulated movement of immigrants has created a level of anti-attitude towards African immigrants. A survey conducted by the Southern African Migration Projects (SAMP) fairly argues that negative perceptions have grown over the years as more African immigrant migrates to South Africa. Hence, intolerants of immigrants' perpetuated xenophobic sentiments and violent acts.

2.5.2.2.2 Immigration and illegal immigrants as causes of Xenophobic Violence

International migration has become an integral part of modernization and industrialization in South Africa. Such migration dates back to globalization and the extensive migration system created in the mid-nineteenth century by the colonial state (Ramalepe, Shai, 2015). Factors that facilitate the immigration of foreigners into various countries are for economic purposes political and cultural persecutions from their countries of origin (SAMP, 2008; Misago et al., 2009). With reference to South Africa, after it had gained its independence in 1994, South Africa became a destination country for many SADC immigrants. As a result, South Africa over the years has faced a high increase of African immigrants migrating legally and illegally to South Africa.

Table 2. 1: Reasons African immigrants migrate

Table 3

Reasons why Africans leave their home countries for South Africa

Variables	Origin of African immigrants entrepreneurs									
	Nigeria N= 40		Somalia N= 40		Senegal N= 20		Other** N= 20		Total N=120	
	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%	F	%
Political instability	12	30	40	100	2	10	10	50	64	53
Perception of business opportunities in RSA	15	38	0	0	6	30	2	10	23	19
Economic reasons	8	20	0	0	9	45	3	15	20	17
Visit	2	5	0	0	3	15	2	10	7	6
Other*	3	8	0	0	0	0	3	15	6	5
TOTAL	40	100	40	100	20	100	20	100	120	100
N: Number of respondents					F: Frequency					

* The group designated as 'Other' comprises family problems, marriage, study, adventure etc.

** The group of countries designated as other comprises of Cameroon (6), Tanzania (5), Angola (4), Zimbabwe (2), Rwanda (2) and Morocco (1).

Source: <http://www.scielo.org.za/scielo.php>

As table 3 illustrates deteriorating socio-economic conditions and deepening poverty of some SADC countries have propelled many immigrants into migrating to South Africa. Stats conducted by the SAMP (2009) indicate a significant 70% of "brain drain" circulation has taken place in countries such as Ghana, Gambia, and Nigeria; Togo and Burkina Faso and Senegal and Ivory Coast. Third world countries still suffer from inadequate economic development that is able to sustain socio-economic development for its people. Gordon, (2010) that liberalization in countries such a Zimbabwe, Nigeria have faced substantial economic decline over the years, as poor governance seems to perpetuate the situation. Various situations in various countries are further aggravated by autocratic governance system which ends up displacing many non-nationals and

especially non-national from SADC countries. Such as in the Early 1990s Mozambicans the blood shedding civil war of which many immigrated to South Africa uprooted migrants.

2.5.2.2.3 Poor Immigration policies

A strong link is found between immigration policies and xenophobic violence (IRIN 2011). Immigration policies implemented in any given country either perpetrate xenophobic sentiments and violence or induce it. With the case of South Africa, immigration policies have contributed largely to the perpetration of attacks targeted at a certain minority. It has failed over the years to implement efficient immigration policies that effectively manage the high influx of immigrants, refugees and asylum seekers coming into the country, however, in turn, uncontrolled immigration patterns have resulted. The UNHCR (2007) indicates close to 4 million immigrants are estimated as being residing in South Africa and of that 4 million only 114,200 are documented immigrants and 800,000 are illegal. South Africa, therefore, has been at the receiving end of a larger number of undocumented foreign nationals living in South Africa.

Poor implementation of immigration policies resulted in many foreign nationals claiming false identification. According to SAMP (2009) many South Africans feel that their country is under siege and are therefore willing to result to violence and other measures to ensure that foreign nations do not enter. This perpetuates insecurities that create xenophobic sentiments among the nationals which in most cases lead to violence. Section 32 (1) and (2) of the immigration act policy indicate how immigration policies in South Africa have focused and centralized its mandates on excluding and controlling immigrants rather than properly integrating them into society. Historically immigration policies in South Africa have imposed harsh policies that restrict the migration of black skilled immigrants. In support Dodson, (2010) argues how three-quarters of white non- nationals who had come to South Africa since 1991 had attained permanent residence and only 10 percent of black skilled immigrants were given those privileges. Arguably so, it is clear that white non-nationals enjoy more freedom and are given more privileges compared to black non-nationals, therefore one needs to argue is the South African economy and civil society, racist. This discriminatory approach shows the inferiority that already takes place between white non-national and black non-nationals in terms of policies implementations of immigration policies and them economic statues. The importance of foreign human rights in South Africa continues to

discuss the insufficient mechanisms partaking to immigrant policies expose vulnerable immigrants to exploitation and violence (Everatt, 2011).

According to Vale (2002):

Xenophobic violence is a construction woven by think tanks to protect the country from the foreign African migrants-mainly those from other African countries and this is the reason why xenophobic manifest itself as Afrophobia.

Immigration Acts have created the ideology of nationality and exclusions from society (Everatt, 2011). The author views human rights according to the South Africa bill of rights as being universal but arguably now they are merely seen as a national privilege of accessing basic needs for only South Africans excluding those of nationality (Hayem, 2013). Sinwell (2011) notes the regulations in post-2000 RSA of the South African Constitution under sections 26 and 27 within the constitution which does not mention that every citizen is entitled to basic rights but instead emphasis is placed on citizens whose origins are South African or and comply to these rights. The tension between South Africans and non-South Africans results in mass protest actions held in communities against foreign nationals.

2.5.2.2.4 Alien Control Amendment Act of 1991

The Alien Control Act remains a negative legislation embedded from ideologies and prejudice of the apartheid regime. This new legislation was amended in 1995 (Act No. 76) and 1996 (Act No .39) as according to the Minister of Home Affairs its mandate was to control the influx of immigrants and it also created two distinct categories that classified immigrants (Fauvelle-Aymar, Segatti, 2011). In compliance with this Act, immigrants were obligated to apply for a work permit outside South Africa preventing them from using visitor's visa to seek employment. More so, in 1998 the Department of Home Affairs declared, "no one in the unskilled and semi-skilled categories would be accepted as an immigrant worker." Flockemann, Ngara, Roberts, & Castle, (2010) argue that in many cases employers who wished to introduce skills that were not from South Africa, had to give justifications as to why these skills could only be filled by immigrants and not by South African citizens. As part of the active high non-refundable fee were required to be paid by immigrants. This created a barrier to the entrance of immigrants the entry fee was much higher

for African immigrant than immigrants that come from America and the North. This clearly indicates that it not only the government with a negative and exclusionary attitude towards skilled immigrants, it has also infiltrated down into communities.

2.5.2.2.5 Scio-economic reasons

The end of apartheid in 1994 was meant to usher a season of hope to many South Africans. It was meant to economically restore the dignity of South Africans especially black South Africans who had been poor, and marginalized. Several empirical researches indicate that xenophobic violence in townships and informal communities characterized by high levels of poverty, unemployment, competition over scarce resource (Dodson, 2010, Misago *et al.* 2015, Crush *et al* 2009, Bostock, 2010) these contributors are consistently recognized as major causes of xenophobic violence in South Africa. A large percentage of South Africans perceive foreigners and especially almost exclusively black foreigners as being a direct threat to their future economic well-being and as responsible for the troubling rise in violent crime in South Africa (HRW, 2012). Unemployment stands at 34.8% in South African and 49% at Youth employment according to the (Labour Force Survey, 2008).

This, in turn, has posed significant challenges in job creation and development. Inequalities in socio-economic resources continue to impede social cohesion in communities, an anxiety of oppression and poverty of South Africans under these conditions have worsened over the years. A study conducted by the HSRC (2008) after the May xenophobic attacks reports that, "South Africans literally feel besieged by a range of socio-economic challenges". The HSRC (2008) concludes that these feelings are present amongst working class males who struggle to find employment and make a living hence they feel threatened by immigrants.

2.5.2.2.6 The culture of violence as a cause of self, community entitlement, and violence

The biggest problem in South Africa is that it is not divorced the culture of violence adopted during the apartheid era. Social relations and interaction have been governed by consistent outbreaks of violence. Prevalence of violence in South Africa is rooted in the 1980s as violence was used to fight the apartheid struggle; hence, it was political in nature. The political violence of the 1980s has effectively created a society that is dominated by violence. Misago *et al* (2009) argue that

violence has been a persistent feature of townships life. Violence acts are seen as a normal and legitimate solution to solving problems in present societies in South Africa. Scholars such as Kynoch, (2005), Misago et al (2009) assert that xenophobic violence cannot be studied in relation to the present conditions faced in South Africa. Xenophobic violence is a social movement of those deprived. Mosselson, (2010) states "violence manifest when black people fight against all forces that try to keep them on their knees begging for bread, water and affirmation".

2.6 Biased Media coverage towards African immigrants

Mass media is associated with xenophobia. As several studies have illustrated even though reporting is not racist as such, but foreigners are largely misrepresented which in turn creates this negative bias in society. Mukonza, (2011) argues that the media is preponderantly white-controlled business, and even though the end of apartheid has led to some degree of black ownership and partnership, it has not necessarily made the newspapers more representative of black immigrants. Mass media has consistently reproduced problematic research and anti-immigrant terminology uncritically. Neocosmos (2008), Yakushko (2008) and Mbembe (2015) provide evidence on the lack of reference to crime and illegality of Western Europeans and North Americans immigrants in South Africa, despite the fact that immigrants from these regions also commit crimes and many are in the country illegally.

As Hassim et al. (2008) writes that:

Darker skin betrays foreign African origins and invites persecution by following 'blacks' who see their lighter skin as the most telling signifier of the South African belonging (Hassim et al. 2008).

2.6.1 Local Government denialism on the discourse of xenophobia as causes of xenophobic violence

South Africa has failed to actively address xenophobic violence in South Africa due to the level of denialism within government officials. Prevalence of xenophobic violence in any modern society is largely based on the fact that the state government has adopted policies of silences (Mapokgole, 2014, Misago, et al 2009, Mbeki, 2008). This was noted when former President Thabo Mbeki

announced at a gathering in tribute to victims of the attacks that it was not xenophobia but rather naked criminal activity, he further blamed the levels of xenophobia on the lack of knowledge that South Africans had on other Africa continents (David, 2011, Development Indicators Report 2008). Monson (2011) explains the negative perceptions some politicians have towards foreigners which have seemingly penetrated down to grassroots communities. This affirms the argument that states that xenophobic violence needs to be understood on the bases of a top-down approach (Sharp 2008) as every decision made by those in power penetrates down to communities. The author, therefore, labeled fellow South African as agitators as they were easily persuaded in doing anything. A primary example would be words spoken by King Goodwill Zwelithini which caused many marginalized Durbanites to retaliate and attack black foreign nationals.

We are requesting those who come from outside to please go back to their countries,” Zwelithini said. “The fact that there were countries that played a role in the country’s struggle for liberation should not be used as an excuse to create a situation where foreigners are allowed to inconvenience locals. “I know you were in their countries during the struggle for liberation. But the fact of the matter is we did not set up businesses in their countries, he said ... the Daily News (2015) quoted King Goodwill Zwelithini.

Solomon et al (2014) argues that there still seems to be a level of denialism that exists among South Africans partaking in xenophobic violence. When we recall these attacks in 2000 and 2008 static indicated close to 69 immigrants were killed and 600 injured and of that 600 it was reported twenty- five South African who were thought to have been immigrants were injured (Monson 2011). An incident of attacks since 2009 has tremendously escalated. SAMP (2015) reports that, each year South Africa witness attacks against immigrants. The 2015 attacks that occurred in KwaZulu-Natal resulted in the death of 50 immigrants and 500 immigrants were injured and displaced from the communities they resided in. These numbers are obviously not accurate in a sense that cases of xenophobia in South Africa have gone unknown and not reported. Frankly one can argue that xenophobic violence reoccurs in communities because perpetrators are not being prosecuted. The government has failed to criminalise these attacks of which statics proves that only 20 people were arrested in 2008 and in 2015 only 15. This indicates that the South African justice system is still facing challenges in prosecuting xenophobic violence perpetrators (Crush, Ramachandran, 2009). The justice minister states that this due to lack evidence. This study

highlights that the South African government addresses xenophobic violence as an ordinary crime. Monson and Arian (2011) point out that this encourages these attacks against non-nationals rather than addressing the matter.

2.6.2 Government, Civil society interventions in addressing xenophobic violence

Responses and strategies implemented by government and civil society against the fight of "Afrophobic" are short-term measures that do not provide long-term protection and prevention (Sinwell, 2011, Amisi et al., 2011). The implementation of the Prevention and Combating of Hate Crimes Bill in September 2016 further indicates the ignorance of the Department of Justice and Constitutional Development (DOJCD) of South Africa only took a stand to address these attacks in 2016. This law fosters the right-based approach by enhancing the rights of victims and sending a clear and unequivocal message that crimes motivated by hate and xenophobia will not be tolerated as they were subjected to punishment (Solomon et al 2014).

Neocosmos, (2008) states that government has failed in accessing equal resources to all citizens most especially foreign national as this fundamentally enhances the social cohesion of which in turn promotes community development. Community development is something that cannot be achieved if power inequalities still prevail in societies. According to (Campbell, 2002) there is a need for a transition within community development projects amongst locals and foreigners. A new paradigm shift is needed whereby a more community-based development approach is utilized rather than the clinical epidemiological approach. Campbell furthermore calls for equal dialogue participation and representation of both local individuals and foreign nationals. Dodson (2010) and Laher (2009) assert that xenophobia towards foreigners is something that will never vanish merely due to the fact that governmental officials implement coping strategies that are enforced by other countries forgetting xenophobic violence is a unique phenomenon that occurs within a country, therefore unique coping strategies suitable for that country need to be implemented.

All sectors within civic society, the private sector and faith community-based organizations need to work harder in promoting sustainable opportunities in rebuilding township communities that have been affected by violence whilst also strongly acknowledging South Africa is a Rainbow Nation that belongs to all who live in it. Everatt (2011), Matsinhe (2011), and Crush (2008) argue that community-based educations need to be created by communities to allow community

individuals to become more educated about foreigners instead of them merely seeing them as a threat.

