UNIVERSITY OF KWAZULU NATAL

LIFE- STORIES: ETHNOGRAPHIC PORTRAITS OF VICTIMS OF THE 2015 XENOPHOBIC ATTACKS IN DURBAN - SOUTH AFRICA.

By:

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This thesis is dedicated to:

My brother Dr G.G Nyambuya for awarding me the opportunity to further my studies in South Africa and for believing in me. To my Mother Setmore Nyambuya and the rest of my siblings for being patient with me during the time of my study.

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Contents

Abstract

The borders of the Rainbow nation opened up in 1994 after Nelson Mandela became president. Since that time South Africa is faced with immigration issues which have led to an influx of foreigners in search for a better life away from subjugation, civil wars, and extreme poverty. The influx has brought discontent among the local citizens which generated xenophobic violence against many of these foreigners. Xenophobia was largely unknown in Africa and only came to be popular when it first erupted in South Africa. It was previously a term known mostly in academic, government, and social work circles. Although attacks of foreigners have been sporadic over the last two decades, two concentrated waves of xenophobia occurred in 2008 and 2015, leading to many deaths, and widespread looting and destruction of the property of foreigners. Xenophobia is now a general feature in the South African media, and in anti-xenophobia campaigns. The city and province where this study was limited to (greater Durban, KwaZulu-Natal), experienced a great deal of this xenophobic violence.

The current study sought to describe and understand the lived experience of xenophobia by African foreigners in Durban (KwaZulu Natal). The study adopted a qualitative approach and the methodology used was a narrative approach. The findings of the study showed that the research participants, as a combined group, have lived through a wide range of xenophobic experiences including physical violence and that the research participants' personal characteristics influenced their exposure to and experience of xenophobia. The study contributes to the understanding of the lived experience of xenophobia.

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Acronyms

AIDS-Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome

ANC-African National Congress

DRC-Democratic Republic of Congo

GDP-Gross Domestic Product

HIV-Human Immune Virus

HSBC-Hong Kong &Shanghai Banking Co-operation

HSRC-Human Sciences Research Council

ILO-International Labour Organisation

IOM-International Organisation for Migration

SAHO-South African History Online

SAHRC- South African Human Rights Commission

SAIRR-South African Institute for Race Relations

SAMP-South African Migration Project

SAPS-South African Police Service

UNDP-United Nations Development Programme

Chapter 1: Introduction: Background and Motivation

1.1 Introduction

This chapter informs the reader of the researcher's background and motivation for the present study on the lived experience of xenophobia in Durban. Following this information, the aim of the research study is clarified as a rational consequence of the background and motivation and a chapter outline of the present study is provided.

1.2 Rationale

I am a Zimbabwean living in South Africa (both Johannesburg and now Durban), where I came across many African foreigners, including from my own country, who were traumatized victims, in a variety of ways, of the 'second wave' of xenophobic attacks in South Africa in 2015. It was baffling – and shocking - that this was happening in the 'rainbow nation' that since 1994 was trying to build a non-racial culture after decades of colonialism and apartheid. The victims were entirely non-South African black Africans, many from countries that had contributed generously in the recent past to the anti-apartheid struggle.

The stories of the human scale of suffering I felt remained largely unheard in the media, since many of the foreign victims were for example subaltern factory or domestic workers. I wanted to enable their voices to be heard, and the best way to achieve this was to listen to their life-stories. Cultural Studies has since its beginnings placed a huge emphasis upon the subjective 'lived experience' of ordinary people (rather than 'detached' entirely theoretical studies), and in recent years this has also extended to 'life stories' of most usually marginalized people. It seemed to me that this methodology of paying careful attention to the narratives of these victims of xenophobia – their understandings of their situation (many had fled repressive and/or violence-torn African countries), their pain – would contribute meaningfully to the field of xenophobia studies. Of all the academic texts that have influenced this project, Pierre Bourdieu's monumental collection of contemporary life-stories, The Weight of the World: Social Suffering in Contemporary Society (2000) was the most important guide.

During my undergraduate studies back in Zimbabwe I read a book by a Danish psychologist, Finn Abrahamowitz (1996), that engaged Christopher Bollas' (1992) theory on intellectual genocide to explicate the genocide of Jews during World War II, the researcher could not help but notice the similarities in how the repugnance of Jews started and was reinforced in the German society and how certain parts of the South African population had started to repute

African immigrants. The difference was, of course, that no genocide took place in South Africa but the similarity between the origin and reinforcement of prejudice was enough for the researcher to believe that the study could be worthwhile. After advice from the researcher's supervisor it was thus decided that research on the lived experiences of the victims in Durban was ideal as these would be easily accessible since most of them were situated at a camp in Cato-Ridge.

Of importance to note is that, in 2008, massive riots broke out in Alexandria Township in Gauteng and 2008 is remembered as the year when xenophobic violence erupted in South Africa and became a general feature in South African media and the world over. However, the second wave in 2015 ignited an interest for the researcher to engage in xenophobic studies hence the thesis engaging the lived experiences of the victims of this brutality.

Thus, this study was done to illustrate what it feels like to live with and be subjected to xenophobia. During the course of the research the researcher however found herself regretting her engagement with the experiences of the victims because the experience of engaging in these narratives was traumatising for the researcher.

My study therefore focuses on lived experiences of African black foreigners in the 2015 xenophobic attacks in South Africa and how their experiences have shaped their lives in general. While it will extensively address the various academic explanations for South African xenophobia, the central focus of the thesis was on the foreign victims of this violent hatred

1.3 Aim

The aim of this research was to bring to light what African foreigners experience in xenophobic South Africa. The study attempts to engage with the *lived experiences* of the victims of the 2015 xenophobic attacks. This is achieved by engaging victims of this brutality in extended interviews which form the basis of focused 'life-stories', where they take the researcher through their journey from country of origin to a xenophobic space (South Africa).

1.4 Research problem

This study is inspired by the quest to understand how foreigners managed to cope with the attacks and still remain in the often violent space of South Africa. The research is also a critical response to the way the media generally handles xenophobia discourse, as the researcher feels the media is not doing enough to give a voice to the marginalised in South Africa, in this case

the foreigners who are seen as the 'other'. Post-apartheid South Africa witnessed an increase in cases of xenophobia. Between 2000 and March 2008 at least 67 people died in what was identified as xenophobic attacks. In May 2008 a series of riots left 62 people dead; although 21 of those killed were South Africans the attacks were believed to be motivated by xenophobia. The 2015 attacks record less than 10 people dead but a lot of them were dispersed from their homes and (living and working) areas.

Xenophobia seriously affects the image of a country which may have ripple effects on international trade particularly tourism and the broad economy. The Tourism Business Council of South Africa acknowledged that "there is panic among tourists across the globe…," after the 2008 xenophobic attacks. Tourism contributes 8% of annual GDP and employs about 1 million people. In the same vein, South Africa's economy had always been dependent on migrant labour.

1.5 Research Questions

For this research topic a number of research questions are raised:

(i)   What is xenophobia?
(ii)   How did xenophobia materialize in South Africa, especially in 2008 and 2015?
(iii)   What are ethnographic life-stories?
(iv)   How have foreign African migrants to South Africa experienced xenophobia?

1.6 Justification of the research

Political unrest, conflicts, civil war, economic instability, social challenges among others are increasingly prompting massive migration and host countries, South Africa among others, are battling with increasing problems of negative attitudes, racism and xenophobia and with adjusting their social delivery services. The number of international migrants may have reached millions in 2015, more than double the figure in the early 90s. Intolerance and xenophobia present an alarming challenge to development policy-makers as it destabilizes and seriously undermines the potentially beneficial relationship between international migration and human development. It doesn't only hinder economic maximization and social benefits of international migration but also affects both migrant and host populations adversely in many different ways. Xenophobia threatens democratic structures and diminishes liberal values by encouraging

lawless violence and intense prejudice. Social justice, equality, human dignity and fairness, which are the cardinal principles of democracy and liberalism, are endangered.

While a number of studies on xenophobia have been done in South Africa, very little has been done on *the lived experiences* of these victims. Thus the foreigner has not only become the other in society where they live but in the discourse where issues that affect them are discussed they have not been brought to voice on their experiences and how this has affected them as *individuals.

1.7 Chapter Outline

Chapter 1 introduces the research, the aim of study, research problem, hypothesis, objectives, questions and justification, the research context and other background information that informs the study.

Chapter 2 focuses on the review of available literature on xenophobia in South Africa.

Chapter 3 looks at the theoretical framework which allows the researcher to critically analyse existing knowledge on the phenomenon of xenophobia, with particular focus on four key school of thought regarding xenophobia.

Chapter 4 explains the use of qualitative ethnographic methods in order to make possible the gathering and analysis of data. Particular focus is given to 'life-story' research, central to Cultural Studies, where the subjective lived experiences of the researched is central.

Chapter 5 contains the narratives of those who suffered xenophobic attacks, drawn from interviews with four African foreigners,

Chapter 6 presents the findings as well as subsequent thematic analysis of the findings of the research.

Chapter 7 presents a conclusion, which includes a reflection on the entire research process, and a few key areas of academic interest raised by the life stories.

1.8 Conclusion

The background information and the researcher's motivation for the present study were discussed in this chapter. In addition, the aim of the study was specified and a chapter outline

of this research treatise was provided. The following chapter will provide an outline of various theories relevant to xenophobia including hypothetical applications and criticisms of said theories.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

This chapter provides the reader with an in-depth understanding of xenophobia in South Africa by first defining xenophobia from different scholarly points of view and then looking at xenophobia studies that have been carried out in South Africa tracing the root causes of such brutality. The chapter then concentrates on xenophobia in terms of its existence in current South African society, identifying the root causes of xenophobia as well as outlining the local, historical development of the said phenomenon.

2.2 What is Xenophobia?

Xenophobia is derived from the Greek word *xenos* which means stranger and *phobos* meaning fear, it is thus defined as a fear or hatred of foreigners (Wilson, 1998). Schreiber (2013) articulates that xenophobia is thus an irrational or unreasonable fear of that which is perceived to be foreign or strange hence xenophobia is characterised by a negative attitude towards foreigners, a 'dislike', a fear or hatred. However, in much academic writing, xenophobia is used to denote opposition to immigration and migration (Mattes, McDonald, Taylor, Poore, & Richmond, 1999). In addition, Harris (2000) argues that in South Africa xenophobia is linked to a foreign target and Tshitereke (1999) argues that the fear of immigrants has translated into intense tension and violence by South Africans towards foreigners. Further, Tshitereke (1999) stated that xenophobia is a social condition that requires a social explanation and that it differs from other phobias that are essentially psychological conditions. Thus in contemporary South Africa the definition of xenophobia should be refined as the fear or hatred of *black* foreigners since these are the target of victimisation, and not all foreigners. According to Shindondola (2002) it is clear that xenophobia in South Africa is directed from local South Africans towards *black* foreigners from Africa and not, for example, African-Americans or Europeans. Not all foreigners are uniformly victimised. It is important to explore why 'the unknown' represented by (largely black) foreigners should necessarily invite hatred, fear or aggression. There must be an informed explanation for the phenomenon and it must underpin issues regarding why, how and whom xenophobia targets.

Despite the ever-increasing cases of xenophobia worldwide, its definition invites controversy. Berezin and Nyamnjoh (2006) look at xenophobia in the form of a fear of the 'Other' a concept put forward by Stuart Hall in 'The Spectacle of the other' (1997). He purports that

representation is a complex business especially when dealing with difference it engages feelings attitudes and emotions leading to mobilisation of fears and anxieties hence othering of the other (1997:226)

Tshitereke (1999: 7) argues that defining xenophobia as an attitude may be misleading: The April 2008 xenophobia outbreak was more than an attitude as it also included action. Kollapan (1999) argues that xenophobia cannot be separated from violence and physical abuse, thus xenophobia is not just an attitude but also an activity or practice that results in violence which in turn results in harm and damage. Supported by scholars such as Linda Darling-Hammond (2003) he sees attitude as the early stage of action or behaviour, therefore the difference lies in stages of reaction. A 2007 International Labour Organisation Report alongside the International Organisation for Migration (ILO/IOM) links hostile attitudes and practices, while the United Nations Development programme (UNDP) argues that "hostile and skewed perceptions of migrant groups generally go hand in hand with discriminatory practices and poor treatment of such groups. Nyamnjoh points out that, "Acts of violence, aggression and brutality towards migrant groups represent extreme and escalated forms of xenophobia" (2006).

However, the issue of xenophobia remains a contested terrain: is what is being witnessed in South Africa indeed xenophobia or is it just a phrase 'framed' and or 'coined' by the media and politicians then used to explain any type of violence against foreigners? The explanations above suggest that xenophobia is a natural dislike or hate for that which is foreign while some studies carried out associate the dislike or hate to competition for scarce resources, which takes away the 'naturalness' from the 'dislike'. In the South African context, it also suggests that brutality against any foreigner can be viewed as xenophobia by ignoring other factors such as crime. Thus the researcher notes that foreigners are seen as soft targets for criminals.

2.3 Economic explanations to Xenophobia

It is apt to note that in as much as xenophobia can be understood from various perspectives the researcher notes that the most prevalent cause or understanding of this act should be drawn from economics. The researcher notes that this is the huge factor behind the negative attitude given to foreigners. The latest wave of xenophobia was confined to the city of Durban in April 2015 with the townships of Umlazi and KwaMashu being the hardest hit. This wave was the most significant since the May 2008 attacks which sprouted in Alexandra township in

Johannesburg, and which later spread to other parts of the country. Researchers pin down this to have been as a result of economic conditions.

Unemployment rate of 15-64 year olds in South Africa (Q4 2014)

unemployment rates

Locals	24.3
Asians	11.9
Whites	7.7
Coloreds	22.9
Black African	27.2
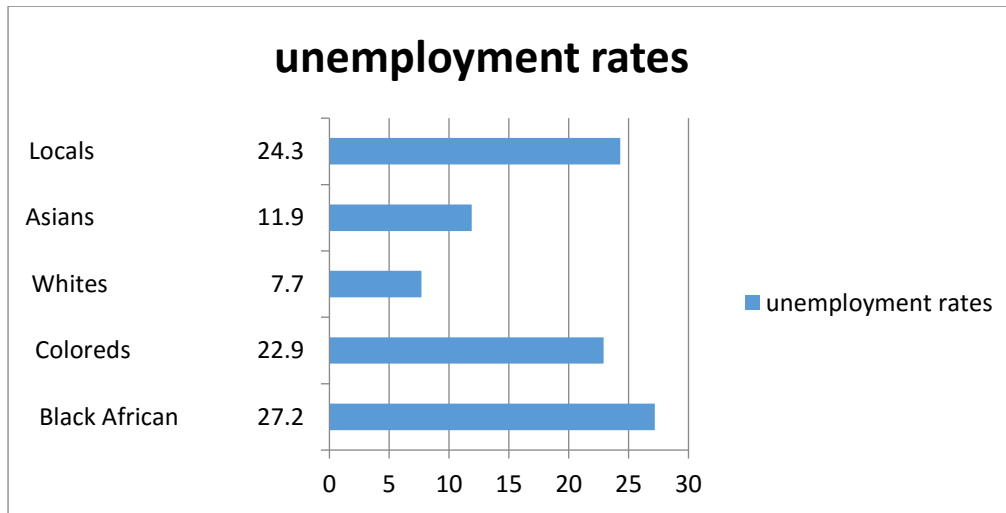
Fig 1: Statistics South Africa

The rise in unemployment in South Africa since the mid-1990s has seen the rate escalating from about 15% a year after democracy (1995). According to Statistics South Africa (2014) the rate stood at 24, 3% at year end. Thus it can be seen from the table above, with such high levels of youth unemployment and high levels of inequality it is unsurprising there is much discontent and anger. Noteworthy is that immigrants from other African countries present an unfortunately attractive target because they live in townships where the problem of unemployment is most likely to be prominent. Notable is that migrants tend to do better economically than the locals.

Poor black urban residents experience fierce competition over jobs, inadequate service provision in their informal settlements, and poor service delivery to their neighbourhoods. There is little effective government communication to residents on these issues and there is corruption among government officials and the police, particularly regarding the state treatment of foreigners living in these neighbourhoods (Bekker 2010: 134; HSRC 2008). These urban residents are not getting what they expect, and this turns to frustration that "boils over" and often the most vulnerable are targeted. For example, service delivery failures are blamed on perceived competitors and on those who seem to be doing "better" than local residents, namely the foreigners (Bekker 2010: 132). Blame is thus deflected from the government that

is failing to deliver the promised services. The people actually responsible for the deprivation of the poor – namely the African National Congress (ANC) government and its failure to deliver services to all the poor, the new multiracial economic elite and those who benefited from the redistributive policies – were not targeted; instead it was the foreigners who were blamed (Du Toit and Kotzé 2011: 162).

The instigators of the xenophobic attacks often come from groups that are unable to compete effectively in a modernizing economy and society, while the targets are those who are able to do this. Violence becomes a desperate act in which the perpetrators seek to compensate for their shortcomings (Du Toit & Kotzé 2011: 162).

In addition, Steinberg (2008) argues that in the townships democracy in South Africa is understood to be about gaining access to largesse and resources that the state is able to distribute. They also see wealth as a measure of success, and its distribution is seen as a zero-sum game: if the wealth goes to a foreigner that means that a South African has lost the possibility to acquire this wealth. A more 'deserving' citizen has lost wealth when a foreigner gains it.

Furthermore, democracy is seen as a system based on patronage, thus if a foreigner prospers without any access to the state this offends that conception of the state. It also upsets the concept of what it means to be a South African living in a democracy and the entitlements that are due to citizens (Steinberg 2008: 2).

Devan Pillay (2008: 94) argues that despite the desire to share, or the existence of a redistributive discourse, in the aftermath of democratization there has arisen a system of "violence" against the majority of the people. The people hurt by this violence have in desperation lashed out against the people closest to them (foreigners) instead of at the people who are really responsible for their continued deprivation, their country's government.

2.4 Political explanations to Xenophobia

Scholars also put forward a competing explanation which shifts the focus to the state and emerging political ideologies in South Africa. As several authors have suggested, South Africa's redefinition of the boundaries of citizenship since the transition to democracy in 1994

has entailed the creation of a new 'other': the non-citizen (Croucher, 1998; Peberdy, 2001; Nyamnjoh, 2006; Misago et al., 2009).

In this view, a xenophobic discourse that originates from the highest levels of the ANC-led state, rather than attitudes of the poor, was central in the May 2008 attacks (Neocosmos, 2006; 2008; Sharp, 2008), and with regard to the recent 2015 attacks which are alleged to have been agitated by a speech from the Zulu king (Goodwill Zwelithini). A number of authors have argued that neoliberal state policy was a critical factor in sparking the May 2008 violence (Sharp, 2008; Bond et al., 2009). The state has privileged the interests of the rising black elite and the long-established white elite in favouring protectionist policies. While not condoning overt violence, the government has tacitly legitimized and enabled the spread of xenophobia in several ways (Neocosmos, 2008; Desai, 2008).