2.7 CONCLUSION

Even though tightening of regulations on the rights of migrant have been enforced by the government hostility towards foreigners prevail. Xenophobic violence is something not foreign to in the world instead has persisted for many centuries. Harris (2002) indicated that xenophobic violence can be traced far back to the era of World War II and the Cold Wars during the 1960s and last 1980s. Research studies conducted by various scholars in this chapter illustrated that South Africans were hostile towards foreign national as they perceive them as threats for competing with them over scarce resources and opportunities. Hayem (2013) reported that there still seems to be a level of denialism that exists among South Africans partaking in xenophobic violence and most profoundly within governmental structures. Various authors on the silence of government raised questions during these attacks.

Drawing an analysis on South Africa Prejudice of the "unknown" can be pinpointed to the country's historical apartheid history. The researcher explored various central definitions of what is xenophobic violence as authors give a broader. Understanding of this horrific phenomenon various authors argue that one of the abilities that the government has in addressing these outbursts lies in government identifying xenophobic violence perpetrators and prosecuting them.

Empirical research that examined the nature of xenophobic violence's in the year of 2005 and 2015 stated this phenomenon unknown to literature. Hicks (1999) believes that causes of xenophobia in South Africa remain elusive. As literature demonstrates desperation in finding the real causes. Thus research findings based on the causes of xenophobic violence biased because findings are based on the views of the respondents rather on the actual events on the ground. Innovative implantations need to be enforced as perceptions and various scholars are consistently neglecting the opinions of migrants. With that in mind there is a need to explore and incorporate perceptions of migrants to studies based on addressing xenophobic issues within communities.

Chapter Three:

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents the methodology (research paradigm, research design, research methods, the sample selected, data analysis and ethical issues). It also presents the research processes and data collection procedures utilized for this study. The chapter provides the justification for each approach chosen. It concludes by paying attention to issues related to validity, reliability, and rigor in qualitative research. Ethical considerations and limitations of the study were further discussed.

3.2 RESEARCH METHODOGY

Various techniques were employed by the researcher as a means of collecting and analyzing the study being study.

3.2.1 Research paradigm

The study aimed to understand the manifestations of xenophobic violence in Umlazi suburb from the perceptions of a migrant family. Hence, a constructivist paradigm rooted within a critical theory tradition guides this study. Constructivist paradigm interprets the everyday troubles individuals face as being intricately linked to public issues of power, justice, and democracy (Oyeka, 2011). According to Creswell (2009:11) the critical focus of the constructive paradigm is "to transform or change the human condition. The study focuses on a critique of those alienating or repressing factors that sustain their alienation/self-deception/false consciousness "in a given community (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998). Constructivist paradigm put emphasis on the importance of the human mind.

3.2.2 Research design

The constructivist approach centralizes the ability of people to create meaning and interpretations as they engage with experiences. A qualitative approach was utilized in guiding this study. Qualitative is defined as an examination of processes and meanings which are not measured by

quantity, amount or frequency" (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998:20). Drath (2001) argues that researchers are concerned with exploring people's life histories or everyday behavior, then qualitative methods may be utilized". It allows the researcher to understand the research participants from how they perceive their situations with reference to the study being researched.

Denzin & Lincoln (1998) argues that a qualitative method is more flexible and interactive to gain insight into the participant's experiences. This then allowed the family the opportunity to voice their opinions on xenophobic violence and how it has negatively affected their lives. According to Willig (2008) qualitative allows for participants to explore, describe and analyze their experiences on "how they perceive it. Hence, the strength of qualitative research lies in its ability to depict the fullness of human experience in a meaningful and comprehensive way (Creswell 2009). Boyatzis (1998) adds that a qualitative description is not theory development, but the provision of thick description, and adding interpretative meaning to an experience depicted in an easily understood language. However, scholars such Pearce and Conger (2002) argue that this method has a number of limitations because the method is impressionistic and non-verifiable. On one hand Pearce and Conger (2002) claims that qualitative studies pose a generalization. On the other hand Creswell (2009) states that generalization from research participants' questions the accuracy and validity of the study. Hence difficulties arise when an attempt is made to implement the findings.

Allan and Skinner (1991: 181) argue that:

Flexibility remains an advantage of qualitative research here – the categories of action developed for analysis are not rigidly fixed, nor is analysis restricted to a stage when the data has already been collected.... What counts as an example of a phenomenon, and indeed what phenomena are worthy of note, changes as the research progresses and the researcher develops a better, fuller understanding of the issues involved.

3.3 Sampling

A non-probability sampling was beneficial since a qualitative approach was used for the study. The approach focuses on in-depth human behavior, experiences and thoughts of the sampled population (Marshall, 1996).

Shank (2002) proclaims that a purposive sampling technique is usually used in qualitative research because it permits the choice of participants who can assist in comprehending the situation that is to be studied. Banister et al., (1994) state that the sample size needs to be small enough to allow the researcher to capture individual perceptions in the analysis. Creswell (2009) states that the 'ought not to be so small as to reduce variation'. Hence, a case study of a family was appropriate. The researcher used purposeful sampling. Neuman (2003) argues that purposive sampling allows the researcher to use their own judgment to select the research participants corresponding with their research aims and objectives. Babbie and Mouton (2001:166) indicate that a selection is based on the researcher's knowledge of the participants and the nature of the research aims. A purposeful sampling is beneficial and effective only if the selected case study is rich-information cases.

For this reason, the following criteria for inclusion were set out by the researcher: age, gender, and their origins. Interviews were confined to a family. Schall et al (2002) states that qualitative researcher consists of a relatively small population size; however the population sample ought not to be too small. The sample size consisted of the father, mother, the eldest daughter and son. Willig (2001), Mason (2002) and Patton (2002) argue that "in purposive sampling, the sampling units are chosen because they have particular features such as socio-demographic characteristics, or may be related to specific experiences, behaviors, roles which will enable detailed exploration and understanding of the study's central themes (Willig 2001)". Neuman (2003) also argues that an advantage of purposive sampling is that the researcher becomes able to select unique cases that are particularly informative and relevant. Selection Criteria were as follows: The researcher purposively sampled her participants by

- a) Confined to a family (the case being studied from whom perceptions are being sorted)
- b) Perceptions were confined to adults in the migrant family, who had attained legal aid of majority 18+ i.e., that was the father, mother, eldest daughter and son.
- c) Sampling selection was specific in the sense that only four family members that were mature enough to articulate the perception of the family regarding how Xenophobic Violence can be addressed in Umlazi Suburb were sampled for this study.

3.4 Research Methods

The tools used in this study for data collection were interviews. Interviewing, Dornyei (2007) argues, is ‘a natural and socially acceptable’ way of collecting data as it can be used in various situations covering a variety of topics. Qualitative researchers interact with participants in a face-to-face situation. In their search for information-rich informants, and because qualitative research is carried out in the participants' natural settings (homes), this often means that researchers are entering the private worlds of individuals. This is not only a very intimate type of research but may also involve gathering sensitive or controversial information.

3.4.1 Semi-structured interviews

A semi-structured interview technique was carried out in this study (See Annexure C: interview guide). According to Hardon, et al, (2004) semi-structured interviews are hard to generalize, as they are based on interviews with a limited number of people. The main aim for the researcher using semi-structured interviews was to gain a detailed understanding on the perception of xenophobic violence in Umlazi from the migrant family. This allowed the researcher and participants to be more flexible in their engagement with each other. De Vos et al., (2002) states that it opens rooms for interesting themes to emerge in the process. For the purpose of this research semi-structured interviews consisted of an interview guide that provided the interviewee with guidelines that reassured the interviewee of the topic at hand and questions asked by the researcher.

Interviews with each migrant family member were conducted in English. The family spoke English and Shona hence, there was a collective agreement amongst the family and the researcher in using English as means of communicating during their interview sessions. Further interviews were tape recorded with permission granted in the consent form (see Annexure A). Semi-structured interview as “it allows depth to be achieved by providing the opportunity on the part of the interviewer to probe and expand the interviewee's responses” (Rubin & Rubin, 2005). Griffiee (2005) points out: interviewing is a popular way of gathering qualitative research data because it is perceived as ‘talking and talking is natural. Tape recording each interview allowed the researcher to concentrate without distractions. Creswell (2010) claims that the strengths of using tape recorders during interviews, it allows researchers to gather more detailed data compared to note-taking.

Due to Ethical Clearance constraints, interviews were only conducted on the 10th of February 2018, as Clearance was only fully granted on the 15th of December 2017. Being the festive season interviews with participants had to be rescheduled, which in turn delayed the completion of the dissertation. With the sample size not being big, the researcher was able to interview one participant per day in their home on Saturdays and Sundays if requested. Interviews ran for plus or minus one and half hours. The older generation being the father and mother had longer interviews which lasted for two hours. According to May (2011) semi-structured interview are time-consuming to conduct and analyze. Stories and past experiences by participants are widely expressed in their interviews. Certain limitations were encountered in the process. Interviews were scheduled so as to not compromise the participants' daily schedules. At times, interviews were postpone by the participants due to other family obligations. Hence, the completion of interviews was behind schedule. Interviews with the participants were only completed on the 24th of March thereafter the researcher proceeded with my data analysis.

3.4.2 Literature review

The use of secondary data for gathering data and providing substantial evidence for the chosen topic was used throughout this research. According to Doherty (1994) secondary data are data which have already been collected for the purposes other than the problem at hand. Secondary data for the purpose of this study was derived from the use of books and journals subjected and related to xenophobic violence. Secondary data was useful in a way it adds richness and uniqueness to one's research while looking from the previous findings that had been done by other researchers (Finn, 2000). The researcher used the literature review as part of a triangulation method to ensure the accuracy and validity of the study. Literature reviews allow the researcher to summaries and examine key findings from different authors (Creswell 2009). From this, the researcher identified gaps from previous research.

3.5 DATA ANALYSIS

Like all research, once the data has been collected, the analysis and interpretation thereafter are required. To bring clarity and understanding of the findings from the data collected. De Vos, (2005), Creswell (2002) and Terre Blanche (2006) all claim that qualitative research highly depends on a solid presentation that provides thick descriptive findings that allow the reader to

understand the phenomena being researched. The researcher used the thematic data analysis. It focuses on examining themes within the data and organizing data sets (Boyatzis, 1998). Thematic data analysis is a research method used to identify, analyze and code themes. The researcher utilized the following phases as stated by (Creswell, 2010).

3.5.1 Data preparation and Familiarization

Data preparation and familiarization was the proposal stage for the researcher. The researcher in this stage conducted an extensive literature review, which explored the topic from a theoretical perspective. This allowed the researcher to be familiarise with the various ideas from academic scholars about the topic being researched and assisted the research with the creation of the interview guide. Braun and Clarke (2006) argue that the researcher needs to have some prior knowledge of the data before analysis begins. Therefore, the researcher thoroughly engaged themselves in with the depth and breadth of the data gathered. Researchers in this phase need to ensure they have gathered and understood their data before they can analysis it (Creswell, 2009, Braun and Clake, 2006). From the familiarization stage, the researcher transcribed and translated the interviews by re-reading the transcript carefully and repeatedly.

This allowed the researcher to develop a deeper understanding of the information provided by the participants. According to Creswell (2010) this process requires the researcher to repeat the reading of the data set; this allows them to develop themes and patterns. In this phase, the researcher read the whole data set twice, as identification of ideas and patterns emerged through coding. Braun and Clarke (2006) point out that data preparation and familiarization is a phase where the researcher takes notes that mark ideas for coding. Transcribing interviews was a way of familiarizing the researcher with their data. Riesmann (1994) states that transcription may be a time-consuming; frustrating and boring process; it was however, an excellent way to start familiarizing yourself with the data.

3.5.2 Inducing

At this point, the researcher was fully familiar and confident with the content of the data that had been transcribed earlier. Once the transcription had been completed, codes were generated. Codes identify predominant themes from the raw data (Boyatzis, 1998). From reading the transcribed

data the researcher developed themes that were further separated into sub-themes. As Braun and Clarke, (2006) argue that the purpose of inducing is to find an optimal level of complexity which neither over-simplified the subject matter, nor exceeded the scope of what could be handled in the context of a master's dissertation. Boyatzis (1998) argues that themes are developed from the generated codes and during the process of coding themes are developed. Boyatzis (1998) also notes that some initial codes form the main themes and some form sub-themes. Themes are then reviewed and defined. Codes were manually coded by the researcher. These emerging themes and patterns were highlighted when identified by the researcher. In this regard, Creswell (2010) asserts that manual coding is where a researcher codes their data by writing notes on texts while using a highlighter to indicate the patterns. The researcher did this by systematically working through the whole data set, identifying interesting data items from sentences, lines, and phrases; this allowed the researcher to break down the data by assigning it into labels. A chronological ordering of themes emerged (Cozby, 2007) as causes of xenophobic violence were sub-divided into different sub-themes, ranging from, slow economic drowth, corruption, socio-economic reasons as presented in (Chapter four: 4.5)

3.5.3 Coding data themes

With phase 3 of the data analysis process, the researcher proceeded with data coding. Blanche and Kelly (2006) state coding data theme is where data has been initially coded and collected. Braun and Clarke (2006:20) argue:

Finding themes and coding blend together and support or influence one another. Hence the researcher breaks down the themes into labeled and meaningful pieces for an in-depth discussion with one another, theoretical literature and/or the findings from other research reports. Such codes comprised expressions, sentences, or even paragraphs.

At this point, the researcher began to analysis the coded themes by sorting them into potential themes. The researcher reanalyzed the data by looking for different codes and overarching themes. The use of visual representation in the form of mind-maps and tables was utilized by the researcher as to sort out the codes into themes. Cozby (2007) argues the use of visual representation is helpful at this stage, as different codes are coded into themes using tables, mind-maps. By doing this

according to Braun and Clarke (2006) the researcher starts thinking about the relationship between codes, between themes.

As a result, the researcher identified complementary themes in relation to the literature review in (Chapter 2) such as the livelihood of black immigrants and the issue of accessing service delivery. This allowed the researcher to identify the different xenophobic experiences by the migrating family, as a theme that was further divided into a sub-theme. Furthermore, data found by the researcher revealed complexities than of what was suggested in the literature review. For example, data revealed that the relationship between immigrants and South Africans revealed a greater diversity as initially anticipated. Chapter 4 of this dissertation presents and discusses this theme further.