In a country with very high unemployment, particularly amongst the black poor, and a recent history of pervasive enmity between South Africans and the country's many immigrant communities, it does not take much for violence to be sparked. Most people agree that the latest wave was caused by inflammatory statements from some influential leaders. On 25 March 2015 the Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini said:
"We request those who come from outside to please go back to their countries." (The Times: 10-03-2015)
Similar sentiments were expressed by President Jacob Zuma's son, Edward, who was quoted saying that:
"South Africa is unnecessarily accommodating illegal immigrants in this country". (Live Monitor 12-04-08)

The riots in May 2008 and the way the government handled them showed the world that the government had failed to meet its legal and international obligations to refugees, which South Africa had previously committed to (Du Toit & Kotzé 2011: 171). It can be claimed that the government is guilty for the outbreak of the violence on two counts. Noteworthy is that they failed in the implementation of policies; they have been unsuccessful in enriching the mass of the poorest in South Africa, who have dashed even deeper into penury. In addition to the policy crash, the government allowed a large immigrant community to form. Moreover, they have failed in their duty to protect this group, thereby conveying the notion that this group could be

the target of violence without the fear of government intervention (Du Toit & Kotzé 2011: 171).

The way the state allows human rights violations and legal violations to continue when it comes to immigrants has created conditions where the "proof of a criminal charge is a redundant complication- at least as far as foreign refugees are concerned" (Landau 2011: 9). This can be seen in statements made by government officials such as that by Defence Minister Joe Modise in 1997:

"As for crime, the army is helping the police get rid of crime and violence in the country. However, what can we do? We have one million illegal immigrants in our country who commit crimes and who are mistaken by some people for South African citizens. That is the real problem". (Landau 2011: 9).

This statement reflects the way immigrants are equated with crime; in addition, it is feared that they will blend into South African society. Furthermore, in 2002 the then Director-General of Home Affairs, Billy Masetlha, stated:

Approximately 90 per cent of foreign persons who are in RSA with fraudulent documents, i.e., either citizenship or migration documents, are involved in other crimes as well… it is quicker to charge these criminals for their false documentation and then deport them than to pursue the long route in respect of the other crimes that are committed (Landau 2011:10).

These statements show that some government officials believe that outsiders can and should be deported (Landau 2011:10). The bad reputation that government has given to mobile populations, and the practical impossibility of controlling this mobility, have made migration and migrants both an official and popular obsession; foreigners have been turned into convenient scapegoats for problems relating to poor service delivery, crime and other social pathologies (Landau 2011: 10-11).

According to Landau little effort was invested in building and supporting local government after the 1994 transition. In effect, political power became centralized within the national government and implicitly within the ANC, which meant that popular participation was limited (Landau 2011: 12). The poor in South Africa saw this elitist group as being unconcerned with issues such as unemployment, service provision and security, especially under the rule of President Thabo Mbeki (Landau 2011: 12).

The high and rising food and fuel costs, the electricity crisis and the 'flood' of Zimbabwean immigrants all contributed to a sense of crisis in the country and to the feeling that the government was doing little to address it. This formed a perfect breeding ground for mobilizing the poor, and given the history of demonization of foreigners, it is not surprising that they became a target of mass action (Landau 2011: 12). A South African confirms this attitude in this statement after the May 2008 attacks:

"We are not trying to kill anyone but rather solving the problems of our own country. The government is not doing anything about this, so I support what the mob is doing to get rid of foreigners in our country". (Landau 2011: 13).

An unemployed man outside Pretoria agreed:

"...if the government is failing to stop them at the borders, we shall stop them here in Itireleng. We are not the police; we do not ask for passports; they are forged anyway" (Landau 2011: 13).

However, Misago takes a different stand with regard to the local government and its officials, which he identifies as micro-politics. He says that throughout his research after the May 2008 xenophobic attacks it was found that the violence was organized and led by local political players. He goes on to say they did this "as an attempt to claim or consolidate the power and the authority needed to further their political and economic interest" (Misago 2011: 105). He goes on to say that the way local politicians and leaders led their followers could either foster or prevent violence (2011: 89).

Misago (2011: 100) argues that despite the violence being illegal and also destructive, there was another side to the story: Organizing the attacks on foreigners or other unwanted 'outsider' groups have been an effective strategy for "earning people's trust, gaining legitimacy and expanding a client base and the revenue associated with it" (2011:100). In other words, this suggests that local political players, whether formally elected or not, have actively been the trigger for xenophobic violence and other types of violence. Since these attacks the government has claimed that foreigners are safe and that "we have moved forward" (Landau 2011:1). But in spite of what the government claims, contemporary society in South Africa is ready to turn on itself (Landau 2011: 1-2).

From the above one notes that there is a lot of political foul play in the emergence of these attacks on two different counts. In fact, government can also be seen as helping to create xenophobia with statements such as those cited above.

2.5 Cultural explanations to xenophobia

The rising inequality in South Africa has bred perverse cultures of entitlement and a perception of relative deprivation, as these are the products of social instability. Pillay (2008) distinguishes between illegitimate expectation and legitimate expectation. In the first category he places people who say they deserve a new sports car, because they are people from a certain social stratum which are the CEOs and managers, who earn and spend even more money. The workers, however, earn next to nothing and they cannot afford to demand more as they must be happy to get anything at all. In this category of illegitimate expectation, he also places criminals. Criminality may be chosen when socially legitimate ways of earning a living are unavailable. In a culture where corruption, greed and the glorification of consumption are flourishing, desperate people might not stop at stealing in order to survive. They also seek to imitate richer lifestyles. In the second category, that of legitimate expectation, Pillay places demands for food, warmth, clean water, shelter and security – things that are entrenched in the Constitution and are indeed basic human rights (Pillay 2008: 97-98).

Democratization did give some blacks political power, but they are few indeed that constitute a new elite, while the majority have stayed poor and inequality keeps growing. The injustice felt by the poor is bubbling under the surface and when these people, who are on the outside of the wealth-creating sector, are not organized in unions or other social movements, violence can occur. When all this anger is not channelled into a political movement with some hope of bringing about a change, then together with a xenophobic press, for example calling immigrants aliens or illegals (Harber 2008: 162-163), and ill-advised government statements, this can lead to events such as those of May 2008 and the recent 2015 Durban initiated attacks (Pillay 2008: 100-101).

Noteworthy is that most South Africans or rather South Africans suffer what can be termed 'relative depravation'. This depravation does not imply blaming poverty as a cause in itself; it implies recognising it as an underlying condition which leads to volatility when coupled with unmet expectations. These expectations and the perceived threats from foreigners when it

comes to a ccess to housing and resources do not cause people to commit violent acts, but they do lead to frustration. It is this frustration that leads to anger, and this anger is turned on "frustration scapegoats", namely foreigners (Harris 2002). Thus a violent culture which is agitated by the existence of the foreigner alongside government unmet promises emerges, hence the imposing of a violent South African culture on the "other" (foreigner).

Xenophobia manifests itself in diverse forms and its roots are equally varied. For present purposes, the thesis adapts a wide definition of the concept to include all forms of inequitable attitudes towards non-nationals. The researcher is primarily concerned with the attitudes of black South Africans towards Africans from elsewhere on the continent. This focus is justified for two reasons. First, although Crush (2000) deduces that white South Africans hold stronger, anti-immigrant views than other groups, few whites regularly interact with large numbers of foreigners or are in a position to make official policy towards them. Secondly, South Africans' negative attitudes towards non-nationals are largely oriented towards other Africans, although there are increasing reports of discrimination towards new arrivals from the Indian sub-continent. That having been said, even within the black population there is considerable diversity of experiences, sentiments, and responses regarding non-nationals. In a nutshell studies reveal that, attitudes are generally negative, if not blatantly hostile.

The South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC 2004) articulates that xenophobia in South Africa has a racialized idiom with largely black African foreigners facing abuse and discrimination. Scholars have difficulties separating xenophobia from discrimination, racism and violence. The specific explanation between these motivations is difficult as the victims might have one perception of why a perpetrator acts in a certain way but the perpetrator could in theory have other reasons for the behaviour and only in rare circumstances do the victims get an explanation. For example, a report for the International Organization on Migration by Misago, Landau, and Monson (2009), regarding the riots in Alexandria Township in Johannesburg where foreigners were attacked, concluded that an influx of African immigrants was only one of several contributory factors. Lack of service delivery and township politics were actually to blame for the attacks that were also influenced by criminal elements.

In addition to this it is apt to note that discrimination against foreigners within South Africa is also hurting South Africa's regional reputation and political authority. According to Misago et al (2009) foreigners in the country—most of whom retain links with families and communities in their countries of origin—already have limited respect for the current government (many

still laud Mandela), the public administration (particularly the Department of Home Affairs), or South Africans generally. Ironically, many non-nationals impose the same accusations against South Africans that South Africans do against them (e.g., ignorance, violence, disrespect, aggression, and generally without moral virtues). This is having regional effects. Already in 1999, an article in the Mail and Guardian celebrating the adoption of the African Charter on Human Rights and Peoples Rights, suggested that South Africa is regarded by its neighbours as rapacious, imperialist, and xenophobic (in Maharaj 2004:7). While few regional leaders can afford to publicly criticise their wealthier and more powerful neighbour, such sentiments are commonly reflected in private conversations and in the treatment of South Africans. If South Africa wishes to promote an African Renaissance principled on human rights, tolerance, and prosperity, the current reception foreigners receive on its own borders is likely to stand as a significant challenge.

From the above it can be said that, xenophobia can only be understood within specific economic, cultural, and political frameworks. Even within South Africa, anti-foreign attitudes are by no means universal. Non-nationals from Botswana, for example, receive generally positive treatment from residents of North-West Province (Reitzes and Simkins 1998). Similarly, some former Mozambican refugees living among Shangaan speakers in Limpopo Province are now largely integrated into local communities due to long-standing cultural links and a local government that has actively considered the interests of the former refugees (Polzer 2004). Even among these communities, however, tensions continue to exist between 'indigenous' South Africans and people born in Mozambique or of recent Mozambican origins (Golooba-Mutebi 2004). Moreover, many of those embracing former Mozambican refugees still express considerable hostility to the presence of Zimbabweans in and around their communities. Although there are examples of hospitality, tolerance, and South Africans defending non-nationals' rights, there is strong evidence that South Africans' are generally uncomfortable with the presence of black non-nationals in the country.

Based on a national survey of South Africans, Crush (2000: 103) argues that intolerance is extremely pervasive and growing in intensity and seriousness. Thus, the abuse of migrants and refugees has increased and there is little support for the idea of migrant rights. Only one group of South Africans, a small minority with regular personal contact with non-citizens is significantly more tolerant. This is reflected in various statistics, produced at both national and local levels:

> ➢ 25% of South Africans nationally favour a total ban on immigration and migration considerably more than in other countries in the region (Crush 2000);

> ➢ 20% of South Africans feel that everyone from neighbouring countries living in South Africa (legally or not) should be sent home (op cit).

> ➢ In a 1998 survey, SAMP found that 87% of South Africans felt that the country was letting in too many foreigners (op cit);

> ➢ In a Wits university survey, 64.8% thought it would be a positive thing if most of the African refugees and immigrants left the country. By contrast, few see ridding the country of its white population as a priority.

Recognition of xenophobia as a social problem in South Africa precedes the May 2008 violence by more than a decade (Croucher, 1998; Peberdy, 2001). There is a diverse range of scholarship on xenophobia in South Africa, yet much of the literature examines attitudes and perceptions of immigrants rather than probing underlying causes (Neocosmos, 2006; Dodson, 2010). Furthermore, little agreement exists on how to meaningfully address violent xenophobia and prevent its future recurrence (Dodson, 2010; Everatt, 2009). Several competing explanations have been given in the literature for the rise of xenophobia in post-apartheid South Africa. Perhaps the most prevalent focuses on economic or material conditions common to areas affected by anti-foreigner violence. In this view, poor South Africans, still mostly black, see foreign Africans as competition for jobs, housing, and other resources and services. These conditions, along with high crime rates that foster violence, serve as factors that translate xenophobic attitudes into violent attacks on foreigners (Misago et al. 2009). Related to this are gendered dimensions of competition between South Africans and foreigners, in which foreigners are blamed for stealing local women (Dodson, 2010).

In addition, statistically representative surveys (see statistics above) have been conducted to investigate South Africans opinion of foreigners, in particular foreign Africans, showing that South Africans across race, class, gender, and political leanings are highly intolerant (Crush et al., 2008; Afro barometer, 2009, cited in Dodson, 2010). As such, there is no 'typical' xenophobe profile, (Crush and Pendleton, 2007: 80). This finding problematises the notion that certain social groups—particularly the poor and vulnerable—are more prone to xenophobic attitudes than others (Crush and Ramachandran; 2009).

Moreover, often overlooked in analysis of these violent attacks is that the attacks do not only claim the lives of foreigners but of South Africans as well for being mistaken for foreigners due to their accent or appearance. Popular anger also turned against South Africans from peripheral areas and ethnic minorities—such as Pedi from northern Limpopo and Shangaan of the Mpumalanga Lowveld—living in urban townships (Sharp, 2008; Everatt, 2009; Misago et al., 2009). The violence thus targeted not only non-nationals but those deemed outsiders in particular urban areas. Thus the researcher notes that in as much it is xenophobia targeting foreigners, it also escalates into tribal or rather ethnic tensions as well within South African nationals.

Although one must carefully disaggregate the forms and expressions of xenophobia, there are four broad reasons that are commonly offered as explanations. Each of these explains how xenophobia comes to be in a society like South Africa which is characterised as a nation for all (Rainbow Nation). These will be discussed in the next chapter.

2.6 Brief history of the two xenophobic waves in South Africa (May 2008 and April 2015)

In May 2008 violence began in Alexandra Township when locals attacked foreigners. Weeks following these attacks the violence had spread to other settlements in the Gauteng province and other provinces and cities such as Durban and Cape Town. Amid mass looting and destruction of foreign owned homes, property and businesses, reports sum up that at least 62 people were killed and 100 000 displaced. Note-worthy is that after or during these attacks former president Thabo Mbeki promised never to allow such tragic events of 2008 to repeat itself in South Africa. (The Times 12-05-08)

More so, in a speech addressing these attacks Mbeki said "we have gathered here today to convey to all Africans everywhere, to all African nations, severally and collectively, to our own people and to the families of the people who were murdered, our sincere condolences and our heartfelt apologies that Africans in our country committed unpardonable crimes against other Africans." (The Times 12-05-08)

In January 2015, Sipiwe Mahori a 14year old Soweto boy was allegedly shot and killed by a foreign shop owner for trying to rob the store. This was followed by unrest and violent looting of the foreign owned shops in Soweto. Residents of different townships followed suit in targeting foreign business owners and so called spaza shops in Kagiso, Alexandra. Tembelihle,

Langlaagte and other settlements. The unrest spread to other parts of the country including settlements in Cape Town and claimed at least six lives in total including that of a baby. Hundreds of foreign nationals were displaced and at least 178 people were arrested in connection with the attacks. (Live Monitor 26-01-15)

Noteworthy is that some government officials denied the looting in Soweto earlier in 2015 was xenophobic violence, claiming rather that it was opportunistic criminality. The SAHRC (2015) put forward that it was not simply a law and order issue and advised that correctly acknowledging the root cause of the violence was critical in dealing with the challenge. The SAHRC called on law enforcement to ensure the safety of non-nationals and their property and also commended them for the quick response and intervention in minimising the anarchy.

In April 2015, foreign nationals were targeted in Durban. Two Ethiopians were petrol bombed in Umlazi, which ignited violence in KwaMashu, Pinetown and a Dalton hostel. The violence spread to parts of Johannesburg and a total of eight people were killed and more than 2000 displaced. Refugee camps were set up by the provincial government in KwaZulu Natal to house the displaced foreigners, including one at a local Chatsworth soccer stadium set up by the eThekwini Municipality. Some non-Nationals still remain in camps to date whilst hundreds have been voluntarily repatriated. A 14-year-old boy was shot dead in KwaMashu. The boy was killed during a confrontation between two guards and a group that were looting a foreign owned store in the area. Note-worthy is that during these attacks foreigners also took it upon themselves to protect themselves. This is witnessed by a march that was held by foreigners mainly from Malawi and Pakistan on the 14th of April. These foreigners gathered in the Durban central business district with pangas and other weapons in defence of their livelihoods.

The president called for calm amidst the xenophobic attacks in parts of Durban and tensions in Johannesburg. "We cannot accept that when there are challenges we use violence particularly to our brothers and sisters from the continent" (Harrisberg; 2015) . The South African national defence force was deployed to Alexandra on April 21 2015 following the murder of a Mozambican national Emmanuel Sithole. Reports articulate that more than 300 people were arrested in connection with the attacks.

 King Goodwill Zwelithini made a speech in which he called for foreign nationals to return to their countries of origin. It has been suggested that the violence directed at foreigners in Durban was as a result of these remarks by the king. The Zulu king was quoted saying *"foreigners must pack and leave the country; they are causing problems in the country"*. However, upon the

realisation that his remarks could have agitated the violence in the province and elsewhere in the country the king hosted an anti-xenophobia imbizo at the Moses Mabhida stadium in Durban and this was met with mixed responses. (Sunday Live 12-04-15)

The April 2015 attacks in Durban sprouted in areas such as Isipingo, Chatsworth, Umlazi, KwaMashu, Verulam and the May 2008 attacks also sprouted in areas like Alexandra in Johannesburg. Worthy to note is that these attacks occurred in townships and informal settlements—spatially "marginalized" areas marked by poor living conditions, high unemployment rates, and exposure to crime and violence—which bolster economic explanations of xenophobia.

The Durban April 201 5 xenophobia attacks saw people (foreigners) fleeing to neighbouring countries and countries of residence. Especially those from neighbouring Zimbabwe ran back to their country to seek refuge while they waited for the situation to calm down and make their way back. However, after the closure of a government camp in Chatsworth 146 refugees remained homeless and a farm owner in Cato-Ridge (Hope Farm) took them in since July 2015 and many have been since relocated again in February 2016 to a homeless people's centre in the Durban central business district. (Sunday Live 12-07-15)

The researcher notes that there is no simple correlation between poverty and the locations of attacks. The areas with the highest levels of poverty were not the most violent during the 2008 attacks in Johannesburg. While it is often assumed that xenophobic violence pervaded South Africa's poorer urban communities in May 2008, many such places were peaceful (Neocosmos, 2008; Sharp, 2008).

2.7 Foreigners as the *'Other/Unknown'*

Many reasons for South African xenophobia have been suggested. Non- nationals have been blamed for the ills of the country such as crime and unemployment (Human Rights Watch, 1998: 4, 11), the latter because local workers often believe that foreigners are willing to work for much lower wages (Abatan 2015). Research has revealed that some South Africans believe there is a relationship between foreigners and social pathologies in South Africa such as crime, HIV/AIDS, housing, health and sanitation and unemployment (Leggett 2003). Foreigners in South Africa have even been blamed for causing shortages in services and commodities and rapid rise i-n prices (Bulcha, 1988: 191). The researcher notes that such sentiments arise in a

people who fear the more successful black person just like them and hence resort to violence to bring down the foreigner.

Tshitereke suggests that in the post-apartheid epoch, while people's expectations have been heightened, a realisation that delivery is not immediate has meant that discontent and indignation are at their peak. People are more conscious of their deprivation than ever before. This is the ideal situation for a phenomenon like xenophobia to take root and flourish. South Africa's political transition to democracy has exposed the unequal distribution of resources and wealth in the country (1999: 4). On this basis, it is apt to note that xenophobia has its roots in apartheid. South Africans feel there has been unfair distribution of resources from the apartheid period. Hence the existence of the African foreigner has sharpened the frustrations that exist, with African foreigners perceived by locals to be unfairly absorbing resources and opportunities. These foreigners are used as scapegoats for crimes and social pathologies because of course crime and unemployment predated the mass arrival of African foreigners into South Africa.

Morris (1998) argues that apartheid insulated South African citizens from nationalities beyond Southern Africa. In this hypothesis, foreigners represent the unknown to South Africans. With the political transition, however, South Africa's borders have opened up and the country has become integrated into the international community. This has brought South Africans into direct contact with the unknown, (foreigners). The interface between previously isolated South Africans and unknown foreigners creates a space for hostility to develop: 'When a group has no history of incorporating strangers it may find it difficult to be welcoming' (Morris, 1998: 25). Such labels on the foreigner have meant that foreigners are scapegoats of the bad and ill that befalls the country.

In addition, the generalisations and stereotypes that are commonly offered regarding Africa and African immigrants offer an insight into the hostility that meets this group in South Africa. One should also look into media representations on these foreigners. The media represents foreigners as the alien, immigrants from war-torn and poverty-stricken parts of Africa, the subaltern, the "Other". This coincides with the Social Identity Theory which argues that people classify the social world into in-groups (South African nationals) and out-groups (foreigners), hence xenophobia eruptions (this will be discussed in the following Theory chapter).

Harris (2002 argues that 'Africa' appears to be a homogeneous, undifferentiated place, hence there is no recognition that it is a large continent encompassing many different interests and nations, including South Africa itself. To a certain extent, it (Africa) is seen as 'the troubled north', an indistinct space marked by wars, woes and poverty. In this way, South Africa is divorced from the rest of the continent. Africa thus appears as a negative space 'out there', totally separate from the space 'in here' (Harris 2002; 19). This affords an interesting link to the scapegoating hypothesis and the concept of the 'unknown' or the 'other', because Africa is portrayed as a negative collective force without a specific form or identity, thereby representing an easy object of blame and anxiety.

Similarly, African foreigners are portrayed as masses flooding into South Africa illegally. Words such as 'flood', 'descend' and 'pour' create the impression of an uncontrollable and unstoppable process (Sontag, 1988). African foreigners are linked to chaos and disorder. Thus they are also presented as illegal as well as criminals. Some scholars argue that the portrayal of African migrants as 'illegals', 'illegal aliens', and 'illegal immigrants' implies both criminality and difference. The constant use of the word 'illegals' to describe undocumented migrants suggests a close relationship with crime and criminal acts. The SAPS [South African Police Service] also provided the number of 'illegal aliens' arrested in crime swoops, or stop and search operations. Although these figures may improve the arrest rates of the SAPS, the conflation of arrested criminals and arrested undocumented migrants creates spurious links between crime and undocumented migrants (1999: 296).

Alongside representations of criminality and illegality, newspapers also paint African foreigners as a disease or a plague descending onto the country. Peberdy (1999: 298) describes the language of 'contamination' as that which permeates national discourse: 'The state's negative attitudes to both immigrants and migrants is most evident … in the ways it argues non-South Africans threaten the nation by endangering its physical health, its ability to provide resources, employment and levels of crime. The language of the department is complete with images of Africans as carriers of disease'(Peberdy1999:296).

The language spreads out beyond the state and the Department of Home Affairs to include the media and the public. Through the image of contamination, Peberdy (1999) suggests, the African foreigner is generated as a disease, a physical threat to the body politic. As an example of this, she highlights the ongoing HIV/AIDS scare surrounding foreign mineworkers as

carriers and spreaders of the disease. In this process, the African foreigner is represented as a physical disease that literally threatens the body politic with contamination.

The African foreigner also represents a symbolic threat to the South African nation. Peberdy (1999) links the images of physical contamination and criminality to a threatened nation state. The focus of the state on what it sees as the parasitical relationship of non-South Africans to the nation's resources, and the way that the state criminalizes them, suggest that the state sees immigrants, and particularly undocumented migrants, as a threat to the nation and the post-1994 nation building process.

According to Peberdy (1999: 296) the language of the state, which rarely attaches the pre-fix African, shows that it conceptualizes most immigrants as Africans, and Africans as potentially the most dangerous of all 'aliens'. Peberdy makes two important points here. Firstly, she comments that foreigners in South Africa are represented as a threat to the nation. Secondly, she explains that these threatening, dangerous foreigners are African, even although this is rarely stated explicitly in public discourse.

Importantly, although foreigners participate in criminal activities, the comments made by Marais in 2008 are still accurate today. According to him, "the institutionalised denigration of refugees and the routine rounding-up of foreigners in "anti-crime" sweeps have helped amplify the common slur that they're thieves, imposters – and legitimate targets… The routine victimisation and exploitation of foreigners – facilitated by their inability to summon the protection of the state – has legitimised their status as 'deserving' targets of outrage and expropriation" Marais (2008:111). Significantly, the tendency of perceiving all foreigners – especially black African foreigners – in South Africa as illegal immigrants is a cause of concern. This creates a narrative whereby there is a distinction between 'us' and 'them'.

The labelling of foreigners as 'Makwerekwere' or the intimidating 'other' should be challenged by government and fellow South Africans. Seeing foreigners as the 'other' or 'outsider' in relation to the 'self' can promote a culture of exclusion, rejection and unease rather than accommodation and integration. This can perpetuate a culture whereby the 'other' is seen as the existential threat to the 'self' (De Beauvoir 1949).

A further equally important consideration is the all-encompassing deep-rooted culture of violence in South Africa carried over from the Apartheid era. One cannot overlook the socio-economic realities of many South Africans. However, violence is rarely the solution in a

democracy to redress injustices let alone poverty or unemployment. Violence only brings more injustices and dehumanises the perpetrators and those who support them. As a response to the recent xenophobic attacks, President Jacob Zuma launched Operation Fiela. However, the implementation of Operation Fiela raised various concerns. Many civil society organisations and human rights activists have criticised the operation for targeting foreigners, criticism that the government vehemently rejects. Although the use of the army was an appropriate counter-xenophobia measure, it should not become a long-term measure or an excuse for police brutality and human rights abuses. Military deployment should not become a long term solution, and Operation Fiela objectives should be clearly stated by the government, and its timeframe should be respected. The issue should not become militarised and used by politicians for their own political gain (Harris 2001)

2.8 Xenophobia as a culture in South Africa

Xenophobia in South Africa has been particularly disturbing because of its violent manifestation. Whilst attitudes of hostility to foreigners may be on the rise globally, nowhere have these attitudes resulted in the levels of violence that they have here. This violent nature of xenophobia is in part a reflection of high levels of violence in society more generally (Harris 2001). There exists in this country what has been termed 'a culture of violence'; defined as being a situation where the use of violence has "become normative instead of deviant" and is viewed as an acceptable response in conflict resolution (Simpson 1993).

The Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC), in its 2008 research, identified two main patterns of the xenophobic culture in South Africa: firstly, that the violence was mostly aimed at other African nationals and not against foreigners in general; and secondly, that the violence was largely confined to the urban informal settlements in South Africa's major cities (HSRC, 2008). A few examples of these xenophobic trends are the following: In 1995 there was the assault on Malawian, Mozambican and Zimbabwean immigrants living in Alexandra township in a campaign known as "Buyelekhaya"(go back home), under the notion that they were guilty of crime and sexual attacks, and that they were causing increased unemployment; two years later, a Mozambican and two Senegalese men were attacked by a group returning from a rally that blamed immigrants for crime, unemployment and the spreading of AIDS.(Human Rights Watch, 1998).

In addition, in 2005, 20 Somali traders in Cape Town were murdered by locals. While the above mentioned cases had been isolated incidents, in May 2008 the attacks on foreigners engulfed several cities and townships throughout the country for weeks. The violence sprouted in the township of Alexandra, north of Johannesburg, following a local meeting to address tensions between locals and foreigners in the area and then spread to other areas in and around Johannesburg, to the provinces of Mpumalanga and KwaZulu-Natal, and to Cape Town (Landau and Segatti, 2009, cited in HSRC, 2008). In the days and months following the attacks 62 deaths were documented, of which 21 were believed to be South Africans, over 100,000 people were displaced from their homes, and property of millions of rand looted (Misago, Landau and Monson 2009, 7–12). Following these attacks were the recent April 2015 attacks which sprouted in Durban's high density suburbs such as Isipingo and Umlazi, leaving seven people dead and a number not given injured (SAHO 2015).

In addition, it is apt to note that although crime is prevalent across racial groups, victims of violence are disproportionately black. This has been linked to the strengthening relationship between poverty and violence in a country where poverty is racially-defined (Hamber 1999; Terreblanche 2002). This would in part explain why Africans from elsewhere on the continent are being targeted for attack by black South Africans. As many of these foreigners come to the country with little, either fleeing conflict or in search of a better life, their economic situation means that they will take up residence in less well-off areas, predominantly black townships, putting them in what is perceived to be direct competition with the poor for limited resources. The prevalent myth, that foreigners are comparatively wealthy, coupled with hostility and the visibility of the 'other', leaves them vulnerable not merely to crime, but to violent attacks.

In addition, the myth of foreigners taking jobs from locals and draining the economy has been called into question by the Southern African Migration Project (SAMP), who have instead found that African migrants are important contributors to the economy. In 1998 SAMP interviewed 70 immigrant entrepreneurs involved in business ventures in inner Johannesburg, the most popular destination for African foreigners. They found that each of these migrants employed between two and four individuals, of which at least half were South Africans. Moreover, they also revealed that most of their profits are invested back into South Africa, contributing to the national economy (Carter and Haffajee 1998).

Furthermore, SAMP concludes from its research that the reality of a typical African migrant is far from the characterisation drawn by most South Africans. This survey provides a very

different profile of African migrants than the stereotypical image of the impoverished, illiterate and parasitical "alien" of officialdom and the popular press. 93% of the sample population are in the country legally; 49% have partners; more than a third are heads of households; more than 90% own their own home; 78% are working; and 73% have at least some secondary school education. (McDonald, Mashike et al. 2000:179). Drawing again on SAMP's research, nation-wide surveys on attitudes towards migration have found that over 80 percent of South Africans have had little or no contact with foreigners. This was more so the case for Africans than it was for whites (McDonald 1997).

However, this does not hinder these individuals from expressing a xenophobic view or more importantly from exhibiting a willingness to engage in a variety of activities which would prevent people from the region from coming to South Africa (McDonald 1997). Without personal experience of foreigners, it stands to reason that opinions and perceptions are being fuelled by something broader than the individual, which informs the discriminatory attitudes and defensive identities.

2.9 Xenophobia and Immigration during the Apartheid Era

Immigration during the Apartheid era saw the Government employing specific immigration policies aimed at encouraging white immigration and discouraging black immigration to South Africa, (Morris, 1998). Cooper (1989) notes that close to 900,000 white families moved to South Africa between 1960 and 1987. These families were recruited by the government and successful applicants were provided with financial assistance. It was estimated that immigrants filled 25-40 percent of new high-level and middle-level managerial positions during those years (Cooper, 1989). The enormous entry of these immigrants made it possible for the National Party government to sustain job market development and the corresponding preferential white immigration policy until its demise in 1994. The vast majority of the skilled positions were reserved for people whose racial classification in terms of the Population Registration Act of 1950 was white (Cooper, 1989).

Klotz (1997) argues that the racist immigration policy did not mean that black people were not allowed to enter the country. Many black people immigrated to South Africa, in the same period, as migrant workers, mainly from Malawi, Mozambique and Lesotho. A significant difference was the fact that blacks were not allowed to enter the country as permanent residents. Since blacks were excluded from this by law, much of the early immigration debates

concentrated on Indians brought to South Africa as indentured labourers. The Apartheid era immigration policy contained two uniquely South African components, one being the regulation of the movement of non-whites between the four distinct colonies at the time of the Union of South Africa that prohibited Indians from moving freely between the provinces until 1975. The other unique South African component was the favouring of Indians born in South Africa as compared to first generation of Indian immigrants (Klotz, 1997).

Cooper (1989) stated that in 1986 there were 378,125 foreign workers from southern African countries registered in South Africa and many of these workers later settled permanently in South Africa. In addition, due to the civil war in Mozambique approximately 58,000 Mozambicans fled to South Africa throughout the 1980s but South Africa also received refugees from other countries during this decade. Some of the registered workers managed to legalise their residence status in South Africa after settling here permanently but not all and many remained in South Africa illegally. In 1989, the Aliens and Immigration Laws Amendment Act of 1984 was enforced, resulting in 51,415 illegal immigrants being repatriated (Cooper, 1989).

As can be gathered from the above paragraphs, before 1994 most- black foreigners in South Africa were either unskilled labourers or refugees mainly from other southern African countries. According to Cooper (1989), the extent of xenophobia directed at these southern African foreigners appears to have been limited and the majority of these immigrants managed to integrate successfully into the local communities. These foreigners achieved successful integration by adapting well to local customs and languages, which was relatively uncomplicated for them since as southern Africans they were not that different from the majority of black South Africans in terms of dress code and lifestyle.

In addition, many had local spouses and learned an indigenous South African language all of which made them blend in relatively well. Not much is known about the influx of undocumented immigrants in the years before 1990 as they were exactly that – undocumented. Cooper (1989) attributes this lack of knowledge and documentation to mean that they were not perceived as a major threat by the indigenous South African labourers and unskilled workers. More significantly, perhaps, Cooper (1989) also noted that the indigenous South African working class had other battles to concentrate on with the main one obviously being Apartheid and the struggle for freedom. Apartheid was seen as the main reason why they lacked quality of life, employment and the opportunity for upward mobility. The blame for issues such as

unemployment and the fight for scarce resources were only directed towards immigrants after Nelson Mandela's release in 1990. Another reason why xenophobia was limited during this time was probably also that Africans were not keen on living under Apartheid and this system kept many African "would be immigrants" from living in South Africa permanently (Cooper, 1989). This, however, started to change during the last years of Apartheid when distinctions such as "them" and "us" became more prominent and fears of foreigners became evident.

However, from the analysis drawn from the above arguments the researcher notes that during apartheid the existence of the black migrant in South Africa was no threat to local South Africans because they felt they had a brotherly relationship with them because they were both under white rule. More so, the researcher notes the comfort South Africans had with the existence of the foreigner because they were working in the mines and had no claim whatsoever on top managerial posts and so forth. The frustrations have only risen now after the realisation that other blacks were making a life which is more comfortable than the one locals can afford in their own country.

2.10 Xenophobia and Immigration in the Post-apartheid epoch

As can be drawn from the above arguments, policies to control immigration have been in existence for a long time and even inside South Africa free movement of people was non-existent. Since South Africa became a democracy the laws directed at movement within the country's borders have been eliminated but the laws restraining immigration from other countries remain although changed in certain aspects. However, the policing of these laws have become more laid-back which has been evident in terms of the patrolling of South Africa's borders. It has, in previous years, not been difficult for television crews to obtain footage of for example, Zimbabweans crawling under the border fence into South Africa and in 1990 the government led by the National Party initiated a less aggressive approach by reducing the voltage of its border fence with Mozambique from lethal to stun level (Klotz, 1997).

It is understood that the number of immigrants, both legal and illegal, increased radically after February 1990 (Chimere-Dan, 1996). However, the exact number of immigrants who were in found in South Africa during the 1990s is debatable and no official figures are available. Local South African media provided a vague estimate of somewhere between 1.5 and 8 million legal immigrants by mid-1990 (Shindondola, 2002) and Crush (1997) estimated that there were less than 1 million illegal immigrants in the country. In 2008, the South African Institute for Race

Relations (SAIRR) estimated that there were between three and five million illegal immigrants in South Africa and that the majority of these were from Zimbabwe.

More so, a noteworthy change in immigration to South Africa after the demise of Apartheid was an increase in immigrants from the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and Nigeria (Kadima & Kalombo, 1995). Although no official figures for Nigerian immigrants existed at the time, 2,862 Nigerians applied for political asylum between January 1994 and April 1997 (Morris, 1998) and Kadima and Kalombo (1995) estimated that in the middle of 1995, 23,000 Congolese immigrants were living in the Johannesburg area alone. Morris (1998) notes that the Nigerian and Congolese immigrants were more easily exposed and subjected to xenophobia than southern African immigrants as they differed physically and culturally more significantly from black South Africans than immigrants from neighbouring countries.

Morris (1998) argued that immigrants from Nigeria and Congo are easily identifiable by their physical features, their clothing style, their bearing, as well as their inability to speak an indigenous South African language. This coincides with the bio-cultural hypothesis (see Theory chapter) by Melanie Klein (1986) which helps explain how foreigners become easily identified as the other hence subject to violence and hatred. All these characteristics make them stand out and become easy targets for scapegoating when locals are discontented whether it is due to unemployment, lack of food or the crime levels. According to Bouillon (1996) French-speaking Africans sense hostility in the way South Africans behave towards them as soon as they realise that they do not speak a South African language. Harris (2000) found that racism plays a major part in the xenophobia that is expressed in South Africa, as white foreigners are not at all subjected to the same kind of discrimination and hatred as African immigrants are.

This means that in South Africa unlike some other places, physical appearance and cultural characteristics are triggers of xenophobia. Noteworthy is that a black and a white immigrant both with the same French accent from a former French African colony will be treated differently. Further, Shindondola (2002) stated that being a black immigrant in South Africa makes one a potential target of abuse, discrimination and prejudice and that black foreigners in South Africa are subjected to the same level of discrimination and stereotyping as black foreigners in other parts of the world. Shindondola (2002) also found that the high rate of unemployment, the unsympathetic nature of police and immigration officers, combined with the long period of isolation, were part of the obstacles to welcoming African immigrants in South African with open arms and friendliness. Matsinhe (2009), in his doctoral thesis

"Cleaning the Nation: Anti-African Patriotism and Xenophobia in South Africa", also found evidence suggesting that the police in South Africa held negative beliefs about immigrants, whether legal or illegal, and that they strongly felt that South Africa would be better off with a complete ban on immigration.