3.5.4 Elaboration

According to Patton (1988) elaboration, is where the researcher explores themes, codes and how they interrelate with each other. Themes were formulated in a way that either compliment or contradicted the findings from the literature review and the theoretical framework utilized in this study. The primary intention for this step was for the researcher to review and fine turn the already existing themes, to verify their interconnection to the study being researched. Govender (2011) argues that the refinement and fine-tuning of themes involves two important levels. Level one is where the researcher reviews the coded data extracts. Applying level one, the researcher read all the coded extracts for each theme. Level two is where the validity of individual themes occurs in relation to the data set (Govender, 2011). Thus, the researcher re-read the entire data set to see whether each theme worked in relation to the data set and checked if any data within themes was missed while coding. By the end of this stage, the research was confident of the various themes that had been identified and how they're interconnected to each other and previous literature

3.5.5 Interpretation/ Generating Meaning

The final stage was to put together the emerging interpretation. By drawing the data interpretation in a sequential order, considering the phenomenon being studied. It was vital for the researcher to consider how each theme fitted into each in relation to the research questions, the aim, and objectives of the study. Themes were therefore constructed in relation to the researcher's research

questions aim and objectives as stated by Boyatzis, (1998) so as to not lose track of what the research is about and to ensure themes had been linked to the literature review and the main aim of the research. The researcher further went through their data interpretation once again looking for gaps, inconsistencies or contradictions In order to enhance the validity, reliability, and rigour of the study.

3.6 VALIDITY, RELIABILITY AND RIGOR

Various techniques were taken by the researcher to ensure the validity and reliability of this study is achieved. Patton (2001) states that validity and reliability are two factors which any qualitative researcher should be concerned about while designing a study, analysing results and judging the quality of the study.

3.6.1 Trustworthiness

Reliability and validity are conceptualized as trustworthiness, rigor and quality in qualitative paradigm. To ensure trustworthiness in qualitative research, examination of trustworthiness is crucial. Seale (1999), while establishing good quality studies through reliability and validity in qualitative research, states that the “trustworthiness of a research report lies at the heart of issues conventionally discussed as validity and reliability”. It is through credibility that the researcher’s truthfulness of the data gather is tested. According to Guba and Lincoln (1985), credibility refers to the confidence in the truth of data and involves prolonged engagement and persistent observation. Willig (2008) further argues that credibility refers to whether the researcher has established confidence in the truth of the findings. This was done after the data had been transcribed and coded by the researcher. The researcher ensured that accuracy and authenticity were achieved by ensuring a follow-up interview between the researcher and the interviewees. This allowed the researcher to check if the transcribed data expressions by the interviewees were in fact accurate. According to (Oyeka, 2011) respondent validation give both parties the researcher and interviewee a chance to add on what was not noted within the first rounds of interviews and whether the final themes from the interviews adequately reflected the phenomenal being investigated.

3.6 2 Triangulation and Expert evaluation

Triangulation is defined to be “a validity procedure where researchers search for convergence among multiple and different sources of information to form themes categories in a study” (Creswell & Miller, 2000) Hence, triangulation assisted the researcher to develop a deeper understanding of the study by using secondary literature and also incorporating quantitative technics in an qualitative study when analysing the research findings. The purpose of triangulation was to increase the credibility and validity of the research findings. As Altrichter et al. (2008) contend that, triangulation is a method used by qualitative researchers to check and establish validity in their studies by analysing their research questions from multiple perspectives to arrive at consistency across data sources or approaches. Validity is taken a step further by means of getting an external auditor being my supervisor to evaluate the overall thesis. Examining key fundamental procedures that are needed and those relative to the topic enhanced the reliability of the entire thesis.

3.5 ETHICAL CONSIDERATION

Xenophobic violence is a highly sensitive topic that needs a researcher to carefully ensure that information is collected from the key participants in a polite and carefree manner. According to Vorster (2002), ethical guidelines provide a foundation for the researcher to evaluate his own conduct. Thus, the researcher ensured human rights of participants were not abused while collecting data. Smythe and Murray (2000) argue that ethical measures need to be put into place. The nature of this research depended on human participation therefore ethical clearance from the Ethical Committee of the School of Humanities was obtained first by the researcher before going out onto the field.

Whilst complying with the ethical committee regulation the usage of children in research studies which (Creswell 2014) sees them as vulnerable. Only children over the age of 21 were sampled and participated in this study. Asserts that children over the age of 18 under the South African constitution are referred to as young adults. However, strict conditions were employed by the researcher. Firstly, identity documents of the child served as a confirmation of they are were

shown, prior to the interview. Secondly, a consent form illustrated in (Annexure C) was issued to the participants prior to the interview process. The consent form conscientised participants the nature of the research, secondly within the consent form the researcher clearly made participants aware of their rights and that their participation was voluntary. This protects both the participants, researchers and the research itself (de Vos et al., 2005)

3.5.1 Anonymity and Confidentiality

Issues of trust between the researcher and the participants are perhaps the major problem faced when collecting data. To gain the trust of the participants the researcher issued participants with an interview guide. Hardon et al. (2004) state that the interview guide makes it easier to reassure informants and to win their cooperation and trust. Anonymity and confidentiality were ensured by ensuring that all sampled participants were fully made aware, that information presented by them during their interviews was confidential. Hence, the names of participants and their residential address were not disclosed during the interviews. According to Hugman et al. (2011) this protects the research participants from any harm that could result in them participating in the research. Lastly, plagiarism was highly avoided by the researcher. Wallman (2005) states plagiarism is the worst offense that a researcher can commit. So, in this regard, the researcher acknowledged all sources cited in this study in the reference page.

3.5.2 Reflexivity

According to Lambert, Jomeen, & McSherry, (2010) reflexivity is a process of introspection on the role of subjectivity in the research process. However Parahoo, (2006) argues, it is a continuous process of reflection by researchers on their values and of recognizing, examining, and understanding how their “social background, location and assumptions affect their research practice”. The researcher ensured that reflexivity was maintained by maintaining a neutral stand throughout the research. Reay (2007) states that reflexivity is “about giving as full and honest an account of the research process as possible, in particular explicating the position of the researcher in relation to the research . This allowed the researcher to be open and transparent with the participants. The researcher also drafted open-ended questions as for to allow the participants to provide more details of their answers. Therefore, this allowed for additional information to flow freely

3.6 LIMITATION OF THE STUDY

Limitations of this study were trust issues, communication barrier and time constraints between the researcher and the participants as face-face interviews were used by the researcher, participants were always busy which in turn delayed the whole data collection process and also the completion of the study. Trust issues for the researcher were by far the most constraining encounter that was faced by the researcher when data was collected. Many migrant individuals found it very hard to believe the researcher, as at first, the family thought the researcher was a spy and this made it hard to get the family to participate.

3.7 CONCLUSION

An overview of the research methodology was presented in this chapter. It described and discussed the research design, sampling method, data collection methods, and the data analysis method utilized by the researcher. It further mentioned ways Validity, Reliability, and Rigour of the study enhanced the study. The chapter also presented the ethical precautions taken in order to gather data.

Chapter Four:

PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

Chapter four presents and discusses data collected, from the views/perceptions of a migrant family living in Umlazi Suburb. This chapter provides a detailed overview of the four research participants previously mentioned in (Chapter 3:3.3.4). Findings gathered from the interviewed participants based on the interview guide (Annexure C) is organized into themes such as: reasons for coming to South Africa, perceptions of xenophobic violence, the causes of xenophobic violence, victims of township xenophobic violence, effects of xenophobic violence on citizen's immigrant relations, perceptions South Africans have of African immigrants and measures needed to address xenophobic violence from a community level, provincial level, national level, and international level is presented and discussed . Finally, the conclusion gives a summary of the findings.

4.2 RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS

A case study confined to a migrant family from whom perceptions were sorted, and sampled through purposive sampling (refer to Chapter 3, Section 3.3) a total of 4 participants were sampled for this study as shown in Table 4.2.1

Table 4. 1: Overview of study participants

Respondents	Gender	Age	Marital status	Country of origin	Highest educational qualification	Arrival in SA	Years staying in Umlazi	Occupation
(R1)-Father	Male	50	Married	Zimbabwe	Tertiary	2003	16	Teacher
(R2)-Mother	Female	46	Married	Zimbabwe	Matric	2003	16	Salon owner
(R3)- Daughter	Female	25	Single	Zimbabwe	Tertiary	2003	16	Intern
(R4)-Son	Male	20	Single	Zimbabwe	Tertiary	2003	16	Student

Table 2 illustrates: sex, age, and marital status, and nationality, year of arrival in SA and highest educational qualification of each respondent

From the demographic characteristics table, four participants of the sampled family were interviewed for the study. Participants included two females and two males. The ages of the family members ranged from 20 to 50 years. Table 2 shows that the sampled family was Zimbabweans and had moved to South Africa in 2002. Participants have lived in Umlazi Suburb for over 16 years. This confirms previous studies that argued that although many immigrants reside in these townships communities for many years, they are still exposed to xenophobic attacks and looting (Mukonza 2011, Laher, 2009, Dodson 2010). An education level of the four sampled participants varied. Two out of the four members had completed their tertiary education, whilst respondent 4 was still in tertiary and one had only completed secondary school. The table also shows each member's occupation, two of the four sampled participants were employed in the formal sector, one in the informal sector and the other one was still a student, therefore, was unemployed.

These results provide important insights for this study. As (kunda 2009, Misago 2011, Monson 2011, Mosselson 2010) claim that South Africans are xenophobic towards black African immigrants on the basis that black African immigrants are poor, uneducated, and unemployed therefore pose a threat to South Africa economy. However, in line with the above findings, this study shows a new light on the perceptions stated by (Mosselson, 2010, Mukonza 2011, Nieftagodien, 2011). Crust and Tevern's (2010) empirical study found that immigrants are highly educated and skilled individuals. Hence, this study firmly acknowledges that from the presented findings that, these perceptions African immigrant's lack substance in understanding the manifestations of xenophobic violence in South Africa.

4.3 FINDINGS OF THE STUDY

Data gathered from the sampled respondents was presented and analysed in the following categories: First, the reasons for coming to South Africa, the second general understanding of what xenophobic violence. Third, the causes of xenophobic violence were broken down into subthemes such as slowing economic growth that leads to socio-economic reasons, corruption, and denialism by the government. Fourth; South African perceptions of immigrants and fifth the category that was used and analysed to locate the victims of township xenophobic violence. Sixth, the effects of xenophobic violence on citizen's immigrant relations, findings were categorized into subthemes: isolation, trust issues. Lastly, strategies from the community level, provincial level, national level in addressing xenophobic violence is presented.

4.3.1 Reasons for coming to South Africa

Respondents were asked to explain their reasons for preferring coming to South Africa to any other country (Annexure C: Question 1). Respondents came to South Africa in 2003, as Zimbabwe was facing economic and political instability. These reasons for respondents coming to South Africa and their decisions are categorized into Push Factors and Pull Factors.

4.3.1.1 Push Factors

All four of the respondents expressed poverty and political instability as causes of migration. These causes are classified as push factors.

Everyone in Zimbabwe lived in absolute poverty ... (Respondent 3)

"Before we left Zimbabwe in 2000 when the Movement for Democratic Change opposition party led by Morgan Richard Tsvangirai tried to overrule Mugabe. I recall very well it was February 2000 where I saw thousands of Zimbabweans who had joined Tsvangirai political party brutally killed by Mugabe troops. I had seen many of my fellow Zimbabwean brothers and sisters die from political unrest we had to run away, I wasn't safe to let alone my family" ... (Respondent 2)

Respondents spoke passionately of their country's political and economic instability under the leadership of Former President Robert Mugabe as key driving factors for the high migration rate in Zimbabwe. These findings corroborate with the ideas of Castles' (2004) empirical study, which found that forced migration is due to civil war and the abuse of human rights that result in mass displacement of many foreign nationals. Harris (2002) further claims foreign nationals find themselves subjected to survival hardships in many countries.

Respondent 1 further proclaims:

*We left Zimbabwe 10 years ago in 2003 to come to South Africa, life in Zimbabwe was hard but it worsened in the early 2000s due to political unrest and economic instability... We saw many white farmers being violently chased out from their farms, this affected Zimbabwe economy tremendously. I remember not far where we lived in Zim, {*cough*} ... land that was once owned by whites' farmers and used for Agricultural production before, was converted by Mugabe in 2000 for his military proposes, this then crippled Zimbabwe agricultural production in 2002 resulting in high food prices..... thereafter we saw poverty and hunger prevailing amongst Zimbabweans. I was a physic teacher in Zimbabwe but the salary that I was getting was not enough, it was hard to buy food commodities let alone survive with the money I was getting. Life in Zimbabwe becomes harder each day, for insistence to buy a loaf of bread you needed to have Ten million dollars (R40,00) I remember how we wouldn't have bread for months because it was too expensive, Therefore, we had to leave Zimbabwe" ... (Respondent 1)*

From respondent 1 it is clear that many SADC countries still face hardship and underdevelopment. Present findings were consistent with research conducted by (Crust and Tevern, 2010) who argued that ideologies of nationalism implemented by the ZANU-PF was the source for the Zimbabwe

economic crisis. Respondent 1 reported that the nationalization of Zimbabwe farms affected agricultural production caused hyper inflation and food prices shot up sharply in 2002. This resulted in starvation and poverty in Zimbabwe. (100%) of the respondents indicated that they left Zimbabwe due to economic hardships and political unrest in their country. As respondent 2 indicates the emotional trauma, Zimbabwean immigrants have experienced. The findings confirm issues such as infringement of basic human rights, poverty and economic instability as primary push factors for migration mentioned by (Matsinhe 2011). Immigrants in the case of Zimbabweans find themselves migrating to neighbouring countries or other developed nations. Landau, Ramjathan-Keogh & Singh, (2005) claim that countries such as South Africa end up carrying the burden of accommodating foreign nationals coming from neighbouring SADC countries such as Zimbabwe.

4.3.1.2 Pull Factors

The primary rationale of respondents coming to South Africa goes back to the push factors stated by respondents in 4.3.1.1. The prospect of employment and safety proved to have been the main attraction of them coming to South Africa.