For most African immigrants, the xenophobic sentiments of South Africans have been unexpected. Nwandiko (1997) stated that Nigerians found living in South Africa suffered from a culture shock, especially, since they had expected a heartfelt welcome and existence in South Africa due to Nigeria's support for the ANC during the struggle. The Human Rights Watch African Division (1998) was shocked to observe the hostility which South Africans directed at immigrants and refugees in need, particularly taking into consideration how many African nations assisted South African refugees and exiles during the struggle against Apartheid and also provided financial assistance to those opposing Apartheid. Thus the researcher notes that South Africans fear competition from the 'other' black hence they see them as a threat to their economy hence the brutality.

2.11 Conclusion

In a nutshell this chapter takes the reader through the history of xenophobia in South Africa and studies carried out to investigate the causes of this violence. The researcher comes to a conclusion that South Africans suffer 'Post-apartheid trauma' and upon realisation that other foreign blacks were excelling in a country where they fought for democracy has led some to take their frustrations out on foreigners.

Chapter 3: Theoretical Framework

3.1 Introduction

There are a number of theories in the field of cultural studies and the media that provide a better understanding on the dynamics that exist within society in general, in this case between the foreigner and the locals. These also give an insight to the discrimination or rather othering of others which has turned South Africa into a violent space. These explanations, theories and hypotheses around xenophobia have been proposed by several scholars such as Alain Bihr (2005), Franz Fanon (1961), Harris (2002), Klein (1986), Tajfel (1982) and most of them fall into four major categories which include the Social identity theory, the Scapegoating hypothesis, the Isolation hypothesis and lastly the Bio-cultural (Socio-biological) hypothesis.

3.2 Social Identity Theory

Social identity is defined as a person's sense of who they are based on their group membership(s). Social Identity theory propounded by Tajfel (1982) outlines that the groups in which people belong to, whether family, social class, or football team, are an important source of pride and self-esteem. Thus groups give one a sense of belonging to the social world. Tajfel (1982) outlines three basic assumptions relating to the formation of social identity:

(a) People classify the social world into in-groups (South Africa nationals) and out-groups (foreigners);

(b) People derive a sense of self-esteem from their social identity as members of an in-group;

(c) People's self-concept depends partly on how they evaluate the in-group relative to other groups.

Thus, if in-group members consider themselves superior to out-group members they are likely to reinforce each other and elevate their self-esteem. The opposite may also be the true in the case of xenophobia whereby the nationals feel the foreigners are doing better than them, hence deterioration in self-esteem may result and the foreigners subsequently suffer scapegoating.

In terms of xenophobia in the current research context, it could be hypothesized that the two groups of people - the nationals and the foreigners - perceive each other as out-groups and seek to improve their self-esteem by evaluating the in-group they belong to as superior to the out-group. Foster and Louw- Potgieter (1991) stated that SIT provides the most useful framework

for understanding political violence in South Africa. While they were referring to violence between the apartheid state and its African nationalist enemies, comparisons can easily be made to the outbreak of xenophobic violence as experienced in South Africa since 2008.

The violent outbreaks in Durban which sprung from areas like Isipingo, Chatsworth and Umlazi to mention but a few could also be likened to a political struggle between opposing groups in society. These groups are the in-group (South Africans) and the out-group (foreigners). The struggle has become a contested terrain as both groups are fighting for resources. Notable is that the in-group is at war with the out-group which is believed to have made way in the country and swept away everything which is not rightfully theirs including jobs, health services and housing. Thus failure to access these services by the in group puts the out group at an awkward position as they tend to be blamed for the insufficiency in these services to the in group.

De la Rey (1991) articulates that an elementary aspect of SIT concerns people's need and motivation for a positive self-concept. Worchell (1996) adds that people discriminate against the out-group and favour the in-group, because the out group is out-numbered by the in-group and hence most people are for the in-group which competes against the out-group. This is the case of the alien and the local in South Africa, where the attacks in South Africa are seen as normal. Of importance to note is that this has even extended to senior government officials who are quoted mostly in newspapers and television denouncing the existence of the alien (makwerekwere), hence suggesting that xenophobia has been brought to normalcy in South Africa.

In addition, the SIT is considered to be all-encompassing as it successfully explains prejudice and discrimination such as social categorisation, stereotyping, social comparison and social identity as well as social psychological processes on the intra-personal, inter-personal, positional and ideological levels (Augostinos & Walker, 1995; Leynes, Schadron, & Yzerbyt,1994). Looking at categorisation, Augostinos and Walker (1995) stated that there is only a need and motivation to foster and maintain the superiority of one's in-group if there is some kind of relation to out-groups. This is because people are unable to use social categories alone to enhance or denigrate social identity unless a comparison is made to an out-group that is relevant to and affects the social identity of the in-group members. The comparisons made that lead to viewing the foreigner as a threat to the local majority is the success that the foreigner has acquired in a foreign land which the local South Africans have failed to achieve.

Reicher (1987) argues that self-categorisation is that category where membership becomes salient so the individual conforms to those attributes which define the category. Thus, if other group members' behaviour is disrespectful, hostile and maybe violent to an out-group, such as foreigners, a person who considers him- or herself to be a member of this in-group will conform and likewise become disrespectful, hostile and maybe violent towards foreigners.

In relation to crowd violence, Campbell (1992) stated that group memberships, whether the group is the church, family or comrades, present individuals with behavioural options or, as he termed it, "recipes for living"; thus, people as members of a group adapt to and follow the conduct of other group members. Further, Nqweni (2002) stated that crowd violence is a comprehensible response by a specific group of people in a certain, specific situation reacting to their social circumstances.

Criticism of SIT have been voiced by Augostinos and Walker (1995) who found that SIT focuses more on social identity than individual identity and they pointed out a lack of articulation of the role of self-esteem in respect of the inter-group differentiation. Augostinos and Walker also pointed out that certain costs for individuals as well as society are implied in terms of SIT as in-group members may have demands placed upon them in order to achieve group cohesiveness and uniformity. Thus, by identifying strongly with a certain in-group, an individual may increase his or her positive social identity but at the expense of individual autonomy. At societal level, the costs are tensions and hostilities amongst competing groups as inter-group tensions are a likely result of positive inter-group differentiation (Augostinos & Walker, 1995).

Further, these costs can certainly be said to have been incurred by individual South Africans as well as South African society, as citizens have been found criminally guilty of offences as part of xenophobic mob attacks and South African communities have suffered destruction and mayhem. These damages have cost the Republic of South Africa millions of rands in direct costs (in terms of destruction of property, deployment of police and army personnel as well as erection of tent camps and food provisions etc.) and, likely many more millions indirectly, as South Africa's reputation as a happy rainbow nation has been severely tainted, damaging short as well as long term business and tourism opportunities (Blieden, 2008).

3.3 The scapegoating theory

This theory understands or explains xenophobia within the context of Abraham Maslow's hierarchy of needs (Gomo, 2010). He argues that failure to meet these needs leads to frustrations which are catharsized through scapegoating migrants. The scapegoating hypothesis has largely emerged through sociological theory. It locates xenophobia within the context of social transition and change. Hostility towards foreigners is explained in relation to limited resources, such as housing, education, health care and employment, coupled with high expectations during socio-political transition (Morris, 1998).

The theory examines prejudice in the context of social transition and change (Allport 1961). It argues that frustrations lead to prejudice especially among disadvantaged people and in so doing they identify scapegoats who are usually foreigners. Because they have no power, the foreigners are blamed for people's troubles: "People displace their frustration onto convenient targets, thereby obscuring the actual causes of their anxiety. Hostile attitudes are thus formed in relation to unmet promises and hence xenophobia erupts" (Tshitereke, 1999).

Allport (1961) looks at the development of instincts as a reaction to ones needs. Instincts and needs are both theoretical constructs used to explain the why and what behaviour and its underlying goals, regularity and potentiality. Allport's arguments are supported by Seymour Feshbach in his catharsis media theory which attempts to locate the relationship between media content and violent behaviour. Catharsis is seen as one way in the scapegoating process where people seek "cleansing, purging, or purification" of their frustrations through the "execution of an aggressive action" and help to release their anger. Using the Gomo Social Analysis model of xenophobia based on Allport's explanation it is apt to note that insecurities and frustrations boil up within the locals which in turn leads to migrant scapegoating and if there is a failure to apprehend the situation violent attacks erupt as a solution to end one's problems. See fig 2 below
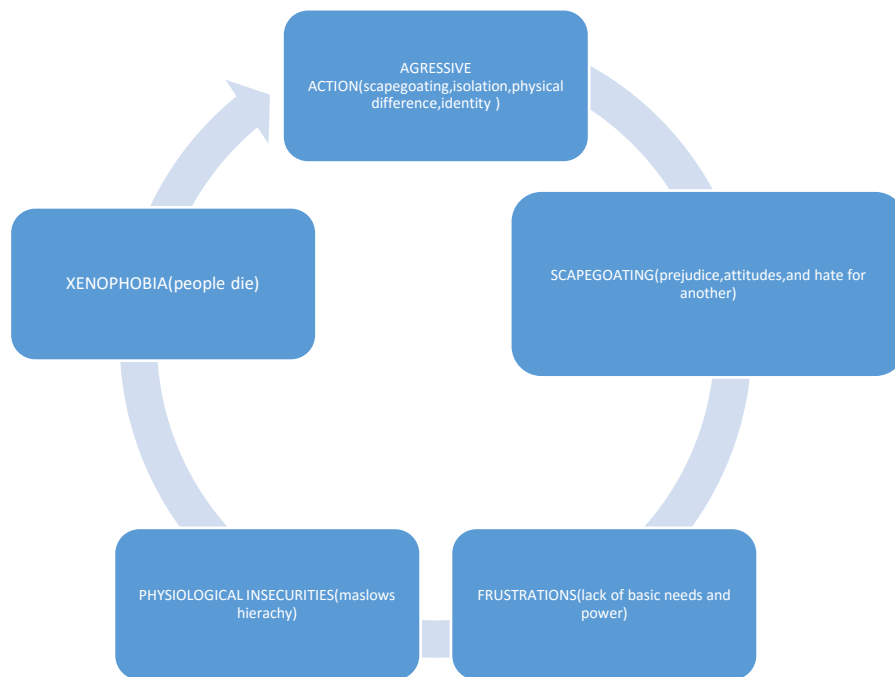
Fig 2: Gomo Social Analysis model

South Africans had high expectations before 1994, which they later realised may never be fulfilled (Tshitereke: 1999). The gap between aspirations and reality is filled with frustrations. This gap however, becomes the source of news for the media as they 'mirror the reality in the society' by using their power to further their own capitalist ideals, of selling news portraying blacks attacking other blacks as a sign of a government failure to uphold the rainbow nation concept. As the people realize their deprivation, frustrations boil, invoking their xenophobic attitude and practices. The foreigner is psychologically and socially framed into a symbolical figure of unemployment, poverty and deprivation, conveniently meaningful to the xenophobe and leading to social isolation in what Norman Fairclough (1995) termed the 'Us' and the 'Other' scenario.

Noteworthy is that this 'othering' is reinforced by social processes through media framing theory (Scheufele: 1999). A media frame is a 'central organizing idea or story line that provides meaning to an unfolding strip of events'. Framing takes place in two circles, the audience and the media, upon which Scheufele outlines four stages which includes frame building, (nationalism/nation-building), frame setting (ideological/agenda setting theory), individual-level effects of framing (uses and gratification theory), and journalists as audiences for frames.

Robert Winder (2004) evinces a few common media statements that frame foreigners in a xenophobic manner. These include: "foreigners are replacing English workers and driving to

despair men, women and children of our blood"(The Times UK); "flood" of migrants "too lazy to work" (The Evening Standard); "Even the most sentimental,... "will feel that the time has come to stop the abuse of this country's hospitality by foreign malefactors," (Daily Mail); "Sick migrants will swamp our wards" (the Sun); "Five hundred immigrants every day to swamp Britain" (the Express); "Migrant invasion warning" (The Sun).These statements are for example reflected in the comments of the Conservative member for Stepney, who declared that that "East of Aldgate one walks into a foreign town ... The modern Englishman is in constant danger of being driven from his home, pushed out by ... the off-scum of Europe." (Winder, 2004;11)

Crush and Ramachandran (2009;96) see the same trend where discriminatory concepts manifested themselves into South Africa media where immigrant topics are mainly focused on "exaggerated numbers, derogatory constructions of foreigners as an economic burden (as abusers of welfare), threat to cultural and community values, danger, and legality issues". Frightening disaster metaphors such as 'flood', 'waves,' 'pour' and 'stream' frame foreigners an out-of-control, agent-less, unwanted natural disaster," who need to be dealt with or stopped with urgency before they destroy 'Us'. These statements also fit into the Agenda setting theory which posits that over-emphasising messages and exposure to media have direct and damaging influences on public opinion especially where opinion leaders are involved (McCombs and Shaw: 1972). People believe what they read in newspapers because it confirms their prejudices and legitimizes existing hostilities.

In conclusion the existence of a black foreigner has paved the way for South Africans to direct their anger and frustrations that existed before the emergence of this black immigrant. South Africans feel their independence robbed them from what they initially wanted from the struggle which is black empowerment.

3.4 The Isolation Theory

The isolation hypothesis understands xenophobia as a consequence of South Africa's history of isolation from the international community. Morris (1998) argues that apartheid insulated South African citizens from nationalities beyond Southern Africa. This hypothesis suggests that foreigners represent the unknown to South Africans. The political transition in South Africa however saw the country's borders opening up and the country became integrated into the international community which Morris (1998) believes to have created hostilities.

This has brought South Africans into direct contact with the unknown, the 'foreigners'. The Isolation hypothesis therefore brings to realisation that the interface between previously isolated South Africans and unknown foreigners creates a space for hostility to develop. Criticising this notion is Davies and Head (1995) in Maharaj (2004) where they argue that mining and agricultural sectors in South Africa depended on migrant labour during the apartheid era. Thus the 'unknown' became to be realised in a South African society upon the realisation that what apartheid promised them was not availed hence they had to locate a scapegoat to put blame on. '[W]hen a group has no history of incorporating strangers it may find it difficult to be welcoming' (Morris, 1998, p.1125).

The hypothesis also explains existing xenophobia by recourse to domestic isolation- isolation between South Africans-as a consequence of apartheid: There is little doubt that the brutal environment created by apartheid with its enormous emphasis on boundary maintenance has also impacted on people's ability to be tolerant of difference (Morris, 1998; 1125). Because of the creation of strict boundaries between South African citizens, as well as between the country and other nations, South Africans in this argument are unable to accommodate, and indeed, tolerate difference. According to the theory of isolation, South Africans find difference threatening and dangerous (Morris, 1998).

In this understanding, it is apt to note that xenophobia exists because of the very foreignness of foreigners. It exists because foreigners are different and unknown. Complementing the hypothesis based on South Africa's isolation is an argument made by Hobsbawm (1996) to explain xenophobia in contemporary European societies. He conceptualises the phenomenon in terms of change, as something that works parallel to rapid social transition. For him, the 'old ways of life (in Europe) have changed so drastically since the 1950s that there is very little of them left to defend' (1996;264). Because old, traditional ways of life have corroded, Hobsbawm (1996) argues xenophobia, separatism and fundamentalism 'are comprehensible as symptoms of social disorientation, of the fraying, and sometimes the snapping, of the threads of what used to be the network that bound people together in society. The strength of this xenophobia is the fear of the unknown …' (1996;264-265).

In Hobsbawm's (1996) reading, 'xenophobia is understood as the product of social transition, as a defence against the anxiety induced by 'the unknown''. This applies directly to the isolation hypothesis, which situates xenophobia in the South African context of change and a large

'unknown' world 'out there'. This therefore brings the disjointed South African community together to fight the foreigners leaving them isolated and feeling unwanted in South Africa.

Some scholars argue that the isolation theory/hypothesis can be traced back to European history inspired by nationalism and modernisation theory. Of importance to note is that both these concepts bring a demarcation between citizens and migrant groups, hence the concept of us and them. According to Hannah Arendt (1998) there is a direct link between the origins of mass society and the violent nationalism of fascism in Europe. Nationalism was seen as a social and political phenomenon contributing to the marginalization and/or exclusion of non-nationals in a social and national setting. (Harris 2000)

In addition, Arendt in Fennema (1998), argued that foreigners came to be viewed as the 'other' in a negative and dehumanizing manner, thereby disqualifying them from equal or fair treatment. This can be likened with the situation that exists between South Africans and the foreigners. Notable is that these negative stereotypes are further perpetuated by politicians, citizens, state institutions and the media through public rhetoric stigmatizing and denigrating migrants as a threat and scapegoats for social problems leading to their social isolation, making them extremely vulnerable to ideological or physical attack.

Harris (2000) for example notes that after undergoing nationalist struggles, the transition periods of countries are usually marked by the idea of nationalism, where ethnicity is identified with the state, often leading to xenophobia. Melanie Klein (1986) provides an insight into understanding the deep-seated mood that infects newly national states through patriotic idealization, the exclusionary impulse of nation-building processes, and nationalism itself (the 'us and them' syndrome). This is a situation that exists in post- apartheid South Africa including the firm demarcation of a line between 'South Africans' and 'foreigners'.

Scholars such as Louis Althusser (1970), McQuail, D (2005), Fourie, (2007) do not see these as a natural phenomenon but one driven by a political agenda. Drawing from Harold Lasswell's hypodermic needle model (magic bullet theory) which assumes an-powerful media, Althusser (1970), sees mass media as transmitting the dominant nationalist ideology to media readers. These ideologies in the South African context taint the foreigners leaving them in a compromising position where they are termed aliens or makwerekwere to name but a few. These force foreigners to an isolated social position in the society they inhabit.

Though Lasswell's 'all-powerful' media effects theory was later challenged by later studies, his statement; "Who says what in what channel to whom with what effects", contributed to the agenda setting theory (McCombs and Shaw :1972). This theory argued that the mass media tells the audience *what to think about rather than what to think*. The media sets the agenda by choosing what to publish and what not to publish thereby forcing certain issues into the public domain. Xenophobia can be viewed as an agenda that is being set for the public (citizens) by the ANC government that has failed to meet and deliver promised services. With such agendas being set in South Africa the foreigners suffer isolation as they are seen as the cause of the shortages of service delivery in South Africa.

In South Africa, this (isolation) is evident by the description of foreigners as aliens, the association of them with drugs and crime and scapegoating of social problems on foreigners. There is a temptation to 'sell' news that gratifies the social, economic, political and emotional needs of the readers which somewhat contributes to the anti-foreign attitude consistent with a uses and gratification theory proposed by Katz (1974), which asserts that the audience use the media in order to meet certain identified needs. This expectation is placed in the hands of the media who in turn uses the opportunity to sell their agenda, sometimes under the 'national interest' banner.

In conclusion one can safely say the root cause of the culture of violence in South Africa can only be located within the social matrix and the long history of oppression, poverty and exploitation in the country which has left the foreigner isolated in a xenophobic environment.

3.5 The Bio-cultural theory

The Bio-cultural hypothesis/theory locates xenophobia at the level of visible difference - that is the physical, biological factors and conspicuous cultural differences exhibited by foreigners. The bio-cultural hypothesis offers an explanation for the unbalanced targeting of African foreigners by South Africans. The bio-cultural hypothesis locates xenophobia at the level of visible difference, or otherness. That is, in terms of physical biological factors and cultural differences exhibited by African foreigners in the country. For example, Morris (1998) suggests that Nigerians and Congolese are easily identifiable as the 'other'. Because of their physical features, their bearing, their clothing style and their inability to speak one of the indigenous languages, they are in general clearly distinct and local residents are easily able to pick them out and scapegoat them. (1998:11-25)

In this example, Nigerian and Congolese will suffer scapegoating as a result of bio-cultural factors; these factors apply to the identification of Africans from southern Africa too. Consider, for example, the identifying methods used by the Internal Tracing units of the South African Police Service; in trying to establish whether a suspect is an illegal or not, members of the internal tracing units focus on a number of aspects. One of these is language: the accent, and the pronouncement of certain words (such as Zulu for 'elbow', or 'buttonhole' or the name of a market). Some are asked what nationality they are and if they reply 'Sud' African this is a dead give-away for a Mozambican, while Malawians tend to pronounce the letter 'r' as 'errow'. In addition to this is the issue of appearance, another factor in trying to establish whether a suspect is illegal - hairstyle, type of clothing worn, as well as actual physical appearance. In the case of "Mozambicans, a dead give-away is the vaccination mark on the lower left forearm … [while] those from Lesotho tend to wear gumboots, carry walking sticks or wear blankets (in the traditional manner), and also speak slightly different Sesotho". (Minnaar & Hough, 1996: 166-167).

In this hypothesis, the biological-cultural features of hairstyles, accents, vaccination marks, dress and physical appearance generally signify difference and point out foreignness in a way that is immediately visible. These features do seem to play a common role in prompting xenophobic actions. For example, a report by the South African Human Rights Commission (1999) on the arrest and detention of persons in terms of the Aliens Control Act observes that 'at least ten percent' of the subjects interviewed in the study were apprehended 'on the basis of appearance, with nothing more' (1999:5). Similarly, Boullion (1996) reports that for French-speaking Africans language is a "'handicap, as they feel hostility in the way people react when they realise their inability to speak any African South African languages. Dress and hair are (also) handicaps in the context of rife street crime on the one hand and the 'sniffing out' methods adopted by the Internal Tracing Units of the South African Police on the other hand" (1999:10).

The bio-cultural theory according to Ginsburg et al (1994) is based on psychoanalysis which argues that human beings are biologically, naturally and socially influenced by social context where they learn to favour their own and discriminate against the 'other'. Infants shy away from 'strangers' because they do not know them suggesting that xenophobia is an inherent behaviour and central to the human make-up (Ginsburg 1994:77). Children learn prejudice from adults "through example and short-cut dicta'. Attitudes are products of experiences or "observational learning" from the cultural environment. Assumed instincts and needs are

conceived in a particular cultural context and biased towards certain groups to which the 'familiar' is preferred to the 'alien' (Allport: 1954).

In explaining the "paranoid-schizoid position" Melanie Klein (1986) argues that infants are socialized within a particular context where they learn the good and the bad. This concept down plays the pre-set qualities concept as the cultural context is more salient: the feelings, attitudes and actions into adulthood which are manifested, intensified and put across on social, economic and emotional insecurities as the child becomes a member of a larger society. This is confirmed by Frantz Fanon, a psychoanalyst and revolutionary, in Bulhan (2004), who proposes that "aggression, xenophobia and selfishness are innate and dominant features in human beings. He further posits that in reality these claims are but rationalization for the historical violence, schizoid orientation and self-centeredness behaviour of a ruling group". Klein (1986) views frustrations in relation to social needs while Fanon adds human power, pointing to poor communities being more xenophobic than wealthy ones. As frustrations boil, hostile attitudes and violence against foreigners becomes an impetuous, inexorable aspect of the human condition.

In addition, Fanon (in Bulhan 2004) argues that people are born with a body but without a 'self' which is then acquired through social learning, a stage at which attitudes are acquired through interaction and exposure to the media, as well as through interaction with family and society generally. Albert Bandura (1976) in his social learning and modelling theory concurs that aggression is socially learned through behaviour modelling. "Children learn aggressive responses from observing either personally or through the media and environment" (Bandura 1976:12). Exposure to media content contributes to audience's conception of social reality by influencing their beliefs.

Noteworthy is that, while the bio-cultural hypothesis looks at xenophobia through the lenses of physical and cultural appearance, it does not clarify why certain biological and cultural features come to take on xenophobic significance (Harris 2000). For instance, why black Africans are predominantly targeted as victims of xenophobia when their white counterparts also have accents. One then offers the most obvious response to this question: 'racism'? The researcher notes that this could be a response that could be missing from the offered hypotheses in explaining the existence and manifestation of xenophobia in contemporary South Africa.

Of importance to note before conclusion is that racism, in the post-apartheid context, manifests through a variety of elusive and blatant stratums of discrimination, and appears to play a key

role in xenophobic discourse and practice. One way to understand why African hairstyles, accents and vaccination marks take on xenophobic significance is to consider how foreign Africans are represented in society. The generalisations and stereotypes that are commonly offered regarding Africa and African immigrants offer insight into the hostility that meets this group.

3.6 Conclusion

From this chapter it is evident that xenophobia manifests due to a number of reasons and the theories discussed help us understand how xenophobia infiltrates in society. It is thus apt to note that there are other factors that have not been tackled in the discussion that perpetuate the ideology of xenophobia leading to its birth in society such as the power of the media to mention but a few.

Chapter 4: Research Methodology & Design

4.1 Introduction

The chapter provides an outline as well as description of life story research design and methodology employed in the current research. The chapter describes the methodology applied by looking at the research design, sampling methods, procedures, and data analysis methods used to achieve the aims of the study. In addition, the ethical considerations that were part of the study or investigation are discussed.

4.2 Primary Aim of the Study

The main aim or objective of this research is to capture the subjective lived experiences of the victims of the 2015 xenophobic attacks in Durban (South Africa) by recording and helping to construct their narratives or 'life stories' – of their subjective and interpreted experiences and thereby add to the knowledge base of cultural studies.

4.3 Research Design

The choice of research approach to employ, either quantitative or qualitative, depends on the nature of the research aims (Noor, 2008). This thesis used an interpretive qualitative ethnography centred on interviews with people who have experienced xenophobia. What is particular about this approach is its "focus on the subjective dimension of social relations, on how particular social arrangements and configurations are lived and made sense of, so highlighting the complex intersections between public culture and private subjectivity" (Pickering 2008: 18). This leads to a cultural studies stress upon 'lived experience'.

A clear advantage of qualitative studies is that it provides a detailed description and analyses the quality or substance of human experience (Marvasti, 2004). Denzin and Lincoln (1994) found that qualitative research emphasizes processes and meanings that are not rigorously examined and measured in terms of quantity, intensity or frequency. Qualitative researchers are rather interested in insight, discovery, and interpretation rather than hypothesis testing. One disadvantage of qualitative research is that it can be very time consuming and thus often also costly (de Vos, Strydom, Fouche, & Delport, 2005). The researcher aimed to provide an accurate representation of the lived experiences of the four research participants involved in the present study without generalizing their stories to other cases but instead relating them to existing theories.

The interpretive qualitative framework approach was selected as it provides a suitable research design which gives an account of a subject's experience in accordance with the research aim, in this case the lived experience of xenophobia. This approach is 'a set of beliefs that guides action'. According to Guba (1990; 17) all research is interpretative, it is thus guided by the researcher's set of beliefs and feelings about the world and how it should be understood and studied. It is important to note that some beliefs in an interpreted framework maybe taken for granted, invisible and assumed, whereas others are highly problematic and controversial. From the above it is thus important to note that each interpretative paradigm makes particular demands on the researcher including the questions the researcher asks and interpretations he or she brings or deduces from them.

The research employs the constructivist interpretive method which grew out of the philosophy of Edmund Husserl's phenomenology and Wilhem Diltheys and other German philosophers study of interpretive understanding called hermeneutics (Mertens 2005, citing Eichelberger1989). This paradigm approach to research has the intention of understanding the 'world of human experience' (Cohen & Manion 1994; 36), suggesting that 'reality is socially constructed' (Mertens 2005; 12). The interpretivist or constructivist researcher tends to rely upon the "participants' views of the situation being studied" (Creswell 2008; 8) and recognises the impact on the research of their own background and experiences.

Qualitative interpretations are constructed. The researcher first creates a field text consisting of field notes and documents from the field, what Roger Sanjek (1990:386) calls "indexing" and David Plath (1990:374) calls "filework". The writer-as interpreter moves from this text to a research text: notes and interpretations based on the field text. This text is then re-created as a working interpretive document that contains the writer's initial attempts to make sense of what he or she has learned. Finally, the writer produces the public text that comes to the reader. This final tale from the field may assume several forms: confessional, realist, impressionistic, critical, formal, literary, analytic, grounded theory, and so on (Van Maanen, 1988). It is thus apt to note that there are multiple criteria for evaluating qualitative research, and those that are emphasized stress the situated, relational, and textual structures of the ethnographic experience. There is no single interpretive truth; there are numerous interpretive communities as indicated above, each with its own criteria for evaluating interpretations.

The researcher also centrally employed the use of life stories' research. A life story according to Duranti (1986) represents the social world. It tells us about the communities in which we

live, our shared values and beliefs, and it tells us something about our common understanding of social, political, and economic lives. It tells us a lot about the society and culture in which that person lived, about good and evil, and about humanity's greatest—and worst—moments (Sacks:1972).

The 'narrative turn' in the social sciences from the 1980s, was motivated epistemologically by a renewed academic interest in the importance of narrative and 'narrative rationality' in the production of human knowledge (Barthes 1977; Bruner 1986; Fisher 1987; MacIntyre 1984; Polkinghome 1988), and politically by progressive academics, including feminists (see for example Reinharz & Chase 2002), determined to give a 'voice' to marginalized social sgroups (Gray 2003; Plummer 2001). It manifested itself in a renewed interest in the stories of the researched, whether biographies or autoethnographies (Finnegan, 1992; Hinchman and Hinchman, 1997; Mishler, 1995; Riessman, 1993).

Susan Chase's seminal article (2005) on the qualitative ethnographic approach to 'narrative inquiry' is a central influence on this thesis's methodology. For Chase a 'life history' or 'personal narrative' can be – as it is for this thesis - 'an extended story about a significant aspect of one's life such as…a trauma' (2005: 652). Crucially, the researcher did not use the interview to unearth objective historical or sociological data about past events or social structures, but instead was concerned with the development of a narrative whose focus is on the *subjective* insiders' view of 'the meanings that events hold for those who lived through them' (2005: 652).

Chase identifies five 'analytic lenses' to understand the role of narrative in social science research:

1. It is 'retrospective meaning making – the shaping and ordering of past experience', which necessarily involves points of view and interpretations (2005: 656).

2. It is a performing of the 'self, experience and reality' (2005: 657) through the creative voice of the narrator, rather than some unmediated 'reflection' of events and people in the 'real world'.   This must also include Gray's argument regarding the specific use of narrative structures in the ordering of that experience: 'it is important to insist that the life story is not a direct expression of one's life – this is an impossibility. It will always be a tale told, that is, it will be constructed, it will have a narrative form and pattern'. (Gray 2003: 116; see also Faber 2000). Similarly for Plummer, life stories cannot simply be 'told', but are 'composed': 'the

stories of our lives are indeed constructed, fabricated, invented, made up' (Plummer, 2001: 238).

3. The stories are 'both enabled and constrained by a range of social resources and circumstances' such as the discursive repertoires available to the story-teller (2005: 657), which is also to say that the narrative's construction is always mediated by socio-cultural discourses and ideologies.

4. The narratives are 'socially situated interactive performances…a joint production of narrator and listener' (2005: 657). This alerts us to the active supportive role of the interviewer in helping to construct, and not just to collect, biographical information from interviewees ((Hollway and Jefferson, 2000; Holstein and Gubrium, 1995; Maynard, 1994). The key helpful text here is Atkinson's *The Life Story Interview* (1998), which argues: `In a life story interview, the interviewee is a storyteller, the narrator of the story being told, whereas the interviewer is a guide, or director, in this process. The two together are collaborators, composing, constructing a story the teller can be pleased with' (1998: 9).

5. The researchers themselves are interpretive narrators as analysts. This can for example materialize in a further thematic analysis chapter, as is here the case.

4.4 Sampling procedure

Those interviewed in the research were chosen using purposive sampling or what other scholars refer to as non-probability sampling. Here samples are chosen that "will yield the most relevant and plentiful data" (Yin 2011: 88), and from whom the research will 'obtain the broadest range of information and perspectives on the subject of study" (Kuzel, 1992: 37). A non-probability or purposive sampling method was employed to gather participants. Non-probability sampling refers to a procedure in which one cannot specify the probability that any member of the population will be included in the sample (Cozby, 2007). Neuman (2003) stated that in purposive sampling, the researcher uses his own judgment to select the research participants in order for them to be able to correspond with the research aims.

More so, research participants can be included according to characteristics such as specific knowledge or experience relating to the goals of the study. An advantage of this sampling method is that it provides the researcher with the opportunity to select research participants that have direct knowledge of the phenomenon being studied, so that they can provide directly relevant perceptions and opinions relating to the study (Henning, van Renburg, & Smit, 2004).

Cozby (2007) stated that this sampling technique affords the researcher the opportunity to deal with participants who have actively been involved with or affected by the phenomenon being studied and as such can provide specific and relevant information. Neuman (2003) also stated that an advantage of purposive sampling is that the researcher becomes able to select unique cases that are particularly informative and relevant.

A further benefit of this sampling method is that it is inexpensive and convenient to make contact with prospective participants whilst an obvious disadvantage of purposive sampling is that it can increase the risk of selection bias, which may result in difficulties related to the generalization of results to the population (Cozby, 1997; Neuman, 2003); while another disadvantage is that it does not allow representation of the entire population to be a part of the study as they may not have any experience with the phenomenon being assessed. Thus, non-probability sampling does not lend itself well to generalising the results to the population as a whole as it does not generate a group of participants that can be said to be representative of the population (Cozby, 2007). As previously mentioned, it should be noted that the researcher of this study is not attempting to make any form of generalization from the specific cases to the population but only aims to relate the research participants' lived experiences to existing theories.

For the selection of research participants, the following inclusion criteria were employed in

order to select suitable participants:

 1. The participants were foreigners in South Africa, the research employed three male participants and one female participant. These participants came from different countries and these are; Kebo Sakala from Tanzania, Cush Lupombo from Burundi, Amos Manyuchi from Zimbabwe and Mama Lwimba from Zambia.

2. The participants lived in South Africa (Durban).

3. The participants experienced xenophobia.

Further the researcher employed the snowballing sampling strategy to identify the unit of study. Snowball sampling is a non-probability sampling technique where existing study subjects recruit future subjects from among their acquaintances; it is often referred to as chain sampling or referral sampling (Yin 2011). Those selected for their life-stories are foreigners who were

caught up in the xenophobic attacks of 2015. The selection ensured distribution among different nationalities, gender and social class.

Data was gathered from the selected sample using semi-structured interviews. This type of interview, according to Yin, has three advantageous characteristics: (1) there is no tightly-scripted questionnaire: "The researcher will have a mental framework of study questions, but the specifically verbalized questions as posed to any given participant will differ according to the context and setting of the interview"; (2) avoiding any 'uniform behaviour' for all interviews by relying upon a 'conversational mode', the interview "will lead to a social relationship of sorts, with the quality of the relationship individualized to every participant"; and (3) the interviewer uses "open rather than closed-ended questions" to elicit in-depth answers (Yin 2011: 134-135). As Meyer importantly points out, "within this framework, research participants are seen as active meaning makers rather than passive information providers, and interviews offer a unique opportunity to study these processes of meaning production directly" (2008: 70). The interviews will be aiming to build 'life stories'.

4.5 Reliability and validity

This study followed the tenets of the 'new ethnography', and thus its validity was guided by Paula Saukko's notion of 'dialogic validity', which evaluates research "in terms of how well it manages to capture the lived realities of others" (2003: 19). The goal of new ethnographic research is to develop modes of study and writing that enable the scholar to be truer to the lived realities of other people. Thus, "new ethnographic" practice is often characterized by various strategies, such as collaboration, that aim to increase the participant's say on the way in which the study is conducted and their lives reported. Another characteristic feature of new ethnography is self-reflexivity, which aims to enhance the scholar's awareness of the social and cultural tropes that mediate her/his understanding of worlds that may be radically different from hers/his. Furthermore, 'poly-vocality' draws attention to the fact that lived realities are many, and in order to do them justice one may need to listen to multiple voices or perspectives (2003: 72-73).

In addition to this it thus apt to note that those interviewed were able to read the narratives that guided the thesis for their comments before examination/publication; the researcher foregrounded her own theoretical and political interests, and a range of views on the central issues were courted. The qualitative method focuses on individual characteristics and

experiences of human beings; hence it was selected for the present study that concentrated on the experiences of four individuals. The narrative approach was selected as it provided a suitable research design in which to give an account of a subject's experience in accordance with the research, in this case the lived experience of xenophobia (de Vos et al., 2005). The researcher aimed to provide an accurate representation of the lived experiences of the four research participants involved in the present case study without generalizing their stories to other cases but instead relating them to existing theories.

4.6 Procedure and Data Collection

Permission to conduct the study was gained from the University of KwaZulu Natal after the research protocol was reviewed by the Research Ethics Committee. Thereafter the research participants were selected through referrals from fellow citizens from the researcher's country of birth (Zimbabwe) and other countries in the southern region who had suffered the turmoil. A letter of recruitment (see Appendix A) was given to the research participants and informed consent was obtained from them in writing (see Appendix B).