"In Zimbabwe, I worked as a teacher, but my salary was too little to look after my family and extended family, so we had to leave and come to South Africa... In Durban, I have found work as a Teacher, and I am able to feed my family and send money back home. When I came to South Africa in 2003, I was a bricklayer for one of the construction company I was paid much more than what I was earning in Zimbabwe. Life for family and myself. In 2010, I was offered a teaching job in one of the high schools here in Umlazi. Life changed for the better as I was able to take my two children to school" ... (Respondent 1)

"We heard how great South Africa was from my sister who had fled Zimbabwe before us in 2000. Whenever she visited us in Zimbabwe, she would bring us groceries, clothes. Zimbabweans praised South Africa, and we could see that their lives had changed after coming to South Africa, most worked as domestic workers, some worked in construction companies' simple jobs but got enough money to survive. After seeing this my husband and I decided to leave Zimbabwe also" ... (Respondent 2)

“Many Zimbabweans come to South Africa with some sort of educational background but because there are no employment opportunities like South African, we come here”... (Respondent 3)

South Africa was identified as a country of opportunities and prosperity, from utterances presented by the respondents. From the respondents, immigrants came to South Africa for two reasons, employment opportunities, and safety from political unrest. According to respondent 2, immigrants chose South Africa because they were told about the life in South Africa by other immigrants. These findings confirm Gatsheni’s (2014) arguments in Chapter 2, which suggests the link between the increase of immigrants coming to South Africa and the recurrences of xenophobic violence in South Africa. The findings of this study are similar to the literature presented in (Chapter 2) by Landau, et al (2005:6) who state that the rapid increase of foreign national has resulted in South Africans exhibiting high levels of intolerance and hostility towards outsiders most especially poor African immigrant. This has become the dominant reason for xenophobic violence. This study further found that desires of African immigrants wanting a better life for themselves have subjected them to exploitation from government officials and by society. This finding resonates with Dodson’s (2010) and Duponchel’ (2009) findings discussed in Chapter 2.

4.3.1.3 Intentions of leaving South Africa

Understanding their reasons for coming to South Africa shown in (4.3.1.1 and 4.3.1.2) the researcher further asked whether respondents ever consider returning to Zimbabwe. Seeing that South Africa was not after all what they thought it was. Mixed emotions were observed from the respondents. The older generation considered going home.

Respondents commented:

“I wish to go back to Zimbabwe, Zimbabwe is the land where my ancestors were buried, my blood family. So, I can never call South Africa my home” (Respondent 1)

“My child, every day I prayed that Mugabe would step down, and indeed God has answered our prayers. Today a new era in Zimbabwe has occurred. I do pray one day my family and I can go back home. Zimbabwe is and will forever be our home.” (Respondent 2)

However, both children alluded to the notion by saying:

"Honestly, I don't see myself going back to Zimbabwe. I will forever remain proud of being, a Zimbabwean. But I have made a life for myself here in South Africa. Even though South Africans may threaten to kill us, or call us Makwerekwere, I will never leave South Africa... (Respondent 4)

The above suggested that although immigrants endure great hardship in South Africa, immigrants were not willing to return to Zimbabwe. Respondent 4 commented that: *"they were not prepared to leave South Africa, as they had created a life for themselves"*. This confirms Crush et al.'s (2008) study, which found that even though immigrants are vulnerable to physical violence, they still live with the same people who have physically abused their human rights. However, the researcher analysed a different response. Mixed emotions shown by the older and younger generation of this family were discussed. The older generation expressed desires of one-day returning back home. As respondents 1 and 2 expressed their views by constantly stating that:

"South Africa is not our home"

4.3.2 General understanding of xenophobic violence.

Respondents were asked to define xenophobic violence (See Annexure C: Question 2) from their own perception. The objective of this question was to establish whether respondents had background knowledge as to what xenophobic violence.

All four Respondents reflected a strong awareness of what xenophobic violence means. Respondents further expressed their knowledge by stating

"It is the attitude, physical and emotional violence perpetrated towards immigrants most especially black immigrants. Xenophobic violence is hostile, jealous, behavior against people who are not of the same nationality as locals. Xenophobic violence is the war of the poor against the poor"... **(Respondent 1)**

"From my understanding, it is hate crime activities against immigrants. Xenophobia is an anti-foreigner's sentiment that ends up in physical violence against immigrants"... **(Respondent 3)**

“Xenophobic violence in South African is the war of the poor South African against a poor black immigrant...” (Respondent 4)

Respondents reflect Ramphela’s (2008) argument that points out to xenophobic violence as the jealousy and resentment behavior that exist amongst South African. Xenophobic violence is not only an attitude but also a violent activity that results in physical bodily harm as stated by the respondents and confirmed by (Crush, 2014). Respondent 1 viewed xenophobic violence as the fight between the relatively poor black South African and a poor black immigrant. This is similar to Matshine’s (2011) study, which found that xenophobic violence had escalated amongst poor black South Africans. Findings from respondents also accounted for xenophobic violence like killing, looting, and destruction of foreigners belonging orchestrated from the resentment South Africans have against black foreign nationals. Hence, from the findings, the researcher concludes that there were criminal elements as stated by the respondents and this appears to be committed by poor vulnerable locals. Xenophobic violence is therefore used as a cover-up for these criminal activities.

Respondent repeatedly defined xenophobic violence as the resentment that local South Africans have towards black immigrant. However, Harris (2002) in (Chapter 2: 1.2) claims that negative perceptions and resentment of immigrants is not enough to explain the violent attacks. Therefore, conceptualizing xenophobic violence from the attitude point of view as presented by respondent 1 is inadequate. These findings offer little insight as to why foreign nationals especially those from African countries are subject of targeted violence.

Respondent 2 considered that:

“... it is the killing and violence from one poor black individual to another poor black individual ... I would say it is Afrophobic with reference to South Africa...” black foreigners from African countries become scapegoat targets... (Respondent 2)

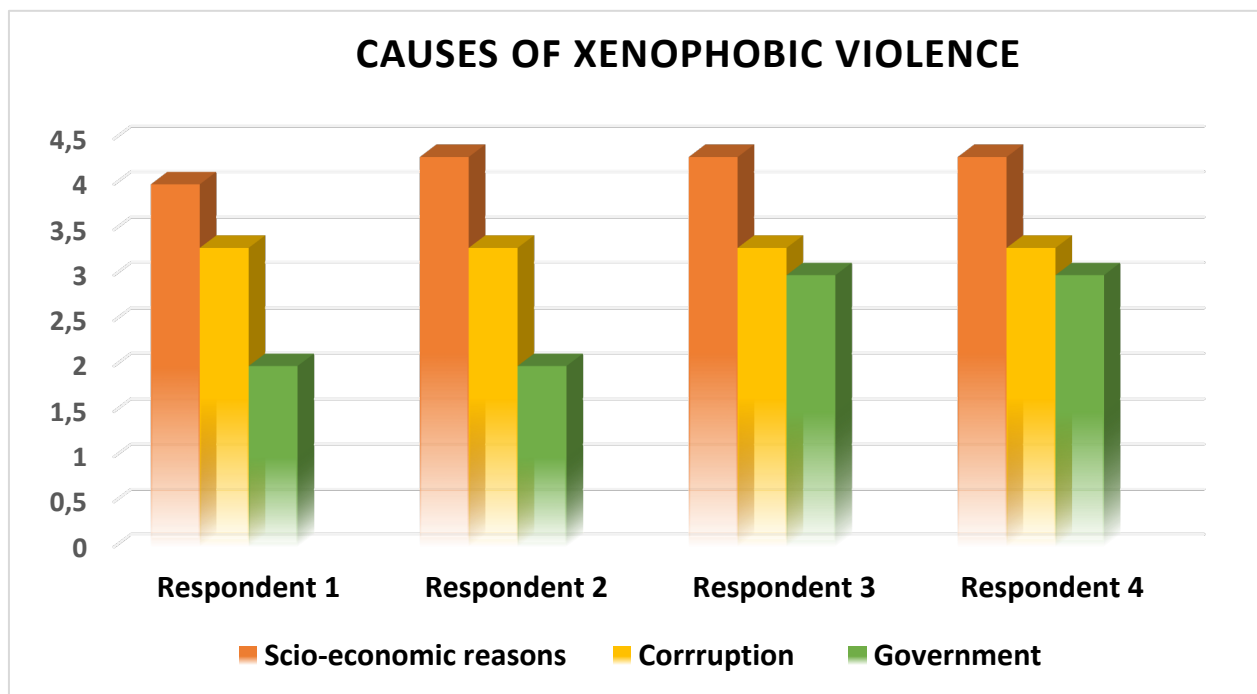
Targets of violence are foreigners of African origins particularly black immigrants. Harries, (2002) and Williams (2008) referred to xenophobic violence as the fear and hatred of anything strange or foreign but in the case of South Africa, it is seen as Afrophobic. The bio-cultural theory used in this study explains the reasons for the attacks. Respondent 2 reported that it is the *“violence from*

one poor black individual to another poor black individual" this point confirms Harries' (2002) and, Landaus' (2010) studies which reveal that xenophobic violence does not target foreigners of colour but foreign immigrants from third world countries particularly those from African countries. The findings further link xenophobic violence to class. Mapokgole (2014) says that the "violent behaviour towards foreign nationals by local South Africans can be directly linked to the 'class' they occupy in the society. This study is similar to Crush et al (2008) and David (2011) that of in that the respondents reported that it was not just black foreigners that attack, but it is poor black foreigners. These findings are significant because they point out the victims of the attacks.

4.3.3 Causes of xenophobic violence in Umlazi

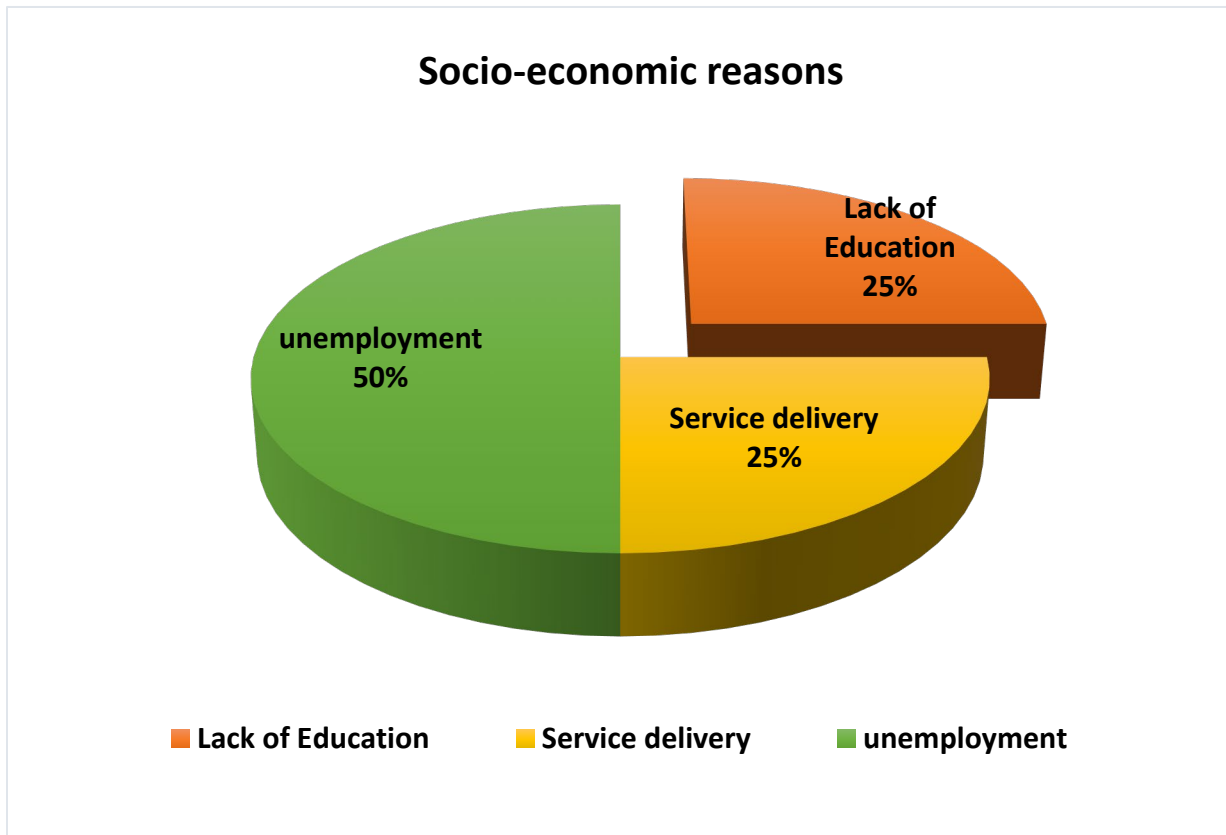
Respondents were asked the causes of xenophobic violence (Annexure C: Question 3). The primary objective of this study is to address xenophobic violence, therefore the root causes of xenophobic violence needed to be understood. All of the respondents expressed interest in this question. Respondents showed a deeper understanding of the subject than anticipated by the researcher.

Figure 4. 1: Indicates the various causes that perpetrate xenophobic violence in Umlazi



The findings from respondents highlight the causes of xenophobic violence in figure 4.1 as expressed by each respondent: socio-economic reasons, corruption, and government are themes that emerged.

Figure 4. 2: Socio-economic reasons for the xenophobic violence in UMLazi



According to figure 4.2 socio-economic factors such as the lack of education, inadequate service delivery and unemployment are reasons given for xenophobic violence. All the respondents agreed that some of the socio-economic hardship faced in UMLazi has increased the intolerance South African have against foreigners. Relative deprivation theory is used in this study and explains link between xenophobic violence and socio-economic inequality amongst South Africans. Census data provided by Mullaly (2007) discussed in (Chapter 1: 1.1) reports that UMLazi is predominantly a marginalized community dominated by relatively deprived black South Africans. Landau, (2013) further affirms that xenophobic violence is linked to poorer members of society who believe that their economic deprivation and lack of resources leads them to be resentful of foreigners. The

analysis shows poverty amongst South Africans has created feelings of resentment towards immigrants in many township communities.