Data for the study was obtained by having the participants complete a biographical questionnaire. The biographical questionnaire included demographic data on the participants' age, nationality, race, gender, and how many years the participant had lived in South Africa. This information served to confirm that the research participants were suitable for inclusion in the study (see Appendix C). Subsequent to this, semi-structured in-depth interviews were conducted individually with each of the participants. All interviews were audio-recorded in accordance with the permission granted by the research participants when they signed the informed consent form. There was no specific venue for the interviews; this was done to create a comfortable atmosphere for the participants. This data was then transcribed and analysed using the Tesch's 1990 model of data analysis.

Semi-structured interviews are beneficial both for the researcher and the research participants as they are flexible. This flexibility provides the researcher with the opportunity to follow up particularly interesting aspects that may arise during the interview. For the participants, this form of interview allows the participant to provide a more comprehensive description of the phenomenon being studied by allowing additional information to be gathered during the interview process (de Vos et al., 2005). It is apt to note that with this form of data collection the participants are given some control in terms of the direction that the interview takes and

have the opportunity to introduce a topic that the researcher had not considered (de Vos et al., 2005). Semi-structured interviews make use of a set of predetermined questions on an interview schedule and are guided, rather than dictated, by the schedule.

The interview schedule (see Appendix D) used open-ended questions which allowed the participants to provide as much or as little information as they chose (Breakwell, Fife-Schaw, Smith & Hammond, 2006). The semi-structured format meant that questions are set out before the interviews and the interviewer asks the participants these questions and then follows up, explores and probes the answers given by the participants as required. The participants were debriefed verbally by the researcher after the interviews in order to ensure that the interviewees were comfortable and to answer any questions they may have had regarding the interviews. According to Struwig and Stead (2001) debriefing with the interviewees after the interviews is of vital importance.

4.7 Data Analysis

The audio-recorded data was transcribed separately by the researcher and a thematic analysis model was employed for analysing data. The steps of the model that were followed by the researcher are:

1. The researcher gets a sense of the whole, by reading through all the transcripts. Some ideas are jotted down.

2. One interview is chosen to start the analysis. Thoughts are written down as they occur.

3. The researcher completes this with several of the participants' transcribed interviews. A list of all found themes is compiled. Similar themes are clustered together and formed into columns. The columns are then arranged according to major themes.

4. These themes are then abbreviated and codes and descriptive wording are given to

each theme.

5. The researcher allocates the most appropriate descriptive wording for each of the themes and then turns them into categories. Grouping themes that relate to each other reduces the total number of categories.

6. The researcher makes a final decision on the abbreviation for each category and then assembles them alphabetically.

7. The data that belongs to each category is then assembled and a preliminary analysis performed.

8. Consensus discussions are held by the researcher and an independent coder regarding the findings (Yin; 2011).

Furthermore, Guba's model of trustworthiness (1985) was utilised in order to reduce bias whilst analysing the data (Krefting, 1991). Guba's model (1985) outlines credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability as the criteria for assessing qualitative research. According to Guba and Lincoln (1985), credibility refers to the confidence in the truth of data and involves prolonged engagement and persistent observation.

According to Willig (2008) credibility refers to whether the researcher has established confidence in the truth of the findings. This can be achieved by presenting accurate descriptions of human experience so that people with knowledge of such experience would be able to instantly recognize the description. In the current study, the researcher has described the lived experience of the research participants accurately employing audio recordings, the work of the independent coder, the researcher's own professional training, and her experience of the interviews.

Transferability refers to the extent to which findings can be transferred to another setting and generalised (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Krefting (1991) stated that transferability refers to the degree to which the findings can be generalized to other contexts and that research meets this criterion when the findings from a study fit into contexts outside of the study situation. In this study no transference of findings was attempted by the researcher as transference of findings is not part of the aim of the study. Dependability refers to data stability and concerns the issue of whether independent researchers using the same conditions and same data would replicate the research findings (Guba & Lincoln, 1985; Krefting, 1991).

Confirmability refers to the objectivity of the research data such that two or more independent people would agree about data relevance or meaning (Guba & Lincoln, 1985), which was reiterated by Krefting (1991) when he stated that confirmability refers to freedom from bias in the research procedures and results. The independent coder employed in the present study served to ensure the dependability and confirmability of the research conducted.

4.8 Ethical Considerations

When conducting research, a researcher will invariably be met with and forced to make decisions regarding ethical considerations. It is imperative that the ethical aspect of research is handled in a professional manner. According to Vorster (2002), ethical guidelines provide a foundation for the researcher to evaluate her own conduct. In the present study, the researcher consistently strived towards maintaining proper ethical practice and a level of professionalism and accountability that one would expect from a study at a tertiary institution involving human beings and a potentially sensitive issue such as xenophobia. Thus, the approval of the Faculty's Research Committee as well as the Ethics Committee of the university was sought and achieved before commencing the study.

It was foremost in the mind of the researcher that a variety of factors must be considered when dealing with people from different cultural contexts. First and foremost was the issue of confidentiality to keep all details of the research participants' private and to not disclose any details to third parties, hence pseudonyms were used to ensure anonymity. The respondents were informed that their data would remain confidential and that their data would not be used for any other purpose than that described in the study and this was in accordance with what transpired during the research. The data recorded from the participants were coded so as to ensure the anonymity of the participants, and the data have remained confidential. The strict measures that were taken to ensure confidentiality included storing the audio-recordings safely during the study and after the research has been completed the audio-recording will eventually be destroyed and all identifying information relating to the research participants will be deleted or disguised in the findings of the research. Voluntary, informed consent was obtained from all participants in writing before they participated in the research. This was done to protect both the participants, researchers and the research itself (de Vos et al., 2005). It should also be mentioned that the participation in the present study was on a voluntary basis with no remuneration or incentives offered to the participants.

4.9 Conclusion

The methodology of the present study has been outlined by describing and discussing the research design, sampling method, data collection method as well as the data analysis method that has been employed. In addition, the researcher's methodological considerations and ethical precautions have been mentioned. In the following chapter, the findings and discussions of the study are presented.

Chapter 5: Interviews (Xenophobic Experiences)

5.1: Amos Manyuchi (Zimbabwe)

Amos is a 35 -year- old truck driver from Zimbabwe and lives in South Africa in the high density suburbs of Durban (Verulam). Amos made his way into South Africa in 2007. He has lived in South Africa for nine years, and has been a victim of both the 2008 and 2015 xenophobic attacks. The economic and political unrest in Zimbabwe has led him to South Africa to seek for a better life. As a qualified artisan from Zimbabwe the chances of him landing himself a job in his specialised field both at home and abroad have been close to impossible, hence he has settled for a job as a driver which he has been making a living from for some time. His first port of call in South Africa was Polokwane in Pietersburg and there he worked as a driver as well. As he narrates his 2015 experience tears lingered in his eyes and the researcher could not help but shed a tear as well. Amos told his story in the hope that his voice and that of his fellow friends who are non-citizens in South Africa could be heard…

Welcome to this interview where we will go into detail about the experience you had during the 2015 attacks. Which language are you comfortable with before we can begin?

Ini ndinotaura six *ma* languages (I speak six languages) besides English that makes them seven. We can't really put it on the list hey because it's the mode of communication globally.

What do you do in South Africa?

I am a driver but I am qualified in being a fitter and turner, working for Radar in Bulawayo before I got retrenched.

Why did you come to South Africa?

Well, the situation back home was bad and is still bad, so basically I came here to find means to support my family. And one other thing: the political unrest in Zimbabwe took away all the hope that Zimbabwe will be back in shape anytime soon.

What challenges have you faced before during and after the attacks?

What I can say is ehhh I started staying here in Durban in 2008. I came here in Durban that was in March and then in April of 2008 it started. So both of them affected me a lot.

The first attack you became a victim as well?

2008 I was here and it affected me, however I started staying in South Africa in 2007 but I was in Polokwane Petersburg and then when I came here in 2008. The attacks started in Johannesburg in areas like Alexandra there but by the time the wave came here in Durban I wouldn't want to call it xenophobia but it was just mere thuggery. It was about stealing and looting, it was not that bad…yes there are some other issues right like jealousy. They say we take their girlfriends, wives - we all know that but we are not sure to what extent is that true.

Ok. Apart from this what else is the foreigner being accused of?

They say we take their jobs that was the case and argument put forward for 2008. These were the issues raised of which in a sense no one is taking anyone's job in that much everyone knows that if you are qualified to do a certain job you definitely go and do it. Because the very same person who wants that job is not qualified to do it in the first place. Secondly it's - (stammers) what can I say - when you are working (it is) the level of literacy number 1, level of understanding, number 2, and above all your level of education right which makes you to outclass the rest whether local or foreigner just like me.

So what then happens when this happens?

The locals will fight and raise questions like why this one? why not me? why not him? why not them? You see that is what was happening in 2008 and this is now 2015 I had just come back from home from burying my brother that was in March of last year. Again it was almost the period like that of 2008.

So there is a significance of dates or period of attacks?

Yes, and what happened in April of last year the attacks were about businesses mostly the spaza owners and the locals. These were mostly against the people of Ethiopian and Somali descent, because if you go around in South Africa these people own most of the small businesses and the Pakistan people as well.

What then was the fight in all this?

Well the issue was ehhh…(stammers) the locals who owned the same businesses like them were so jealous. We all know that this is not your place (foreigner); you try by all means to conquer friendship with the locals, you try by all means. They come to your shop you give them mealie meal, you give them chicken, you give them anything and they will pay you at the

end of the month as agreed. Because you want to develop trust as business owner and customers and you also need your business to grow and you want them to come back tomorrow. According to local businessmen they do not do that at all.

So what then do the local business people do?

They use the cash and carry system which is really not the ideal way of doing business with the people in the high density suburbs because most of them survive on grants so the money is too little to cater for the needs of the whole family. I will give an example of a 65 or 75- year-old magogo (granny) who has 5 or more grandchildren and probably does not get or gets an old age grant but has some means of living that cannot sustain the family for the month. This magogo (granny) comes to you and needs few groceries in your shop and promises to pay at a given date. Foreigners will sign up to that because most of them from where they come they value the community - to them it is a family.

So from this jealousy sprouted in the locals?

Yes! this was the issue on the forefront. I can tell you about a friend of mine who stays there in Mahlabathini an Ethiopian who owns a spaza shop was attacked and his spaza shop was demolished and he later found out the next spaza shop to him which was owned by a local had the attack engineered.

So what then happened?

It was attacked at night and goods were looted after which the building was demolished; he is a very close friend of mine. So it was initially about the businesses and take note I am talking about Durban where I am staying right now, not the rest of South Africa. There came like eh! what can I say hooligans who took advantage of the situation that is where the issue of looting comes in.

What happened with these hooligans?

There is a neighbour who has had access to my house they know I have a fridge, a sound system and a lot more of house property that they do not have in their own houses. Sometimes you drink together and even venture into different businesses together.

So these people in other words are friends as well?

Yes, before all this happened we were friends and they are coming after my things not me per-se. This is what happened in 2015.

So 2015 xenophobia was totally about businesses?

Well, again like I said mostly it was agitated by the issue of spaza shops which gave a leeway to these chancers to fight foreigners on other issues as well that were also the main issues of 2008. For example, jobs. There is a Malawian man who was killed here in Verulam during the attacks and the issue was about the job.

Can you briefly describe the events that unfolded regarding this man who was killed because of the issue of jobs?

That guy was a forklift driver at a company which I won't mention the name (pauses). He was earning a lot of money. He was new at the company and all his papers were valid and all right. In the morning on his way to work in an area where this guy worked a local from the same company tipped off his guys and said this is the guy.

What then happened?

He was questioned by the same work mate; how he has come to earn that much when he has been with the company for more than 8 years and has not got the recognition of such a salary but him as a newcomer gets to come and earn more than him.

What then was the response of this guy?

He never replied. They 'hacked' him in the bush with bush knives and machetes in the bushes and that was it.

So in your own personal capacity besides the looting that took place where you live what was your experience of these attacks? How has it affected you?

(Raises voice) First and foremost there is no trust, she might be a woman or what. I have lost trust in South Africans because where I lived we had local women who had us foreigners as their boyfriends but they turned their boyfriends in and sold them out to the local hooligans who came out to loot in our homes. Because it's my girlfriend she knows what is inside my house. The looting basically took away the right over my belongings to the girlfriend and as a foreigner I am not entitled to own such (sheds a tear). There is a certain lady that I know in her house you can't walk, there is everything - fridges, washing machines, you name it. These were looted from the foreigners.

Did you report to the police?

Only those who had the guts to go to the police got their stuff back but some of us were afraid and we never got back our stuff. All I can say is there are people who are allergic to cops, you know what am talking about (smiles laughs). For myself there is no trust in the locals and secondly its anger and thirdly hatred but I doubt if it's the right word to use because I feel like I hate nobody but am filled with hatred. Because my God and their God should be one God. And I do not know how God will deal with them but trust and anger top it all. Those are the two things that are in me. I just feel it's taking advantage of someone who is working tirelessly to make and earn a life.

How do you justify that its taking advantage when they feel it's the right thing to do?

Because I go and work for a R100 per day (interviewer interrupts)

So in a month you make about R3000 per month?

I work six days per week jus for a mere R100 per day right. When these locals are being called to work for the same amount they say it's too little they need a rise to maybe R200 per day. You see at the end of the month I get that small salary of mine. I buy my flat screen T.V. I buy my fridge. They say *uyahola lomuntu buka!* (he is getting paid this one look!) but they do not know that it is from the very small job salary they refused to take.

So what is the view of South Africans when it comes to the job issue?

Ahh! well what I can say is I can afford to take care of myself and family from the small salary I earn. Their problem now is they want big money. The thing is one always starts small and as you work the money becomes big. South Africans lack education firstly and I will stand on that ground in South Africa and I will s-ta-n-d on that ground (puts emphasis) that is what caused xenophobia in South Africa.

Why is your emphasis mainly on lack of education?

Well because an educated black man like myself I cannot attack an Angolan or a Malawian to mention but a few of them in my country or anywhere for that matter.

Why is it so?

Because I know they ran away from their home…. I cannot attack a Mozambican I know they ran away from war or the hardships being faced in their country in search of better living. It

could be a war or economic hardships because I know what he is here for. That simply shows that I am a friend to him, he trusted me my people and my country that we can take care of him during these trying times. And to his disappointment I must attack him - I just think that is stupid (frowns).

So……….?

That is all about xenophobia it is stupidity you can't just attack people, moreover the ones you have known and have developed a relationship with and have stayed together for say 3-5 years. Whatever attack on the foreigners is not justified.

Well what has this anger caused between foreigners and locals particularly yourself and the locals?

As for myself and mostly Zimbabweans, Mozambicans and Malawians you know those countries are very close right (interviewer nods head). I can say the anger is being contained and maintained so that there is peace but there is no peace deep inside, people are boiling and we are pretending. One may not have been attacked but they attacked a friend or a relative. How will I feel in that situation? I can't just up and say *baxolele Nkulunkulu* (forgive them God). I am not a celestial somebody, I am just myself, I am a human being, they do not know what they are doing. Mostly its Zimbabweans, Malawians - Mozambicans that anger is still there. I don't know about Ethiopians but I know anger is still there.

As a victim in this do you think there is something that can be done to maintain peace?

NO, the first thing that I realised is that ahhh South Africa has got a problem which is educational (pauses)…it is academical. South Africans only learn about history of the likes of Jan van Riebeeck Cape settlement 1652 something like that; they only learn about the Zulu wars, the Pedi wars, Lesotho kingdom, the Lishweshwe's kingdom, and Swazi kingdom. Most South Africans, I think they should make history a compulsory subject because they do not know where they came from; they do not know what happened because it's not only South Africa which has vast tribes in their countries who speak languages like Nguni. We have in Zimbabwe the Fengu; in Zambia the Lozi and Maseko; Ngoni there in Malawi and stuff. All those people came from here, and its only in the 1800s right (1820s or 60s I think) …

The Shaka period?

Yes! the Shaka period that is when those people ran away (raises voice). Concentrating on the Boer history in South Africa makes them forget to learn about Africa and hence they lack awareness of the benefits of Africa; they only know of the benefits of themselves as South Africans. I think they need to be taught history carefully and thoroughly; there is no history engagement here in South Africa.

Well in as much as you mention history I engaged in one interview where one blamed their action on apartheid. What's your take on that assumption?

Well which country didn't suffer apartheid in Africa besides Ethiopia and Liberia? Apartheid is not only South Africa. If you go to Namibia, there was a holocaust about 10000 Namas and Hereros were killed by Germans. If you go to the Congo it was the same. I will give you an example of a man failing to pay the rubber tax there would have their daughter or son killed. This South African apartheid brainwashed them because they were the last people in the southern region to gain independence; even in Zimbabwe the situation was bad. Apartheid has nothing to do with this stupidity of xenophobia. We all suffered in Africa and our actions cannot be blamed on our colonial history. A lot of inhumane things were done to Africans, and after winning against the colonial governments' we embrace our Africanism. Its only South Africa that distances itself from the rest and feel they are superior to other Africans.

What then is your advice to South Africa?

Well, South Africa should embrace education and desist from making themselves superior to the other. They should learn to value themselves and other Africans. Look at Zimbabwe - we have Malawians, Mozambicans, Angolans, Tanzanians, Zambians. The list is endless but we do not engage in these stupid protests because our economy is bad. If things are not sitting well in the economy, health sector, jobs to mention a few we do not blame it on the existence of foreigners. Its poor governance and that's it. South Africans should shift their focus from foreigners rather and look at the government which has failed to produce results for them.

How do you justify this?

Eh! if you look at it these attacks they start in the high densified areas and the government officials are sitting there in high places and never care to come and see what is on the ground. They should come and see what is happening here *ekasi* because they stay there in Sandton, Umhlanga Rocks etc. They do not have knowledge of what is on the ground. The government

is at fault and it should intervene not perpetuate the situation. The government of South Africa fails to provide and meet the demands of the people and thereafter engages in hate speech. For example, the King of the Zulus started this war. All I can say is God is not sleeping neither does he drink alcohol. It's only one-day South Africa will suffer a very! very! strong fate and will need assistance from other countries and as for myself if God could give me the chance to be the president of Zimbabwe I will never allow a South African in my country I am telling you! And I am telling! This is true because this thing is very! very! painful (sheds tears).

How did you manage to survive the attacks?

Eh! where I was staying we were vigilant all night because no one was attacking during the day but at night. Where I stay it mostly the Indian-Muslim community um! so it's mostly Zimbabweans and Malawians who stay there because of the receptive nature of these people. We spoke to the owners of the places…there were 4 entry points, we organised ourselves into groups of four and nobody who was from Chappies would come because they knew foreigners had teamed up with the Muslims and Indians to safeguard ourselves because we had already lost a lot of property and others brutally beaten and killed. It was so fortunate that they never attempted again to come to the area because we were ready to kill somebody I am telling you.

So during the day people carried on with their normal duties like nothing happened?

Yes! we would only man the entry points from 6 o'clock. We would go to work normally.