4.3.3.2 Unemployment and poverty

Umlazi Township over the years has experienced tension between its local people and black foreign nationals. As South Africans claim, they are losing their jobs because of foreign nationals in this community. Yakushko, (2008) points out that conflict over scarce jobs and competition between South Africans and foreign nationals has resulted in South Africans threatening foreign immigrants from this community as means of solving the scares job opportunities. Two of the respondent felt unemployment was the cause of these attacks by saying

“South Africans have these perceptions that government is giving us these jobs instead to them”
(Respondent 4)

"South Africans have become so desperate for jobs and services that they think killing us, looting our shops and homes would create employment, but in fact, it is the government who has failed to meet the needs of his people" **(Respondent 1)**

However, respondent 2 argued that:

"South Africans are too lazy to work. Umlazi community speaks of that "We are taking their jobs" but the fact is, the jobs that many South African do not find appealing, foreign nationals are willing to do. When I first came to South African, I sold sweets and fruits as a means of making money, today I own a small salon". **(Respondent 2)**

While respondent 3 further allude:

"South Africa does have opportunities but because South Africans are so spoon-fed by the government. Instead of being innovative and opening a small business for themselves, they want to wait for the government to create jobs. **(Respondent 3)**

A recurrent theme of economic competition amongst respondents was the cause of xenophobic violence in Umlazi. Two discrete reasons emerged from this: first, the reference of "us"

immigrants versus "them" is highly constructed by respondents. Secondly, respondents felt South Africans themselves were lazy. This confirms Bordeau's (2010) argument, which says that today's generation is so dependent on government handout. These results are significant in showing how immigrants are willing to do anything to put food on the table. Wilkinson (2015) and Everett (2011) point out that immigrants provide cheap labour, to middle-class South Africans hence, they face exploitation from the capitalists. Harris (2002) views addressed in chapter 2 (section 3.3.1) are consistent with these findings that prove that these situations exposes foreign immigrants to certain levels of hatred by local South Africans. South Africans feel foreigners are stealing their jobs and see the need to chase them away. This addresses the research problem, as xenophobic violence is connected to economic deprivation. Respondents claim that poor local South Africans fail to understand that attacks towards black foreigner over scarce employment and poverty do not make the government intervene concerning their economic circumstances. Landau, (2008) asserts these attacks only push the government to cater to and re-address the needs of foreigners

For example, respondent 3 said that:

"They can kill us, loot our shops but at the end of the day government will still not provide them with the jobs and service delivery that they so desperately want" ... (Respondent 3)

This finding is similar to Harris' (2002) study which links the worsening of accessing scarce resources of the poor member of society with high levels of resentment, frustration that causes xenophobic violence. These findings are also similar to Everatt's (2011) study which found that South Africans are increasingly intolerant of foreigners due to economic constraints they face in the society that results in foreigners being scapegoat targets. From observation, all four respondents strongly agreed the "new South Africa" has failed its people. In 2016 Democratic Alliance (DA) Mmusi Maimane argued, *"The cause of xenophobic violence in townships lies in our inability as government and the state to bring about economic development and decrease inequality that many marginalized communities in South African still face."* (Harris, 2012). This study finds the desperation and deprivation amongst South Africans is an indication of the internal division and inequality witnessed in marginalized societies. In this case, respondents have fully expressed themselves by arguing that the government is partly responsible for the discrimination of foreigner's especially African immigrants in society. Respondents felt xenophobic violence was

caused by the government's inability to find a solution to the high unemployment rate amongst young people.

4.3.3.3 Lack of education amongst local township individuals

Two of the respondents expressed the lack of education in Umlazi community as the fundamental variable that is behind xenophobic violence in Umlazi. The IDP on Umlazi (2018) indicated in (Chapter 1: Background of Umlazi) show that 36% of its population has a secondary education, while only 26 % have a matric certificate and 7% of its population have some form of higher education qualification or FET training. This then demonstrates how illiteracy amongst Umlazi population is viewed as a cause of xenophobic violence. Respondents confirmed the Following quotes.

"Today's generation faces the problem of being illiterate and this is the root cause of xenophobic violence". When you look at the perpetrators of these attacks, its young black South African who are: one illiterate, two unemployed, three live in absolute poverty". (Respondent 4)

"Reasoning capacity of those literate seem to differ to those illiterate on the basis that illiterate individuals fail to under Africa liberal struggle. South Africa struggle was not only fought internally but as well externally, therefore they lack the reasoning capacity to see the foreigner as the Brothers and Sisters. Am not saying literate people are not xenophobic but because they have better understanding and reasoning of foreigners they do not want to kill nor loot shops belonging to black foreigners"... (Respondent 2)

Respondents indicated how illiteracy among the locals has triggered violence. Respondent 2 reported that the reasoning capacity of literate and illiterate South Africans differs. This confirms the works of Pillay (2008), Gelb, (2008) and Solomon (2007) who point out that xenophobic violence occurs amongst individuals at lower ends of the socio-economic and educational spectrums. Holborn (2010) puts forward how both illiteracies of many South Africans and poverty have triggered xenophobic violence. Xenophobic violence is mostly dominated in township communities as asserted by (Majavu, 2014). Respondents accounts are similar to Majavu 2014) who claims that township communities such as Umlazi face Relative poverty and inequality which triggers violence towards immigrants Holborn (2010) states that poverty and inequality support

variables in perpetrating xenophobic violence. Xenophobic violence, therefore, needs to be seen as a symptom of resentment among the poor, using immigrants as scapegoats. Sinwell, (2011) views on the perpetrators of xenophobic violence were also accounted by respondent 2 who said that perpetrators were relatively poor young South African who lived in absolute poverty. This sheds light to the RD theoretical framework used in this study (refer to Chapter 2:2.4) which accounts for the powerlessness, frustration, and desperations induced by poor South Africans as reasons for xenophobic violence.

4.3.3.4 Failure of Service delivery

The respondents felt that inefficient service delivery triggered the socio-economic battle between South Africans and foreign nationals particularly black immigrants living in poor communities. Foreign nationals occupying government houses have triggered recent violence. Nyamnjoh, (2006) states RDP houses were implemented to enable South Africans citizens to live in them. However, over the years RDP houses have been sold and rented out to non-South African, as a result, South Africans claim foreign nationals exacerbate the shortage of houses. In support respondents state

"Mlazi faces problems with shortage houses to its people, therefore, it has created resentment, and they think we are getting these houses, but the fact is these local people who sell these RDP houses to us Foreigners". (Respondent 3)

"Poor living condition, frustrated dreams, and poverty has caused South Africans to attack us"
(Respondent 4)

"They say we are taking the resources, but my question is what resources they are making reference to... a few months ago I was told I couldn't be a teacher anymore because my job had to be given to a South African first. The school had not paid me for the last four months, and when I asked the school principal why they were letting me go, he simply stated that my job had to be given to a South African first. Am trying to show you here that these South Africans claim that government puts us first but that not the case" (Respondent 1)

The findings of this study show that inadequate services triggered the socio-economic violence in South Africa. These findings are similar to those of Monson (2011) who found that the

government's inability to dutifully serve the people has created social division amongst South Africans and foreigners. From the respondents, recent xenophobic violence was a result of the occupation of RDP houses by non-South African citizens. Dodson (2010) reports that South Africans sale or rent out these RDP houses to foreigners and this exacerbates the housing shortage in the community. The respondents said that this resulted in community tensions around housing and service delivery such as electricity, clinics. Hence, South African and their perceptions of foreigners occupying RDP houses perpetuate xenophobic violence and competing for health facilities entitled to them. These findings are also similar to a study done by Collett and Winearls (2012) who concluded that violence against foreign immigrant was rooted in the micro-political of the South African township and informal settlements.

It is evident from the findings that relative deprivation arises from a subjective feeling of discontent in the society based on the belief that one is getting less than one feels entitled to and when there is a gap between aspirations and reality (Morris 2008) which perpetuate the violence. Respondent 1's argument is consistent with (Matsinhe 2011, Everatt 2011 and Mngxitama (2008) who claim that socio-economic opportunities should be given first to natives before foreigners. The research findings show that South Africans are fighting for their survival because of the scarce resources available for their existence. Such argument leads to the discourse of entitlement over resources that South Africans perceive to have. These findings illustrate how foreigners are excluded from resources based on the belief that South Africans first then foreigners

4.4 Corruption

Table 4. 2: Corruption from different government officials as reasons for xenophobic violence

<u>Corruption from:</u>	<u>Number of Respondents</u>
Border post officials	4
Home affairs officials	3

Community councilors/ local South Africans	2
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According to table 4, the issue of corruption was a subject also discussed by the respondents as influential triggers of xenophobic violence in Umlazi. Data collected shows.

All four respondents felt that border post officials have allowed millions of foreign immigrants to enter South Africa illegally.

4.4.1.1 Border post officials as a cause of xenophobic violence

"Xenophobic violence is simply caused by incompetent border post officials, who are not well educated and who take bribes from foreign immigrants. South Africans, therefore, have this perception that all foreigners come into South Africa illegal" (Respondent 2)

"South Africa is only just separated by a bob wire fence that has been vandalized, making it easy to come and go as you please" (Respondent 4)

4.4.1.2 Home affairs officials as a cause of xenophobic violence

Corruption from home affairs officials in this regard, according to table 4 is another factor that respondents described as having an influence in xenophobic violence as Four (100%) of the respondents were in agreement by saying

"You find in many cases illegal immigrants are granted citizenship from home affairs officials. South Africans end up being angry at immigrants with illegal documents having access to services". (Respondent 3)

Literature has repeatedly referred to these issues as reasons for xenophobic violence in South Africa (Harris, 2002; Parsley & Everatt, 2009; HSRC, 2008). The fact that South Africa border post is not well protected and controlled as stated by respondent 2 has caused the unregulated flow of legal and illegal immigrants. This is in line with Harris (2002) who argued immigrants have easy access hence African immigrants come and go as they please. The HSRC, (2008) report, therefore, asserts the research findings by stating that the root problem of xenophobic tensions is the

uncontrollable numbers of foreign nationals. The findings also elucidate the study findings that the claim government fails to manage cross-border migration, which has increased the frustrations of local township residents who resort to violence as measures to alleviate their communities.

4.4.1.3 Xenophobic violence as an instigation by some officials

Two of the respondents agreed that corruption of community councilors and local South African triggered the negative sentiments towards foreigners by stating:

“South African get these RDP houses from government and sell them to foreigners or even in some case they rent out these houses out to foreigners, then they come and say foreigners are stealing they houses. South African don’t understand it’s through them being bribed that foreigners get these homes” (Respondent 1)

While others considered that:

“Community leaders such as ward councilors instigate violence against foreigners as means of their election campaigns. They portray us negatively in community meetings to get votes” ... (Respondent 2)

From the responses presented by the respondents corruption has in turn filtered down into various governmental departments therefore directly contributing to violence against foreign nationals. One respondent felt that fraud within society was another causes of violence. Reports from HSRC (2008) indicate that thousands of government officials have been implicated in corrupt dealings that instigate xenophobic violence.

4.4.1.4 Denialism of Government as a cause of xenophobic violence

Two of the respondents have argued that the government is responsible for the continuing discrimination and violence against foreigners in the society. The fact that Thabo Mbeki in 2005 labelled xenophobic violence as criminal activities, illustrates the level of denialism that government has. This, in turn, perpetuates the re-occurrence of xenophobic violence in South Africa. The respondents therefore agreed that government ignorance on the causes of the violence is apparent.

“Government has failed to protect the rights of foreigners. By denying that South Africans are xenophobic”. (Respondent 2)

"Government fails to interact with the people "from the grass root". The government needs to know the people are poor and they use xenophobic violence as means for solving this poverty which is not right" (Respondent 4)

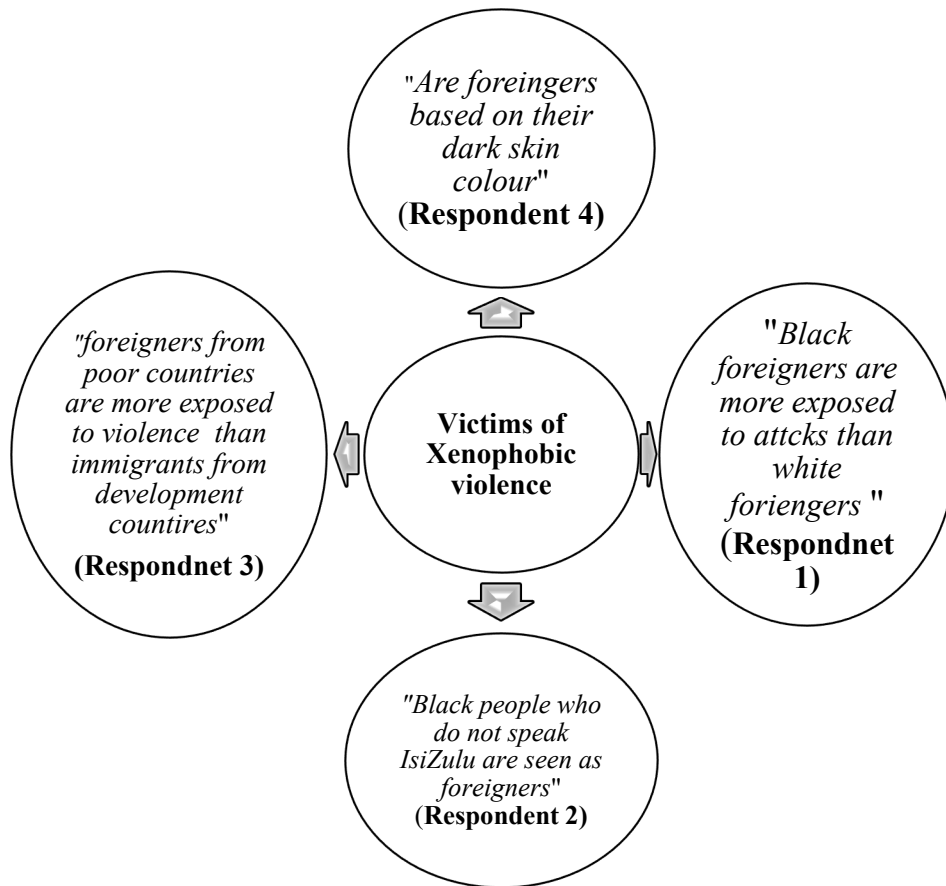
South Africa government is a hypocrite simple. He only reacts or implements programs only when he sees that his people are killing us. (Respondent 3)

From the responses above the South African government has failed to address xenophobic violence. These findings corroborate the findings of HSRC (2008) who suggested that denialism of the South African government labelling these attacks as criminal activities has furthered perpetuate the violence against local South Africans' and black African immigrants. Respondent 2 said that: for the government to claim that South Africans are not xenophobic indicates high levels of denial that government still has. Therefore, respondent 3 labelled government as a hypocrite. The respondent further argued that solutions for addressing xenophobic violence were only implemented and monitored during the heat of the moment only. These study findings confirm Mail & Guardian's (2015) report, which criticises the government's failure to acknowledge that the majority of South Africans are poor. This is highlighted by respondents, who said that the government's inability to actively communicate with civil society members at grass –root levels perpetuates the situation. The findings in this study mirror those of Bekker et al., (2008) who argues causes of xenophobic violence as economic, and that it is the government that indirectly orchestrate these attacks mainly by refusing to confront the problem of xenophobic violence in township communities.