So how did this operation last before South Africans gave up?

We stayed for weeks in the bushes every day after work. If you are a man you would know that you are on night duty; we had no other way but to protect our families. It was more like a night war (laughs). There was no time to sleep. That's how we survived. Well, one day me and my nephew - our friend he was staying in one of the most hit areas of xenophobia there in Thandanani - we went there to check on him and only to find out that his landlord had looted his property in his house. We wanted to do our own investigation so we went by the tavern where there were some local boys. Some of them we saw them as we were driving down here. When we got inside the tavern we were three and some of them started pulling out of the tavern and some guys remained inside so we quickly noticed that these people are up to something and we went out. When we were outside they started attacking us with knobkerries, machetes and pangas and we ran for our lives. They chased us big time (silence) haiii !!! (laughs). They

chased us big time but they never caught us. What I realised is that was the day I first slept after a long time.

Why on this day specifically?

Because that's when I realised that we had won the fight by managing to escape. We were from the high density (area) and we ran to the low density place that's where we found escape. This place is filled with the Indians (pauses). You saw that first garage…

Yes!! I did…

That's is where we escaped to from Thandanani there where you came and fetched me from.

That is quite a distance!

Yes!! it is. We were being chased firstly by about 8 guys or 10 guys but by the time we were now in the Indian area the number had increased to about 30 guys in all. It simply showed us how badly they wanted us. They only stopped when they saw us in the Indian area. They never crossed that road there by the garage; all they could do is shout at us and insult us promising us they will get hold of us and it wasn't the end of the fight. That was the first day I slept. We found refuge at a lady's house there.

So what then happened the following day? Didn't you say the attackers took advantage of the load shedding in Verulam?

I went back to my house and told the other guys what had happened the previous night and told them they will never come to this area again and I didn't need anyone to come to my door knocking to have me guard at any entry point. I wasn't giving up but they gave me the courage and assurance that they were scared of Indians and they would never come to the area which has a lot of Indians. However, on the same day electricity came back it was as if there was an agreement with the power people to have these hooligans capitalise on power cuts and so the attacks vanished on the fateful day.

Ok! So from all this experience you did not suffer any injuries or anything physical. How then do you justify yourself as a victim of xenophobia?

Right! what I have suffered most is emotional torture, loss of property, and just living in fear, but what hurts the most in all this is being attacked by somebody whom you thought was a friend and even today they still come to you and pretend like everything is just fine. They even ask for small favours to top it all but they forget what they did to me and my friends and family.

So what then is your responses to such since you are still boiling in anger for these same people?

Shockingly these people forget that they are lazy and do not want to go to work they come to you eehh!! *mfethu ngicela iR5* (friend can I have R5), *mfethu awungibhemise* (friend can I have a cigarette). One of them came to me about two months back and asked for a cigarette. I just told him off, you think am mad or I have forgotten or am stupid (laughs). So you see, South Africa should do something very! very! very! fast because this issue will never affect a foreigner more than it will affect them South Africans.

Can you elucidate further what you mean by that?

The South Africans it's like they are putting fire inside their own eyes, because even right now if I had to go back home if I see a South African I will just feel like let me try something on this man.

So the anger has reached to that point?

Yah! obvious and the reporters will even report on that issue and they South Africans will see it all over the news that there has been a South African who has been attacked to death here and one thing they will learn from others is that life is not only in South Africa; there is life all over Africa.

What (shocked)?

Yes! (bangs table) So that they know and for them to know if you attack in the outside maybe that will make them reason somehow but well they are too dull (laughs). They won't even understand the point of the attack and the lesson to be taken from there. But they need to know that we are Africans and those borders are imperialist borders. Africa has no borders; it's just our governments which are wicked I don't even know why they still have the borders anyway. Every African especially black African is related to one another somewhere somehow and we all know that. However, I do not know if it is because of their level of understanding or education they do not know that. Once you jump the Limpopo they call you a kwerekwere right because it's an imperial system which Cecil John Rhodes put to divide and rule. Before there was nothing like that you could go anywhere without those names. There are Tswana, Sotho,

Shangani, Pedi speaking people in Zimbabwe and in South Africa and Venda speaking people in Botswana and Zimbabwe which shows us that one way or the other we are one, but you hear a Zulu boy or a Zulu man calling me a Shangaan because they hear me speaking a language that they do not understand. In fact, this makwerekwere thing is a war that the Zulus will turn against the small minority tribes like the Pedi's, Shangani's and Venda people because they want to dominate and from what I have witnessed in my stay in Polokwane and here in Durban, Zululand like I said this will affect them more than the foreigner is that there is already hatred of the other between these small tribes, and the Pedi's especially hate the Zulus and I think the same goes for the Zulus.

Thank you so much for your time. If there is anything concerning this interview, please allow me to contact you again.

5.2   Cush Lupombo(Burundi)

Living in a similar place to Johannesburg's Hillbrow - in Durban's Albert Park - 29-year-old Lupombo has suffered xenophobic attacks. As he sits on his wooden chair narrating his experience from the time he moved from Burundi after losing his parents to a civil war, one could tell that his previous experience of violence had made him strong but what he was hoping for in a country like South Africa [which is free from civil wars] was a dream that never materialised because the xenophobic attacks left him with an egg in his face. After the loss of his family Lupombo could not face losing his own now, a wife and child. Through his experience the reader is taken through what could have been some of the worst experiences any human being could have lived through.

Please introduce yourself.

I am a refugee from Burundi and I am 29 years old. I have been living in South Africa for the past 10 years and this means I came here in 2005 just before the civil war in Burundi came to pass. I was 19 then and since then I haven't returned back home.

What was the main reason for coming to South Africa?

I came to South Africa fleeing the civil war in my country. My country knows no peace and it is too populated and very poor, there is practically no means of survival there.

From what you just said it seems you were here long before the first wave emanated. Where you a victim to both attacks?

I witnessed the first one but I was not a victim because I was not attacked. The second xenophobia wave was the problem because it was situated here in Durban , that is where it started. So having moved from Burundi to Durban has made me a victim of this unjust attack.

Briefly take us through your own experience of the attacks of 2015?

It all started in April when I was busy minding my own business in town where I sell vegetables and fruits close to where I stay in Alexandra Street in Albert Park. I saw people moving in numbers carrying all sorts of destructive tools. So because of the language they were speaking even those close to my vending shop I didn't know what was going on. I just thought it is a political march since South Africans have a tendency of demonstrating. I don't know what made me not realise it quickly that no! These people were not in any party regalia and the tools carried were not familiar from other political protests.

What then happened?

Ahhh I was shocked and because I couldn't hear language I kept sitting there. It was only when they were closer to me that I decided to run off. I didn't think of my stuff I was selling because it was people running all over town. Well so I had to run as well as I ran from town to Berea. It was already getting late so I thought to myself no! Berea is safe so I started walking to my flat where I used to stay in Albert Park.

So when you ran you were not beaten up or anything?

What happened is I met these guys who beat me up some time ago because of these issues of foreigner and local. They beat me some time in 2014 and they left me unconscious so to them they thought I was dead and this happened in Berea again by Moore Road there.

Why did they beat you then?

It was an issue of a job that I had secured at a security company so I had to replace a certain guy and he was South African. He used to guard a complex in Berea there so because sometimes he would dodge work they had me go and replace him so that is where the grudge was.

So when you met these guys what happened?

Eish! my sister I tried to run but it was useless they were a mob they surrounded me and they beat me so hard and I broke my ribs and I was even stitched in the head.

Please go on…

I was left there lying on the road only to get help from a certain metro policewoman who was crossing the street from a nearby garage; when they saw her they took off. She called the ambulance and I was admitted in the hospital for a week. They took everything on me and I had no ways to contact my family to tell them I was safe. So when I was discharged I went back to my flat and only to find out a lot of people were not there, my family included.

What happened to your family?

Ehhh! the place we stay is full of foreigners so it became an easy target for these people to attack so they ran away when the violence was out of control.

Where did they run to?

Well, they ran to offices in Berea for help!

What offices are these?

There is an office for refugees in Berea/Glenwood where refugees are given food and sometimes shelter and staff.

So did you go and look for them?

A certain lady a local coloured told me that it is where they ran off to and assured me they will be fine there but as a man I wanted to find out for myself.

So, what did you do?

I went there the following morning to find out what was going on, only to find out that those who ran away from their homes because of this violence had been moved to different camps around Durban. So I had to move from one camp to the other to find them and be sure that they were ok.

At this point in time when you were moving up and down had you fully recovered and were you not scared they might attack you?

I was better but I had to find my family.

You are saying you had to move from one camp to the other looking for your family. Wasn't there a system whereby they wrote their names down to make it easier when you were looking for them?

No, they did not give me any names of any camp where I can find them they just gave me different places where these people had dispersed themselves because they felt the offices there were not offering them better services.

So did you find your family?

Yes, I did! They narrated to me what had happened to them.

What happened to them?

They said when they arrived at the refugee centre they were not quick to tell them what was going to happen to them because there was no place for them to stay there, so my wife says she and two other women decided to leave before it was dusk because they had heard that in Isipingo a camp was opened there. So they left and got taxis by the market there to Isipingo.

So they secured shelter in Isipingo?

Yes, that is where I found them and like I also had no choice I joined them because going back to Albert Park was a bit scary because of these attacks, and secondly the living conditions there are not conducive. We are constantly raided by police at night when we are sleeping, so initially I can say there is no peace there. You take the day as it goes and thank God for each and every day you make it in peace.

How was it like there?

Well, the reception was good but what we all could not understand was when the situation looked better they wanted us to leave and go back to our homes. They say that because they do not know how dangerous their people are.

Did you want to go back or you were now scared?

No one wanted to go back to their rented homes because the situation back there was scary; having to face an angry mob was one last thing anyone wanted. South Africans were constantly attacking us on the streets and in our homes taking stuff from us and even the spaza shops that were foreign run they looted everything, so honestly we did not want to leave. Leaving meant starting to rebuild our lives again and it is not easy hee!

So what did you do?

The camp was eventually closed when everything had stabilised but the fear of not being safe was haunting me.

So when the camp closed where did you go?

Like I had a choice, I went back to where I used to stay in Albert Park after a lot of quarrels with my wife who wanted us to stay in Isipingo and not return back to Albert Park.

What made her change her mind since you are saying she did not want to go back?

I reasoned with her. Told her look, this place is full of black South Africans and it was one of the hardest hit areas so we can't be safe here. It's unlike there in Albert Park, it's more like home because we are a lot of foreigners there and generally the place is more of coloured and Indian and a few South Africans, so it was going to be a bit safe there.

So upon your return there, what had changed? Was it still inhabitable?

The thing is ehhh…. whenever there is a problem in an area it's difficult to come back and act like everything is normal, it wasn't normal and like I said we were scared. The Coloured and Indian society here is welcoming they are unlike real black South Africans.

What do you mean by real?

Honestly you can call yourself South African but your real roots are not here. I am talking about if you are of an Indian origin. You came here as a slave and by default you were assimilated into the system but at some level and at the back of your mind you have something that whispers I am Indian if you get what am saying. So in as much as you are frustrated with the influx of foreigners you really can't stand up and join the fight because who knows with this behaviour of South Africans they can forget that you are an assimilated South African simply because you identify with the Indian or white race. Sometimes I even think South Africans are afraid to make a move on these other people like Indians and whites because they are different from us.

Why is it so?

Because if we dig deep these people are the most foreign ones in this country more than us the blacks. So if they are fighting us I feel they are fighting the wrong people that is if their issue is really about foreigners I might be a foreigner but I have African blood in me than those Indians and whites. So this war is racism maybe.

Ok, so in your own words what is xenophobia and what does it mean to you?

Well xenophobia is simply the fear of the existence of the poor countries in one's land. You fear their presence because you are intimidated that they are doing better than you or you haven't achieved a certain kind of life which is being led by a foreigner and jealousy emanates. I think it's simply an issue of insecurity and hate of poor African countries, because these are the ones they fight.

So from this experience of Xenophobia what have you learnt?

Ahhh it's hard to say but it's painful to have foreigners treated the way they were treated. But well at the same time we are just foreigners and most of us illegal so we really do not have a say over what happens or not. It's their country; if they can justify the violence and the killings we can't stop them from attacking. Some of us come from countries we have known no peace since child hood so it's not new to us we are used to it. We are used to seeing your loved ones being shot in front of you. I lost both my parents in a civil war in 2004 before I decided to come here fleeing the war; it was terrible but it has made me stronger.

So are you saying it is justified for South Africans to carry on with this violence?

No, all am saying is if they can justify it then let it be. Who are we to stop it if they do not want us in their country; they are not forced to have us here. If chasing us away through violence will make us leave their precious country, then foreigners will leave. But I really doubt violence will have foreigners leave; instead South Africans should find other means to disperse us if they no longer want us. Some of us come from war and poverty stricken countries so we wouldn't mind if the government of South Africa will employ us in the mines for cheap labour. But I don't see that happening because the other issue the locals are fighting with us is the issue of jobs.

Do you still want to be here because from what you saying you are bitter and it sounds you regret being here?

I regret obviously being here that's true. If I had known I would have run to countries like Mozambique, Zimbabwe or Zambia even though the economy there is bad but am sure I wouldn't have been regretting being there. Those countries are not violent and besides in as much as there is war and stuff back in Burundi it doesn't mean I don't miss home. War or no war it's my country and one day when things shape up I will go back to my country.

What has the experience of xenophobia taught you as an individual?

Well it has taught me that home is home; no matter how much you go through there, at least you are able to say I am home. South Africa is not home to me and will never be home to me, not because of the xenophobia alone but I feel I experience a level of discrimination every day. I can't identify myself with the rest, be it in a bank there is this queue for asylum users. When you trying to open an account there is a lot of stuff that they need from you which they clearly know you cannot get as an asylum seeker, so at the end of the day I just feel very foreign here - it's not my home and that's it (bangs arm rest).

Thank you so much for your time if there is anything that I would need from you I will get in contact.

5.3: Kebo Sakala (Tanzania).

As he set on the wooden chair by his vending corner one could easily tell that the man is not happy. The 34-year-old narrates his predicament of the 2015 experience filled with tears in his eyes but tries to hold them back because he is a 'man'. This was by far the most touching experience of a man who was a victim of both waves of the xenophobia in South Africa.

Off the record Kebo had a lot to share and as a street vendor close to the writer's house the two now share a very close relationship. Kebo came to South Africa after completing his Maritime studies in Tanzania. Upon his arrival in South Africa he had a lot of big dreams set out for his career as a maritime graduate but South Africa gave him another taste of life. Kebo has spent nine years in South Africa and last year gave him a fright because he had never seen violence of that level in his life. He is forced to stay despite the violence because he has a son he needs to take care of back home…

Please kindly take me through your biography. What do you do and where do you come from?

I am a 'deliver'. I deliver goods and I am from Tanzania.

Where do you work?

I work in the CBD for an Ethiopian.

So how do you earn a living in South Africa?

Like I said am a deliver and I am a vendor on days when I do not go to work and sometimes after work.

On that note please take me through the events that took place during the attacks.

The time these attacks started I was on duty and delivering goods to a certain shop on a trolley so I saw people running to the market there by the Workshop in Victoria Street. I then asked people what is going on? and they shouted xenophobia people are here to kill us. People were running – women, children - and there were a lot of injuries as people fell on top of each other.

After witnessing all this what was your immediate response?

All I could see was people fleeing for their lives and no one cared about another. It was about saving your skin. I quickly left the trolley there and fled for my life.

Since you were on duty what happened at work? Did you go back the same day or the following?

I returned to work the following day.

Did they take you back?

Yes! they did with no hesitation; actually it was a relief for my boss that I managed to escape and he never penalised me for losing the goods that I had left on the trolley on the road.

What challenges do you face as a migrant?

As a migrant I face a lot of challenges especially at work and where I live being surrounded by Zulu people who you really know do not want you in their country. I have suffered two waves of these attacks and it has not been easy for me.

Well in your own words what then is xenophobia to you?

For me (stammers) I am scared because I work with South Africans and we normally get into debates about this whole xenophobia thing and it gets messy at the end of the day. That is why I normally do not want to talk about my experience because the moment I do I get a serious headache which is beyond migraine headaches and doctors say it's the tremor I went through.

So what initially happened to you in 2008?

As a foreigner it is obvious I am not wanted here but to have it demonstrated to me in a ruthless violent and inhuman way is another thing. I am very unfortunate for I have witnessed both the

attacks and have been a victim. The first xenophobia in South Africa affected me badly and I was beaten up to the extent of suffering head injuries, moreover on my belly here. Look (shows me the belly). I was hospitalised for more than a month but I managed to recover. I was threatened by the police who told me to never talk to anyone about this after a journalist interviewed me and made a documentary which the police got hold of before it went viral.

So what has been the difference with the 2015 attacks?

The 2015 attacks (stammers)…. I would say they were more gentle on my part because I was not injured, just suffered minor bruises.

So what is it that you go through when you constantly talk about this?

Well…. (nods head and starts crying) it is scary because people have lost what I call humanity; they kill each other and burn each other which is scary and inhumane.

During these attacks where did you seek for safety?

I ran into another Ethiopian shop. Inside the shop we were three and we locked the shop. They came running after us and found the doors locked and they threatened to demolish the building. We just prayed for God to intervene and their attention was taken away by other people who came running past them, and there one of the attackers beat this woman with a stick (induku) and she fell down and started bleeding.

What were your reasons to come to South Africa from Tanzania (the push factor from Tanzania and the pull factor to south Africa)?

I came to find a life, so I can be able to provide for my son back home.

Meaning to say in Tanzania there is no life?

No there is, but everybody has his own decisions and we all can see that South Africa is better than most African countries in our region. Life is difficult, but there is no civil war - but it's a choice people make.

So is it an issue of jobs in Tanzania or what?

No one can secure a job in Tanzania but now it depends on who you know. Jobs are not found on merit these days in my country; it's all about who you know. It's just the same with here in South Africa the syndrome of who do you know has emanated as well so it's just the same. So for me migration is a choice - not that there is anything bad about Tanzania.

So leaving your country in search of a job in a country where you do not know anyone, how do you explain that?

Yah! (nodding head) People they think that (looks down and stretches head) like I said it's a choice I do not know anyone but you have friends who are here and can organise something for you at their places of work.

What was it like for you when you first arrived here in South Africa, how did society treat you?

Oh! the first time I arrived here it was not easy but I managed to settle in.

Well, why South Africa, and not Zambia Zimbabwe or any other country?

If you are somewhere you hear different stories and for those who are overseas when they return home for the holidays you see they have changed and have a better life so you just say South Africa is the place and you also make ways to come here. However, one thing one doesn't know is how you got the job that has put you to where you are; it could be skills or education and so forth. However, some people have a negative attitude towards South Africa because of its violent portrayal globally so at the end of the day it is one decision to say South Africa or Zambia.