4.5 Victims of township xenophobic violence

Respondents were probed to point out the victims of xenophobic violence (see Annexure C: Question 4). All of the respondents indicated that victims of xenophobic violence were black African immigrants. Respondents expressed bio-cultural differences used by South Africans as means of distinguishing black immigrants from another black South Africans. The themes of physical appearance and accent recurred throughout the dataset.

Figure 4. 3 : Respondents statements related to victims of xenophobic violence



From the responses indicated in Table 5, respondents displayed deep levels of understanding regarding victims of xenophobic violence.

According to respondent 1 foreigners with darker skin pigmentation than South Africans were attacked. Respondent 1 further probed as to justify their responses by saying

"South Africans have this perception that foreigners from Africa bear physical features distinctively strange. We are killed because we look too dark or too black and because we dress differently. An outward appearance of black Africans immigrants is what subjects them to being attacked" (Respondent 1)

Respondent 3 said:

“Black African immigrants are identified by their accents that they are foreigners...” (Respondent 3)

Everatt’s (2011) views cited in section 2.3 gives credence to these findings. Everatt (2011) suggests that black immigrants are subjected to discrimination based on their physical appearances. While these results match those in earlier studies by Zeleza (2009) who showed that racialized devaluation of black lives is witnessed in South Africa today as blackness is distinguished as a threat. In accordance with the present results, these views account for the reasons why only black immigrants were victims of these attacks. Respondent 1 spoke of the hierarchy that places immigrants from Africa as threats and as the unwelcomed other in society.

Respondent 1 put it like this:

“...it is funny how white foreigners from developed countries such as Europe are perceived as tourist or superior in comparison to black African immigrants coming from developing counterparts” (Respondent 1)

These results are similar to studies by Dodson (2010), Lubbe, (2008) and Duponchel (2009) which mark boundaries of exclusion and inclusion drawn by the apartheid regime on the motion that white immigrants from developed countries are viewed as positive contributors and superior demonstrate why white immigrants are not killed or exposed to such treatment. According to Nyamnjoh (2006), these trends perpetuate the "hierarchy of humanity" which sees black African immigrants as the inferior human group in South Africa, which exposes them to violence.

4.5.1.1 Class position of black African immigrants

... "These attacks have occurred in informal townships, and in squatter settlements. One does not really hear of professionals in suburbs areas being attacked right. Your position in terms of class in South Africa impacts on the degree of xenophobic violence that one gets exposed to. Your class position limits your circle of contacts". (Respondent 2)

Respondent 4 further says:

"If you live in relatively poor townships you are in contact with poor South Africans who live in this township. Because we are in daily contact with local poor South Africans, poor Africans immigrants from the same lower class as South Africans are exposed to these attacks in comparison to upper-class black immigrants that are professional"(**Respondent 4**)

These results suggest that there is an association between experiences of xenophobic violence and class positioning of African immigrants in South Africa. Harris (2002), Matshinhe (2011) and Laher (2009) agree an economic positioning of black African immigrants in society minimizes their experiences of xenophobic violence and discrimination. Findings also demonstrate that black immigrants from suburb have a significantly different experience of xenophobic violence. As their experiences of violence and exclusion seems to be less harsh and less frequent than of immigrants who live in lower class communities. Similarly, to previous studies by Monson (2011), CoRMSA (2012) and Everatt (2011) this study concluded that poor black African immigrants are exposed to attacks and are the primary targets because of their daily contact with poor South Africans.

4.6 Effects of xenophobic violence on citizen's immigrant relations

Respondents were asked whether community cohesion amongst immigrants and locals existed in this community (Annexure C: Q 5). This was to understand the effects of xenophobic violence on the day- to -day interaction between immigrants and the local community. From the findings, it was evident that respondents preferred socializing with other foreign nationals from other SADC countries rather than South Africans. Xenophobic violence, therefore, has limited socialization patterns amongst local South Africans and foreign nationals. This, in turn, weakened social cohesion in this community. In terms of issues of trust, it emerged that foreigners did not trust South Africans. These results are similar to Harris' (2008) research, which found that "the distrust of foreign nationals toward locals has increased from 60% in 2008 to 67% in 2016. The following quotes from respondents were expressed:

4.6.1 Limited interaction with locals

"I do not trust South Africans in this community...." I say this because they use dehumanizing and derogatory names when they call us, such as Makwerekwere, grigambas, foreigners "(**Respondent 2**)

All Four of the respondents expressed how they had experienced some form of verbal abuse from South African. The word "kwerekwere" is associated with criminality, and social ills. The use of such word connotes the attitude South Africans have towards black foreign nationals. This encompassed being addressed in stigmatizing way respondents 1 states

"In some cases, they will ask me how you are doing today Kwerekwere" or when are these kwerekwere people going home. Hence, I live in consent fear for my family and me" (Respondent 1)

Respondents indicated how fear has become a common feature in their daily interaction with local South Africans in this community. The two children reported that it was very hard to trust their fellow community members. These results indicate a common view of trust issues amongst respondents as reasons why immigrants did not interact freely with South Africans.

As Respondent 4 claims:

... "Today you may not be attacked... but that surely does not mean you safe. You never know when it's your turn, today they're friends but tomorrow they will be your attackers" (Respondent 4)

"We can't say that we will sleep peacefully tonight because we never know what tomorrow brings us" ... (Respondent 2)

The above is in line with Leggert's (2008) study, conducted in Johannesburg, which showed that 81% of foreign nationals are in constant fear for their lives. These findings further confirm the works of (Landau et al. 2005) who highlighted that even during the day foreign nationals feel less secure. Rotter, (1980) is of the opinion that interpersonal trust embodies the ability of one party to rely on another individual or group's actions and words. Thus, xenophobic violence has therefore weakened social dynamics and interaction. According to Misago *el at.* (2009), Dodson (2010) and Vorster (2008) this breaks down the social fabric of a community.

4.6.2 Isolation and insecurity

Although respondents expressed feelings of constant fear and insecurity, the researcher picked a sense of feeling being unwanted, unaccepted in this community. Respondents' statement confirmed this:

"South Africans don't want us here" therefore it is not easy for us to interact with them... We live in consist of isolation from locals in this community" (Respondent 2)

The way in which one of the respondents perceived black South African in Umlazi as particularly as being negative towards foreigners compared to all other racial groups in South Africa. This showed that South Africans were unwelcoming and wanted to foreigners to leave. Hayem (2013) confirms the phenomenon of exclusion and of black foreigners, which have grown in communities and societies.

4.7 Perceptions South Africans have of African immigrants

Respondents were probed on the perceptions and attitude that South Africans have towards African immigrants (Annexure C: Question 6). Scholars such as Misago (2009) Landau (2004) and Monson (2010) state that South Africans carry strong negative sentiments towards African immigrants. Black immigrants from African countries are considered the "outsider" that seem to pose a direct threat and danger to local South Africans. Two of the respondents reported that South Africans express the highest levels of intolerance toward them.

4.7.1 Black African immigrants as the unwelcome 'other'

"South Africans associate Black African foreigners with all social ills faced in society... such as illegal foreigners, criminal's threats to social and economic prosperity in the community (Respondent 4)

"Black "foreigners" are seen as intruders, aliens" (Respondent 2)

"Black "foreigners" are perceived as people who commit fraud in the country. According to South African, black immigrants are defrauding South Africans from their money, and more often they

feel black foreigners precisely men, use fake marriages with South African women to get permanent resident status and South African identification document"... (Respondent 1)

These results were consistent with those of other studies and suggest that black Africans immigrants living in South Africa are accused, blamed, incriminated by local South Africans. The findings of this study are consistent with HSRC (2008) study, which found that black African immigrants were perceived as a threat to the community. Responses from the respondents confirm Crush's (2008) findings, which point out that, Black African immigrants in social and political spaces, are problematic to the country's well-being. These findings further support the idea of Harris (2012) who points out that those negative perceptions over the presence of African immigrants in the country became pervasive. Furthermore, Adjai et al (2013) state these assumptions manifest rage, which leads to attacks on immigrants in the country.

Perceived aggressiveness and negative perceptions portrayed by South Africans towards black immigrant is crucial and important to mention in this study. Respondent 1 reported that Black "foreigners" are portrayed as threatening local South Africans in the community through a number of criminal activities such as committing fraud. Neocosmos (2009) confirms that xenophobic discrimination in SA is directed to black foreigners as they are depicted as individuals who are deeply involved in criminal activities. This finding confirms the association between Afro-phobia and racial exclusions are common triggers of xenophobic sentiments. Observed in earlier studies the negative perceptions and treatment of black African immigrants as the unwelcome "other" suggest the discourse of exclusion (Neocosmos, 2006). Respondents 3's sentiments correspond with those of Neocosmos.

"Discourse of exclusion of Black African immigrants seen as the 'other' is reflected from state officials also. For instance, tougher measures are taken against black African immigrants at home affairs compared European or North American immigrants" ... (Respondent 3)

According to Respondent 2 discourse of exclusion and negative perceptions of black African immigrants as stated by Neocosmos, (2006) is caused by the media and educational levels of local South Africans.

"The Media, being your newspapers, radio, or television plays a crucial role in everyday life and has a significant role in society. South Africans and communities as a whole, have these negative perceptions of Black African immigrants because the media has portrayed us [African immigrants] negatively ...Zimbabweans are labeled as a fraudster, Nigerians, as drug deals while white immigrants are labeled as investors" (Respondent 2)

Previous studies have demonstrated that the media plays a significant role in the manifestation of xenophobic violence in society. This study produced results, which corroborate the findings of Jacobs (2005) who confirms that stereotypical language used by the press to describe non-nationals has created the negative perceptions South Africans have toward foreign nationals precisely black immigrants. Respondent 2's account is similar to Crush (2014) over classification of foreigners. For instance, Nigerians are known as drug smugglers and criminals, this, in turn, contribute to violence. This study provides substantial evidence that identifies stereotypical views and media representations of Africa and African immigrants to understanding these hostile attitudes and behaviors targeted at 'foreigners.' On the other hand, results have shown that these perceptions are linked to race. Respondent 2 said that immigrants are not viewed in the same way as black Africans originating from other countries on the continent. These findings support the bio-cultural theory mentioned in 4.3.4.

The respondents agreed that levels of education makes South Africans perceive foreigners differently and positively. According to the research findings in (4.3.3.1.1) in this study, societies with high levels of inequality and high unemployment have more negative attitudes toward black immigrants. This is similar to (Nyamnjoh, 2008, HSRC, 2009, Crush 2008) who found that societies that comprise of lower educated individuals express high intolerance.

In support respondents said:

"Perceptions of immigrants differs from one's level of education" ... (Respondent 4)

"Educated South Africans are more tolerant compared to South Africans with lower levels of educations..." (Respondent 1)

Therefore, tolerances according to respondents vary with the level of educations that South Africans have been exposed to. These results are similar to Landau (2011) study, which found that education has a big impact on how South Africans perceive black immigrants.

4.8 Addressing xenophobic violence

Finally, Respondents were asked to suggest strategies for addressing xenophobic violence (Annexure C: Question7). According to Nieftagodien (2011); Gelb (2008), Landau (2011) and the HSRC (2008) addressing xenophobic violence in South Africa lies not only with the government but calls for civil societies, community leaders, non-governmental organizations, faith-based community churches to work together. Proposed strategies by the respondents to address xenophobic violence ranged from engaging at Community level, Provincial level, National level, and International level.

4.8.1 Community level

Figure 4. 4: Respondents' statements on addressing xenophobic violence, from a Community level.



Serino (2014) claims civil society need to foster community awareness campaigns that promote peaceful coexistence and tolerance between local South Africans and African immigrants through social and community dialogues.

All the responses presented by the respondents confirm this claim by saying:

"...Um, awareness campaigns need to be implemented in communities because one: they encourage or promote peaceful co-existence amongst South Africans and foreign immigrants living in township communities. Two: community leaders and faith-based organizations and NGOs need to frequently organize community forums..."(Respondent 1)

"I think peaceful coexistence and tolerance can be rebuilt in township communities through community awareness campaigns. These campaigns will change the negative stereotypical attitudes of immigrants. For Civil Society to prevent the violent killing of African foreigners, awareness campaigns need to target xenophobic behavior of locals" (Respondent 2)

These results show that respondents felt community awareness campaigns through community forums and social dialogues were essential measures needed to address xenophobic violence in black communities. These findings further support the idea of Solomon (2008) and Zondi, (2008) who state that awareness campaigns can change the negative stereotypical attitudes of immigrants. The findings of this study are in line with Pillay (2008), Gelb (2008) and Solomon (2007) who argue that community forums can encourage and promote peaceful co-existence amongst South Africans and foreign immigrant

4.8.1.2 Implement integration programs of foreign nationals in Township/ Informal Communities

Awareness programs according to Respondent 3 should be aimed at integrating foreign nationals into communities.

Respondents 3 said that:

"...” Mmm civil societies and government needs to encourage integration programs of foreign nationals in township communities. Integration programs ensure that foreign nationals are incorporated in communities’ activities. The locals will see the worth and contribution of black African nationals in the development of local communities”. **(Respondent 3)**

Respondent 3 viewed integration of migrants as a realistic solution... Opinions' of respondent 3 confirms Nyamnjoh's (2008) findings in chapter 2. The findings of this study seem to be consistent with other research which found integration programs of foreign nationals essential. According to

Crush et al., (2014) and Hayem, (2013) integration programs encourage solitary and community social cohesion. Findings showed that the incorporation of foreign nationals in community activities can eliminate exclusion. It is apparent that the strategy to integrate black African migrants into various communities in the country remains important for proper cross-cultural fertilization and enhanced interaction to take place between the two groups (African Peer Review Mechanism, 2010, Monson and Arian, 2011, Crush, 2008, Amisi et al., 2011).

4.8.2 Provincial Level:

4.8.2.1 Improve the education system in black communities

Researchers such as Pittman (2001), Warner et al., (2010,) and Zeldin et al., 2007) state that educational strategies enable young people to lifelong skills. Fernando Cardenal, (1984:143) said *“in order to create a new nation, we have to begin with an education that liberates people,*

Two of the respondents stated that:

... “Government needs to encourage education of all black South Africans. By ensuring that education is made compulsory to all South Africans and also ensure that education of a black child living in the township is at the same standard than of a child in the suburbs” (Respondent 1)

“Government needs to educate South Africans mostly the youth, in the role that SADC countries played during South Africa political struggle and also implement effective public education programs on the rights of foreigners using social media platforms “... (Respondent 4)

While respondent 2 argued that:

“Government, police officials and all judiciary structures need to be educated on matters concerning xenophobia and xenophobic violence in grassroots communities. They need to account for reckless statements and usage of words such as “makwerekwere that depicts racism” (Respondent 2)

Respondent 1 further said that:

“Government needs to partner with NGOs to establish skill acquisition centers, security in informal settlements and local/ communities in order to keep more local residents busy, empowered and secured...” (Respondent 1)

According to Monson (2009), illiteracy of the local has triggered violence. Findings from this study revealed that there is a need for government to educate South Africans. It is encouraging to compare the findings of this study with that found by Everatt, (2011) who found that government needs to readdress the inequalities within the education system as respondent 1’s claims. These findings confirm the works of Sinwell (2011) and Steenkamp (2009) who have demonstrated that educational programs provide citizens with vicarious knowledge of migrants and immigrants, increasing tolerance and common interests. From Respondent 4 public education embraces the differences of the unknown “other” by South Africans in combating violence against foreign nationals. These results match those observed by Human Science Research Council (2008) and Solomon (2007) who claim that educating local South Africans creates an imagined society. This values the rights of foreign nationals and encourages the participation of all citizens. From these findings, respondents further urged government officials to take accountability for reckless statements that promote hate crime and physical violence targeted at black immigrants.

4.8.2.2 Improve service delivery in Townships/Informal communities

The government needs to improve the access to basic needs and essential services in township communities. By eradicating poverty in marginalized communities providing, RDP, electricity, water, employment opportunities, to young black South Africans (Respondent 2)

Some respondents argued that:

“It is vital for South Africans to be familiar with the allocation of resources and service delivery of foreign nationals as stated in the Refugee Act 1998 in the community and their rights to primary basic services... (Respondent 3)

This also resonates with earlier observations in the study, which showed that inefficient service delivery has triggered the socio-economic battle between South Africans, and foreign nationals particularly black immigrants living in poor communities (Tshitereke, 2008). The findings in this

study urge government to improve service delivery in township communities. The findings seem to be consistent with those of Yakushko's (2008) study which found that the provision of services delivery and employment opportunities to all poor and working-class South Africans is essential for combating xenophobic violence. This study found that adequate provision of services delivery would encourage community harmony between black South Africans and black African migrants. A common view amongst respondents was that by providing education, jobs, and housing to poor South Africans, would address the inequalities found in township societies. This would also diffuse tensions and suspicions (especially among black community) in the society, by promoting peace and unity in the country. These results further indicate that local South Africans need to be familiar with refugee legislations regarding the entitled allocation of resources and service delivery in the community, so as to avoid feelings of resentment

4.8.3 National level

4.8.3.1 Control the country borders

The collapse of effective border control mechanisms in South Africa has resulted in millions of legal and illegal foreign nationals gaining easy entrance into the country. In their accounts of the events surrounding xenophobic violence earlier observations mentioned in (4.3.3.2.1) showed that *"Xenophobic violence was caused by incompetent border post officials"* and *Corruption from home affairs officials in granting illegal immigrants South African citizenship illegally* as observed in (4.3.3.2.2).

The extract from the respondents below shows a common view amongst respondents that:

... *"Hmmm government needs to tighten, patrol, and "control" the country's borders to control the influx of illegal immigrants (Respondent 1)*

For example, respondent 2 said:

... *"Proper border control policies are needed to address xenophobic violence because it would address the presence of illegal immigrants in South Africa..." (Respondent 2)*

Some felt that:

4.8.3.2 Fighting corruption

The government needed to investigate corruption from Home Affairs Departments, Police, and borders post officers (Respondent 4)

While others considered that

4.8.3.3 Protecting and respecting the rights of foreign nationals

“The South African government and the constitution needs to protect the rights of foreign nationals living in South Africa by legally prosecuting perpetrators of xenophobic violence and amending immigration policies...” (Respondent 3)

Overall, these results indicate a need to strengthen South African border controls in regulating the flow of migrants. This study confirms that xenophobic violence is associated with millions of illegal migrants gaining entry to South Africa unlawfully. These findings provide important insights into addressing xenophobic violence as they suggest that the government needs to fight corruption from Home Affairs Departments, Police and borders post officers. The present findings seem to be consistent with Smith, (2015) who found that the rights of foreign nationals need to be protected by amending immigration policies. Previous studies have demonstrated the need to legally prosecute perpetrators of xenophobic violence in accordance with the present results.

4.8.4 International level

“There a need for South Africa government to partner with SADC countries to improve, and create regional consciousness amongst citizens and policymakers...” (Respondent 1)

Some felt that

“There a need for a dialogue among international communities” ... (Respondent 4)

"Addressing xenophobic violence calls for all developed and developing countries to find solutions to monitoring migration. International Organizations such as the United Nations and other international platforms needs to promote the rights of all foreign nationals by ensuring equality and respect is given to all foreign nationals" (Respondent 3)

Two discrete reasons emerged from this. First, the respondent believes that the government needs to establish a multilateral framework with SADC for the management of labour migration and social protection issues (Castle, 2010). The responses corroborate with the ideas of Misago et al (2010) and Steenkamp (2009) who suggested that South Africa's cross-border migration policies are inconsistent. Previous studies by Landau (2004) Monson (2011)) and Kunda (2009) have demonstrated that poor immigrant policies amongst South Africa and other SADC countries have directly contributed to black African foreigners becoming easy or soft targets for mob violence. Gelb's (2008) findings are similar to the findings of this study in that there is a need for a dialogue among the international community to address xenophobic violence from an international perspective.

4.9 CONCLUSION

In this chapter, data was obtained from a Zimbabwean immigrant family living in Umlazi Township. The results in this Chapter indicate that the family moved to South Africa in 2002 due to the Zimbabwean economic crisis and political unrest. In summary, these findings show that *“xenophobic violence is the war between the relative poor black South African and a poor black immigrant ...”* from the respondents' violence toward foreign nations is targeted at foreigners of African origins particularly black immigrants. Xenophobic violence according to Harries (2002) and Williams (2008) is the fear and jealousy toward strangers or foreigners, from the findings xenophobic violence was seen as Afrophobic. Respondent 2 argued that xenophobic violence was the *“violence from one poor black individual to another poor black individual”*.

These results suggest that there is an association between the Relative deprivation theory and xenophobic violence. According to these findings, socio-economic inequality and relative poverty amongst South Africans have caused xenophobic violence. RD shows that xenophobic attacks were an expression used by frustrated poor South Africans on the capability for government institutions to resolve their problems and grievances. The findings of this study confirmed that xenophobic attacks were associated with poor service delivery and poverty. These results are consistent with those of other studies and suggest that The Relative deprivation theory claims the subjective feeling of discontent in the society based on the belief that one is getting less than one

feels entitled to and when there is a gap between aspirations and reality has perpetuated the violence against black foreign nationals.

Racial hierarchy of social benefits in South Africa from the findings suggests that poor black South Africans continue to find themselves at the bottom of South African social stratification ladder which has added more frustrations to their lives resulting in black foreign nationals being scapegoats. The findings are similar to Landau (2011) study which showed that some South African politicians indulge in making unfulfilled promises to poor black South Africans while recklessly blaming black African migrants for their failures from these findings support the idea of (Mattes et al, 2000, Matsinhe, 2011, Mapokgole, 2014) as causes of xenophobic violence.

The findings are consistent with other research studies which use The Bio-cultural theory (see Chapter 2) and adopted in this study provided an insight as to why and how black foreigners are singled out and victimized based on their physical appearances such as skin pigmentation, and accent. It is evident that racial devaluation of black lives is witnessed in South Africa today, as blackness is distinguished as a threat. This study produced results which corroborate the findings of a great deal of the previous work by (Dodson 2010, Lubbe, 2008, Laher 2009, Kerr and Durrheim 2013) which showed that Boundaries of exclusion and inclusion drawn by the apartheid regime. The notion that white immigrants from developed countries are viewed as positive contributors and superior while black Africans are seen as a threat, parasites, Makwerekwere, grigambas.

However, the findings of this study are consistent with those of (Harris, 2002, Matshinhe, 2011, Laher, 2009) who suggest that xenophobic violence varies upon class positions African immigrants belong to in South Africa. The economic positioning of black African immigrants in society minimizes their experiences of xenophobic violence and discrimination. Addressing xenophobic violence in South Africa lies not only with the government but calls for civil societies, community leaders, non-governmental organizations, faith-based community churches to work together

Chapter Five:

DISCUSSION, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This final chapter presents a summary and critique of Chapter 4 findings. Secondly, it assesses the overall research objectives and research questions mentioned in the previous chapters. Thirdly, the chapter draws upon the entire study, tying up the various theoretical and empirical researches. It finally identifies areas for further research including recommendations.

Substantial information regarding the research objectives, explaining the concept of xenophobia and xenophobic violence, understanding the causes of xenophobic violence and the effects of social harmony between local (citizens) and immigrants have been observed from the collected data. Recent evidence reveals the negative way foreign immigrants have been perceived and treated by local South Africans due to relative poverty, poor service delivery, unemployment witnessed in townships and informal settlements. The study has found that the intolerance of fellow South Africans against black African immigrants is related to South Africa historical apartheid regime which according to (Landau 2004, Monson, 2011, Kunda, 2009, Kerr and Durrkeim 2013) still haunt South African community. The findings have also provided evidence directed to the research questions on the victims of xenophobic violence and how these attacks differ from other violence. Gordon's (2010) research demonstrates that the oppression of poor South Africans will continue to persist and will manifest through violence.

These results of this study are similar to those of Mosselson, (2010) who found that xenophobic attacks reflect violence, fear, capitalism, exploitation, and power. Collectively these elements outline a critical cycle of oppression and how it reproduces itself through violence resulting in the looting and killing of black African immigrants. From the findings the philosophical definition of xenophobia, xenophobic violence, from the findings comprised of principles stated by (Mapokgole, 2014, Misago, et al 2009, Mbeki, 2008) in addressing the research question (1.3) and the aim of the research, to establish solutions to addressing community xenophobic violence in

Umlazi suburb. Strategies were identified that could be implemented by government and civil societies to address xenophobic violence.

5.2 FINDINGS

Consistent with the literature reviewed in (Chapter 2) and discussed in section 4.3. Conclusions were drawn from the research findings that were presented and analyzed (see Chapter 4) in the following categories:

5.2.1 Reasons for coming to South Africa

A common view amongst respondents was that poverty and political instability under the leadership of Former President Robert Mugabe were the driving factors for many immigrants coming to South Africa. Zimbabweans, therefore, found themselves migrating to neighboring countries such as South Africa. These findings are in line with Landau, Ramjathan-Keogh & Singh's (2005) in (4.3.1.2) who suggested that countries such as South Africa end up carrying the burden of accommodating foreign nationals from neighboring SADC countries. These views surfaced mainly in that mass displacement of many foreign nationals has manifested violence and hatred against them by the locals. Earlier findings from respondents have shown that prospects of a better life, employment and seeking safety for immigrants has proven to be the main factors for cross-border migration of black African immigrants. The findings also showed that African immigrants wanting a "better life" for themselves were subjected to exploitation and violence from society, government officials. In turn, they have become targets of xenophobic attacks. These results further found that despite these attacks black immigrants were still not prepared to return home.

5.2.2 General understanding of xenophobic violence

In addressing the research objective on explaining the concept of xenophobic violence a variety of perspectives were expressed by each respondent on the perceptions of what xenophobic violence meant. All respondents from the findings have agreed that the term xenophobic violence is generally understood as attitude, physical and emotional violence perpetrated towards immigrants most especially black immigrants. Some felt that xenophobic violence can be defined as "the killing, looting as it encompasses the destruction of foreigners belonging orchestrated from the

resentment South Africans have against black foreign nationals”. These results match those observed in earlier studies discussed in (Chapter 2:2.2.1). In accordance with the present results, previous studies have demonstrated that xenophobic violence is committed by poor vulnerable locals. Earlier observations, from respondent 1 xenophobic violence tends to be used to refer to a fight for survival between the relative poor black South African and a poor black immigrant. The term xenophobic violence has been applied to situations where respondents used Afrophobic, Ngerophobic as defined by Dodson, (2010) to contextualize xenophobic violence. The respondents alluded to the notion that violence was against black foreigners of African origins. Together these results have provided important insights as to who the victims were. Dodson, (2010) in (Chapter 2:2.2.1) further supported the findings by stating that specific targets need to be included because not all foreigners are uniformly victimized in South Africa. Rather, black foreigners, particularly those from Africa, comprise most victims.

5.2.3 Causes of xenophobic violence in UMLazi

The research objective for this study was to establish the causes of xenophobic violence in Township communities using UMLazi as a case. According to the research findings in (Chapter 4:4.1.3) underlying factors that caused xenophobic violence were unemployment, poverty, crime. Competing for limited resources such as housing, jobs, poor public services amongst poor South Africans and poor African immigrants, the high prevalence of corruption from the Department of Home Affairs and SAPS officials and local ward councilors and lastly denialism from the government were some of the causes of xenophobic violence. Attacking foreign immigrants was a way used by poor South Africans to mobilize and express their grievances with the government with regard to lack of job opportunities, poverty and the shortage of houses in UMLazi Township. According to one respondent the fact that South Africans in UMLazi were ‘spoon-fed’ by the government, made them lazy which resulted in the poverty that they find themselves in. This study confirms that xenophobic violence is associated with jealousy as mentioned in (4.3.2)

In turn, the idea of foreign immigrants working in formal and informal sectors is proof that migrants do not particularly cause unemployment nor are they competing with local South Africans. These findings showed why migrants were perceived as a threat and are thought to be stealing job opportunities meant for local South Africans. These findings, therefore, confirmed the

association between xenophobic violence and relative deprivation. This study suggests that relative deprivation does not blame poverty as the cause of violence, but it implies recognizing it from the present findings as an underlying condition. The results of this study showed that poverty leads to violence when expectations are unmet. These results are in line with the findings of other studies by authors such as McKerracher et al, (2017) who argued that unmet expectations and foreigners perceived as threats when it comes to access to housing and resources do not cause people to commit violent acts but instead lead to frustration. Similarly, to the results of this study Harris (2002) confirms that it is this frustration that leads to anger, and this anger turns into violence targeted at black immigrants.

5.2.4 Victims of township xenophobic violence

Respondents affirmed the bio-cultural theory, as explained in chapter two by Moge kwu (2002). Violence against foreign nationals operates through a level of physical and cultural appearances thus black immigrants were easily identified because of their visible differences, their accents and also their dressing. These findings concur with those of Harris (2002) who found that the physical features of black African immigrants are significant in generating xenophobia and the target. Thus Afro-phobia and racial exclusions are the common triggers of xenophobic sentiments. Poor black African immigrants living in informal settlements from the respondents were the victims of these attacks. The respondents reported that African immigrants living in a predominantly poor marginalized community dominated by socioeconomic inequality and relative poverty were easy targets of xenophobic violence.

5.2.5 Perceptions South Africans have of African immigrants

The respondents felt that black immigrants from African countries were considered the "outsider" that is seen as a direct threat and danger to local South Africans. Respondents claim negative perceptions and treatment of black African immigrants as the unwelcome "other" suggest the discourse of exclusion. The respondents blame the media for playing a significant role in the manifestation of xenophobic violence in society. Negative representations of African immigrants have thus triggered xenophobic violence from the media.

5.2.6 Effects of xenophobic violence on citizen's immigrant relations

From the findings, respondents preferred socializing with other foreign nationals from other SADC countries rather than South Africans. Thus, respondents felt that they did not trust local South Africans. Respondents mentioned that fear has become a common feature in their daily interactions with local South Africans. The increasing number of migrants entering the country has, in turn, increased the levels of intolerance that are thought to weaken social cohesion and community peace from respondents.

5.2.6.1 Strategies for addressing xenophobic violence from a Community level

Respondents mentioned community awareness campaigns through community forums and social dialogues needed to address xenophobic violence. There is a need for awareness campaigns to eliminate negative stereotypical attitudes of immigrants by:

- ❖ Encouraging solidarity and community social cohesion
- ❖ Incorporating foreign nationals in community activities.
- ❖ Integrating black African migrants into various communities to enhance participation

5.2.6.2 Strategies for addressing xenophobic violence from a Provincial level

Respondents felt that the illiteracy of local South African triggered the violence thus the government needs to educate youth black South Africans. Respondents mentioned the need to readdress the inequalities within the education system as a way of solving the illiteracy rate witnessed amongst South African. Findings from the study revealed that public education needs to be implemented in order to embrace the differences of the unknown “other” by South Africans thereby combating violence against foreign nationals. Respondents further mentioned the provision of adequate services delivery as a way of encouraging community harmony between black South Africans and black African migrants. The respondents put these suggestions forward:

- ❖ Provision of education;
- ❖ Jobs and
- ❖ Housing to poor South Africans.

5.2.6.3 Strategies for addressing xenophobic violence from a National level

The factors that xenophobic violence is associated with millions of illegal migrants gaining entry to South Africa unlawfully, means that there is a need for government to strengthen South African border controls, in regulating the flow of migrants. Fighting corruption, protecting, and respecting the rights of foreign nationals are factors found to be in favor of addressing xenophobic violence.

5.2.6.4 Strategies for addressing xenophobic violence at an international level

Respondents felt that the government needs to establish a multilateral framework with SADC for the management of labour migration and social protection issues. Thus, there is a need for dialogue and international forums among international communities to address xenophobic violence from an international perspective.

5.3 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

There is room for future research in alleviating xenophobic violence in township communities. Research on this topic needs to be undertaken before the association between xenophobic violence and alleviating the violence is clearly understood. Therefore, there is a need for more community development research that focuses on rebuilding and reintegrating foreign nationals back into communities. Several questions remain unanswered at present. Further work is required to establish a plethora of research that showcases the problems that the country is facing to find solutions in addressing challenges such as inequalities, poverty, and high unemployment amongst young South Africans which in turn has triggered violent attacks against foreign immigrants. This information can be used to develop targeted interventions aimed at addressing collective community violence in the township and informal settlements. An implication of these findings is that both relative deprivation of fellow South Africans and the manifestations of xenophobic violence should be considered when understanding xenophobic violence in South Africa. This study provided affirmation to claims that most foreign immigrants who enter the country illegally, become vulnerable targets of violence in society. Further studies with more focus on the vulnerabilities black foreign immigrants' encounter in SA are therefore suggested. This is an important issue for future research.

5.4 RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on the literature reviewed in Chapter 2(section 2.5.4) and the research findings presented and discussed in Chapter 4. The South African Government in collaboration with different NGOs civil society needs to implement strategies that prevent and reduce the sporadic community violence bedevilling the country. These are the following recommendations needed to address township xenophobic violence and restore community peace. Recommended intervention by the Community, The Government, the Department of Education, Police officials, and Home Affairs officials are encouraged.

5.4.1 Government

The fight against xenophobic violence requires collective efforts from the government, civil societies' organizations, grassroots individuals and all private sectors to collectively address the violent attacks against foreign immigrants. This study, therefore, recommends that the government should accept the factors that fuel xenophobic violence, attitudes and realise how they are interrelated the government needs to:

Take accountability that South Africans, particularly those who live in townships such as UMLazi are faced with the malaise of poverty, high crime rate and high unemployment and the prevalence of intolerance against foreign immigrants occur. Hence, the government needs to ensure the following:

- ❖ Implement and encourage sustainable strategies to alleviate poverty and encourage economic growth.
- ❖ Provide entrepreneurial training programs and opportunities as a way of promoting skills and development amongst South Africans and immigrants and youth participation.

The national government needs to implement urgent mechanisms and sustainable strategies to avoid community violence and xenophobic attacks in the future by:

- ❖ Adequately ensuring that all government staff members have the right skills and expertise to implement anti-xenophobia programmes.

- ❖ Implementing laws and regulations directed at solving and monitoring and evaluating anti-xenophobic programmes
- ❖ Introducing and implementing security measures such as community policing in township communities to monitor community violence between locals and foreign immigrants.
- ❖ Introduce efficient and sustainable emergency relief programs for attacked victims and monitoring and evaluating anti-xenophobic programmes

5.4.2 Community

Community forums and awareness programs should also be implemented by Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) and civil society as a means of educating South Africans in preventing or reducing the phenomenon of xenophobic violence. Through community awareness programs grassroots South Africans need to be mobilized and sensitized on the importance of abiding by the country's Bill of Rights that recognizes the rights of all foreigners. Community Education Campaign and the community have the responsibility to create communities where people live in peace and harmony with migrants. As noted by South Africa's Constitution of 108 of 1996 which says that South Africa belongs to all who lives in it. Communities need to:

- ❖ Organise community dialogues, summits, and workshops that allow ordinary South African citizens to have their voices heard with issues of the migration of foreigners in the country and participate in discussions around the solutions and management of xenophobic violence.
- ❖ Implement CPFs (Community Policing Forums) to prevent violence and security,
- ❖ Develop community awareness programmes which promote social cohesion, community peace, cooperation, and co-existence between foreigners and the locals in communities.
- ❖ Promote community participation of both locals and foreigners.
- ❖ Implement reintegration programmes of attacked refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants back into their livelihood communities.
- ❖ Improve immigrants' access to public services and basic needs.

The answer to alleviating xenophobic violence lies in rectifying the negative perceptions that South Africans have of immigrants. Thus, public awareness in society needs to be introduced to clarify and correct the negative perceptions of immigrants by:

- ❖ Creating awareness about the prejudice behind xenophobic attacks and its negative sentiments.
- ❖ Communities and NGO, FBO should use mass media to change and communicate positive perceptions about immigrants through community radio stations such as “Ubuntu has No Borders “Thetha FM Radio. That will deal with racial discrimination and provide informatively and empowering programmes to local community members.

5.4.3 Department of education and higher education

There is a need for government and civil society to educate the South African masses by:

- ❖ Making education compulsory to all South Africans.
- ❖ Private sector and the government need to financially fund disadvantaged students and schools.
- ❖ Funding workshops at a primary, high and tertiary level on tolerance in schools and communities.
- ❖ Properly funding township schools and employing well-qualified teachers.

5.4.4 Home Affairs officials and Border post officials

The Home Affairs department and border post officials need to ensure that:

- ❖ All foreign nationals have the correct legal documents.
- ❖ Draft, new immigration policies, that promote the rights of all foreign nationals in the country
- ❖ Corruption at all Home Affairs Departments and South African border posts need to be monitored.
- ❖ Both Homes affairs staff and Boarder post officials need to be well trained to establish and maintain a common understanding.

5.4.5 The Police

Police stations and police officials need to ensure that violence against foreigners is regulated and monitored by ensuring that:

- ❖ Perpetrators are legally prosecuted.
- ❖ Corruption is dealt with

5.5 CONCLUSION

A cohesive society is dependent on the extent of all inequalities, exclusions and disparities are either reduced or completely done away with. Xenophobic violence has weakened social dynamics and interaction thus the movement towards a cohesive South African society is embedded in overcoming these issues thus achieving a cohesive society, one without disparities and inequalities, will not be possible until South Africans are able to accept those members of society whom they may not necessarily like, such as foreigners In order to make progressive steps to address this, we need to include ethnicity and immigration in national discussions about social cohesion (Landau, 2013).

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Annexure: A

Invitation letter to participate in a research project on addressing xenophobic violence in UMLazi suburb – Perceptions of a migrant family

Project title: Addressing xenophobic violence in UMLazi suburb – Perceptions of a migrant family

I Sphelelisiwe Magwaza, a Master's student in Community development is conducting a study on **Addressing xenophobic violence in UMLazi suburb – Perceptions of a migrant family** and therefore would like to invite you to take part in this interview as a key participant actively. I believe that you are the best suitable person to speak on the various issues such as addressing xenophobic violence in RSA, the causes of xenophobic violence, how xenophobic violence affect the social harmony between local (citizens) and immigrants, possible solutions to xenophobic violence from a migrant family's perception.

Participation in this study is voluntary and it will take about an hour of time in a convenient place agreed upon. Furthermore, withdrawal and declining to continue with the interview or to answer any question is acceptable with ought any negative impact on yourself or your future. With your permission, the answers to the interview will be recorded on a piece of paper to enable the researcher to use accurate data from the in format. All the information provided in this study is confidential and your name will remain anonymous. The information revealed in the study will only be used for the benefit only research associated with this institution and therefore no anticipated risk associated with the participants in the study concerned.

I would like to assure you that this study has been issued with ethical clearance from the University of KwaZulu Natal by the Research Ethics Review Board (RERB) thus, for more information please contact them at Research Ethics Review Board,

Research Office, Westville Campus

Govan Mbeki Building

Private Bag X 54001

Durban

4000

KwaZulu-Natal, SOUTH AFRICA

Tel: 27 31 2604557 - Fax: 27 31 2604609

Email: HSSREC@ukzn.ac.za

Thank you.

Kind Regards

Signature:

Student Researcher:

(Miss)

School: School of built and development studies

Signature:

Supervisor: Mr. E. Ntini

(Mr.)

School: School of built and

Development studies

Annexure: B

CONSENT

I, have been informed about the study entitled Addressing xenophobic violence in Umlazi suburb – Perceptions of a migrant family by Sphelelisiwe Magwaza.

I understand the purpose and procedures of the study.

I have been given an opportunity to answer questions about the study and have had answers to my satisfaction.

I declare that my participation in this study is entirely voluntary and that I may withdraw at any time without affecting any of the benefits that I usually am entitled to.

I have been informed about any available compensation or medical treatment if injury occurs to me as a result of study-related procedures.

If I have any further questions/concerns or queries related to the study, I understand that I may contact the researcher at:

Cellphone number: 0725697021

Email: sphelelisiwem@gmail.com or 212531397@stu.ukzn.ac.za

If I have any questions or concerns about my rights as a study participant, or if I am concerned about an aspect of the study or the researchers then I may contact:

HUMANITIES & SOCIAL SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS ADMINISTRATION

Research Office, Westville Campus
Govan Mbeki Building
Private Bag X 54001
Durban
4000
KwaZulu-Natal, SOUTH AFRICA
Tel: 27 31 2604557 - Fax: 27 31 2604609
Email: HSSREC@ukzn.ac.za

Additional consent, where applicable

I hereby provide consent to:

Audio-record my interview / focus group discussion YES / NO

Signature of Participant

Date

**Signature of Witness
(Where applicable)**

Date

**Signature of Translator
(Where applicable)**

Date

Annexure: C

Interview Guide

1. May you describe your rational for migrating to RSA?
2. How would you explain the concept of xenophobia?
3. What would you say are the causes of xenophobic violence?
4. What do you think are South African perceptions of immigrants? [Probe: Why do you think so?]
5. Who would you say are the victims of xenophobic violence from your observation? [Probe: Why?]
6. May you explain what you would call the effects of xenophobic violence on citizen's immigrant relations?
7. What would you say should be done to address xenophobic violence?
 - (a) Community level
 - (b) Provincial level
 - (c) National level
 - (d) Inter-national level