How has the experience of living in South Africa been like?

Ahh! experience ahhh! I am a sea man, I studied maritime back home, but upon arrival here in South Africa ah! it's not easy to find a job.

How so?

Ehhh…. (stammers) here they refuse certificates from our home country but what we learn is the same. They say our certificates are not of high standards its low quality but to me I just see it as a way of discriminating because as an asylum seeker I have a right to an education so I enrolled for their maritime studies here and it was no different it was the same. The certificates are the same: the syllabus for the studies is from the U.N (United Nations). All over the world we use one syllabus, wherever you go it's the same.

So coming here did not land you into a job of your qualification?

(laughs) Yes! Yes! I came her for another job and I got another job.

Ok. So how did that make you feel?

It just made me feel less of myself and that South Africa thinks highly of itself.

So for you it hasn't been friendly because you came here with your qualifications and they did not get you a job you anticipated?

(laughs) Yes, because now am just a delivery boy from a maritime graduate from Tanzania and even here in South Africa.

Please explain to me how this has affected you?

Well, I would not say I was affected that much. Like I said to me this wave spared my life and it was not like the first one. I am just scared living in fear of what could happen. It is not pretty much a good feeling but however I just want this inhumane behaviour of burning each other to come to an end and if its ever going to happen again I would rather go back to my country than suffer here.

So how do you relate with South Africans after all this has befallen you as a foreigner?

(frowns) Ah! there is no relationship whatsoever with South Africans. There is no relationship here.

Well (laughs) I do not mean a boyfriend/girlfriend intimate relationship I am talking about the way you and South Africans used to communicate rather, has it changed or it's still the same?

Oh! you mean that. Well, honestly its different now because before you would relate very well staying nicely with each other and at least they would pretend to love you doing things together. For instance when smoking we would share a cigarette, but now we can't exchange that anymore because of the relationship ties that have been broken by these attacks.

So this demarcation is coming from where? Are they the South Africans or the foreigners?

(sullen)It is the South Africans; the relations have changed it's not like before.

Ok. How do you feel about xenophobia considering it's a thing that has never taken place in your country where you also have foreigners. What is the significance of xenophobia as an African in Africa?

Well, what I can say is Africa is one same blood same skin same colour so it doesn't have to discriminate by country or tribe, claiming that we take from them jobs and women. I think it's

not important; it's something when you are confronted by a South African man to man you can't talk about that it demeans your manhood.

Well having said all this what has made you stay regardless of what you have experienced and gone through in a violent environment?

(Pauses) Well, I don't really know what to say. I do want to go home but our president sent a flight for anyone who wanted to go home but the flight went back home empty.

(both Laugh)

(laughs) Well, why do people still hang on in a xenophobic South Africa when they are scared of their lives?

(laughs) Well, I do not know for other people but what I do know is people know it's a passing phase. It's not like a war which will go on for years or months it lasts a few weeks so those who manage to make it through will continue with their business as usual waiting for another attack in April the following year if there would be any attacks.

What then is your view of these attackers (South Africans) in general?

Well it is hard to say because there is a lot being said, some people believe it was the rural folk who started the attacks some say it is the urban folk. The argument around this is that only an uneducated bastard can think so low of the 'other' which is very unlikely with the educated and its not to my surprise that even here in the urban areas the towns are infested with uneducated fools, that is if we look at the literacy rate of South Africa compared to other countries in the region.

If we look at the areas where these attacks sprouted, it's in the high density suburbs like Umlazi and Isipingo to mention a few. So if we are to say rural areas then I think that is inaccurate for rural places like Nquthu which did not report any sort of violence during the time. What then do you mean?

Yes, they say it started in those areas. But honestly those areas are referred to as 'Kasi' where hooligans who have not made it in school from the rural areas come and start harassing even other South Africans by practising house break ins, stealing, atm jamming, to mention a few of these dirty crimes. Those are the same people who come to the city and practise this dirty work.

In your own words how do you value social capital?

Well, we live well in my area because the people there are educated and its more reason to say that the brain behind xenophobia is lack of education. Because all those who claim to have foreigners taking their job you ask them what qualifications they hold they do not have matric to say the least. So how can one cry for a job when he is not qualified for the job. The one thing these people do not realise is foreigners have the qualifications and even when they do not get a job they are qualified for they will swallow their pride and even work dirty jobs which the South Africans refuse and claim they do not pay. From those dirty jobs foreigners have managed to make a living and that bores South Africans. I am a deliver. I push trolleys delivering things within the CBD, but I am a graduate who then takes vending as a part time job and I am not ashamed of that so it's all about ambition and goals at the end of the day.

Thank you so much for your time. If there is anything else, I will get in contact with you.

5.4: Mama Lwimba (Zambia)

Mama Lwimba experienced a life changing event in the province of KwaZulu Natal (Durban). The 40-year-old woman from Zambia narrates her ordeal in the city of Durban in Umlazi where everything started and led to her situation in present day Durban. Sipping on her cup of coffee the 40-year-old narrates her story filled with fear but at the same time eager to share the experience of the attacks. In a bid to fend for her children and family back home the journey has not been easy for the foreigner and as she takes us through her ordeal one can simply relate to the sequence of events.

Can you take us through the details of what transpired during the 2015 xenophobia attacks and tell us how you manged to survive the attacks and also the probable reason for these attacks in Durban?

Ehhh…… this xenophobia started in April of 2015 and I was a worker in one of the spaza shops that was owned by an Ethiopian in Umlazi. I don't know but I just saw people running and (pauses) I was confused I didn't know what to do. I went out of the spaza shop and asked what is going on, then this lady from Zimbabwe said (pauses) they are here for us makwerekwere. I was shocked (pauses) I didn't know wat to do. I closed the shop and fled for my life because I am also a foreigner from Zambia but I was working for an Ethiopian so I returned back to work the next day because I stay in Glenwood.

What had happened and why did you return?

When I returned back to work the following day I found the shop crushed and no goods left inside, crushed and burnt. This happened the previous night and the owner actually didn't know that something like that had happened. I then called my boss and upon calling him he didn't pick up his phone so I went by to his house because he stays just close to where I work and they told me he wasn't there he didn't come back home the previous night. I then tried to ask people around (my customers) what happened. They told me you are also a foreigner we can kill you we do not want you guys here. I returned back to work because I was scared to lose my job if I did not report for work.

So what transpired thereafter?

So I sat there trying to figure out what will be my next move because I have been working in this spaza shop for more than two years now so I was confused. I started crying and it was sad(cries). I had to think about my family back home because I have two kids back home and they stay with their grandmother. Now my stress was how I was going to feed them (in tears) because the next month schools were opening in Zambia and I needed to pay their fees and I also started to think of where I was going to stay because now I didn't have a job to pay my rent. Life was just something I could imagine I had failed.

So having all that in mind what was your next port of call?

Well having friends who are foreigners in the area where I worked, I tried talking to them to get me a place to stay or to crash in their place because now it was almost towards month end and I knew I wouldn't have money to pay for my rent. One of the girls from Malawi she agreed and when month end came I moved in with her.

Was this xenophobia limited to Umlazi?

This xenophobia it spread to other places…….and it was scary. People stayed in-doors, people didn't go out and properties were being looted in the houses (pauses)…

Why were properties looted?

The war was initially about these spaza shops but it escalated to property looting because it was a time where South Africans took advantage of the foreigner and being a foreigner you just submit to the commands of the owners of the land for fear of your life. Goods in the shop where I worked were looted and were found demolished and I can tell you of someone but off the record. (she here tells a story of a foreigner who was a Mongosuthu student whose landlady supported by a gang ransacked her premises).

Besides the looting at the spaza what was your own experience as an individual?

One fateful day on my way to where I used to stay a taxi was stopped and we were asked to produce I. D books, so being a foreigner I did not have the book and was not in possession of my particulars. So we were asked to climb down…. all those who did not have the particulars. these guys ehhh…. they made us kneel in the tarred road there and we were questioned and brutalised. Lucky enough ehhhh these guys were bullying us, before they did whatever they were trying to there came a police car and they ran. I started crying and some other men and women there started crying as well saying its better we get back home.

After this experience what made you stay?

Ehhhh………… it was not easy to talk of going back home because the situation back home is tough. There are no jobs and ehhh…. back home they call South Africa diaspora (England) because they believe all nice things are there. So for me going back home from diaspora was not going to happen.

You mentioned Glenwood. How was the situation there during that time?

The funny part where I used to stay these attacks never reached there because it's mostly a white people area. But I moved from that place to a place where xenophobia was too much. I

moved not because I had a choice but where I used to stay the rent was too much and having lost my job I knew there was no way I was going to afford to pay for my rent so I had to move.

How can you describe the area you moved to (Umlazi)?

In this area, it is an area where there are a lot of South African people and ehhh…… they don't like us, they don't like us and ehhh... even now after the attacks I am even scared to talk to them and even scared of my landlord even because ehhh…. Okay she is a nice woman but ehhh… the thing is I don't know what would happen tomorrow because these people when this xenophobia start they are up in arms and they support each other ehhhh…. Yes, she is a nice woman but I do not want to cross her or do anything wrong to her and ehhh l am scared of South Africans ehhhh…. this fear has made me not hate in a way but I don't like them, I don't like them even when South African man come asking me to date them I ask myself what is better to date this man or kill myself at once.

What is the relationship that foreigners share with South Africans?

I just don't like South Africa but the situation back home forces me to be here. I am looking for a better life and ehhh……. it's not easy to be in an area or a place where you are not family and you are not loved. At home if you do not have salt you can go borrow next-door but in South Africa if you do not have you do not have, you can sleep on an empty stomach. There is no relationship here between foreigners and South Africans, we are here because the situation back home is bad there are no jobs and here in South Africa the white man likes employing us because we are hardworking as foreigners. They complain we take their jobs but the question is….. do they go and look for these jobs? South Africans are good at sitting and complaining and we go there we look for jobs even for R200 we work because I came here to work and I know back home they are looking forward to my help. I do not have a place to stay I have to work and earn myself a life.

What has the experience taught you or rather what has the experience been like?

This 2015 xenophobia has just taught me that you can never say you are home when you are in South Africa in as much as South Africa is in Africa and we are supposed to be one I do not feel at home here because I live in fear of what would happen. Recently in January soon after Christmas messages were circulating on social media warning all foreigners to go back home in April of 2016 because this xenophobia was suspected to start again but we just kept in prayer for God to protect us from the evil that we witnessed in 2015 and we are here today and we

thank God, and the moment the situation in our country settles down I will not stay here; rather I would go back home because life is tough here socially because you can never have a good life here. South Africans will keep reminding you that you are a kwerekwere. I was affected in the sense that I lost my job and could not feed my family not to talk of myself. The happenings of the 2015 xenophobia affected me a lot because I was scared to move around later on.

Chapter 6: Findings and Analysis

6.1 Introduction

The chapter outlines the findings of the study provided by the four research participants during their individual interviews, which detailed their lived experiences of xenophobia. The present study is descriptive so no generalisations were made. Thus, the focus is on the lived experienced in relation to the 2015 xenophobic attacks, their impressions of the country as they first arrived and settled in, and their expectations of their stay in South Africa versus the reality they had to confront. The data obtained from the interview process with the participants was examined in relation to the various themes that emerged from this process.

6.2 Defining the Experience of Xenophobia

Data analysis was conducted and Tesch's 1990 model was employed and from that model the researcher managed to develop major themes which helped understand both the experiences of these victims in question and what xenophobia entails. Using this model, the researcher came out with seven major themes and these are:

(1) Varied definitions of xenophobia.

(2) The entreaty of South Africa.

(3) Cultural patterns.

(4) Xenophobic experiences.

(5) Reciprocal bias/vicious cycle.

(6) Mutual Preference/venomous Sequence.

(7) Factors influencing foreigners to stay despite the brutality.

These main themes all have subthemes which are illustrated in the following table:

Themes	Sub-themes
Varied definitions of Xenophobia	*What is xenophobia *Defining Experiencing Xenophobia

The Entreaty of South Africa	*Reasons for coming to South Africa *Imaginative Caricatures of the Rainbow Nation (South Africa)
Cultural Patterns	*Glitches in integrating into the South African society *Violence: A 'new Identity' and 'Culture' diffused on the continent
Xenophobic Experiences	*Experiences Related to the Work Place *Experiences within the local community *Xenophobia or racism
Mutual Preference/Venomous Sequence	*Xenophobia can effect bias on both Parties *Personal Growth
Factors influencing Foreigners to stay despite the brutality	*Fear of Victimisation back home *Economic and political Unrest

In qualitative research it is these themes that guide the focus of the study and with each of these themes the relevant links to the appropriate literature were discussed. Each theme and subsequent sub-theme was examined individually and relevant quotations from the interview transcriptions were provided and linked to the appropriate literature.

6.3 Varied Definitions of Xenophobia

From the four research participants, three were male from Tanzania, Zimbabwe and Burundi and one female from Zambia. The researcher noted that their understanding of xenophobia was somewhat similar but at the same time different as they were shaped by the different levels of violence they had lived through.

6.3.1 What is xenophobia?

Amos understands xenophobia to be a robbery of the other man's hard earned investment; he sees it to be all about thuggery and taking advantage of the foreigner's hard-earned living,

"…it is all about thuggery the hooligans taking advantage of the situation and hide behind the dislike of the foreigner. It has lost its motive it is no longer about the competition for resources against the foreigner but daylight robbery looting and taking property from the foreigner."

He also identifies the issue of education in South Africa to have played a pivotal role in exacerbating these attacks. He believes the attacks are engineered by the intellectually challenged in the society. Thus, he also defines xenophobia as intellectually challenged behaviour which is mostly likely to keep on taking place as long as South Africans are not educated thoroughly about the effects of the violence on their economy and trade as well as international relations around the globe.

"…. South Africans lack education firstly and I will stand on that ground in South Africa and I will s-ta-n-d on that ground (puts emphasis) that is what caused xenophobia in South Africa…"

In addition to this, Kebo's experience as he arrived in Durban has given him a different picture altogether about what xenophobia really is. Kebo argues that xenophobia is not the violence that people experience at a set time when the locals decide to attack and be violent. Xenophobia rather extends to when the foreigner first arrives and is segregated and discriminated against the moment one learns of their citizen status.

"……here they refuse certificates from our home country but what we learn is the same. They say our certificates are not of high standards its low quality but to me I just see it as a way of discriminating that is xenophobia to me…"

Furthermore, with the experience he has had of the two waves of xenophobic attacks, he sees xenophobia as a kind of war vow between South Africa and surrounding nations in the region and across Africa. This is noted when he talks of South Africa not identifying themselves with the rest of the African continent:

"…Africa we are one same colour same skin so no discrimination of the other even socially and in the job sector because jobs are accredited according to merit basically you will find out

that the same people who complain about these job issues are not qualified at all…Africa is watching and south Africans are stirring up a war...”

Cush's experience has its roots in the poverty and war stricken country he fled from. South Africa has failed to bring him peace in the work place, in his dwelling area and in society in general. So he has a more rudimentary understanding of xenophobia than any of the others. He sees xenophobia as just if local South Africans have strong reasons to believe that it is a good exercise. He goes on to bring out his definition of xenophobia through his feelings. Cush feels Xenophobia is an exercise carried out on the poor African countries without identifying who the main culprit is. He feels he is a better foreigner in South Africa than an Indian or white person whose roots are not in Africa and does not have African blood in their veins. So in a way xenophobia has a racialized idiom in the lenses of Cush.

"Honestly you can call yourself South African but your real roots are not here. I am talking about if you are of an Indian origin. You came here as a slave and by default you were assimilated into the system but at some level and at the back of your mind you have something that whispers am Indian if you get what am saying... Sometimes I even think South Africans are afraid to make a move on these other people like Indians and whites because they are different from us.”

Mama Lwimba's experience brings her to the conclusion that xenophobia is simply a hatred of the foreigners. She brings out the hatred of foreigners when she talks of locals complaining about foreigners taking their jobs. She dismisses those sentiments saying they complain because they are lazy to work.

"…They complain we take their jobs but the question is…. do they go and look for these jobs? South Africans are good at sitting and complaining and we go there we look for jobs even for R200 we work…”

More so, the fear she has for her landlord who is Zulu brings us to the conclusion that xenophobia instils fear in the foreigner and in turn a hatred of the foreigner and a dislike of the local is developed.

"In this area, it is an area where there are a lot of South African people and ehhh…… they don't like us, they don't like us and ehhh... even now after the attacks am even scared to talk to them and even scared of my landlord even because ehhh…..okay she is a nice woman but

ehhh… the thing is I don't know what would happen tomorrow because these people when this xenophobia start they are up in arms and they support each other…"

In a nutshell, the research participants all agreed that xenophobia results in very negative sentiments and behaviour towards foreigners. Thus, from the literature in this thesis, xenophobia has been defined as the fear, intense dislike, hatred, discrimination towards the foreigner, or violent actions against African immigrants (Harris, 2000; Shindondola, 2002; Tshitereke, 1999; Wilson, 1998) which relates well to and incorporates all of the varying definitions provided by the research participants.

6.3.2 Defining the experiencing of xenophobia

The participants experienced xenophobia in varying degrees and levels. However, what was more interesting during the course of the data collection was the doubt whether they indeed experienced xenophobia or not. This was very interesting because most people associate xenophobia with physical attack on the human body. But as defined in chapter two xenophobia is an all-encompassing form of abuse and hostility against the foreigner; it is not merely the physical attack.

It is thus apt to note that, during the interview process it became apparent that the participants' own definitions of xenophobia and their individual perceptions of the phenomenon influenced their perceptions and experiences of xenophobia. Based on the research participants' statements, it became obvious that xenophobia is far more than merely violent or aggressive behaviour with physical consequences although these other elements of xenophobia that exist within society are rarely commented on by mass media such as newspapers and TV.

Ostensibly, the absence of attention given to these other forms of xenophobia is due to the fact that they are not as sensational and immediately visible as the xenophobia involving violence. Finally, it should be noted that as emphasised in Chapter two the exact distinction between xenophobia, racism, discrimination, and prejudice can be unclear due to subjective experiences and lack of clarity over the perpetrators' motives. It will be evident in subsequent sections of this chapter that the research participants were also sometimes unsure which form of discrimination they were subjected to in their lived experiences.

6.4 The entreaty of South Africa

This section looks at the push factors from the victims' country of origin and the pull factors to South Africa. It also examines each of the participants' initial impressions when first arriving in South Africa.

6.4.1 Reasons for coming to South Africa

According to the Hong-Kong and Shanghai Banking Corporation (HSBC) Expat Experience Report of 2009 the general experience for middle and upper class people immigrating to South Africa is a high standard of living, a wonderful country where one can buy more than at home and an amazing wildlife. HSBC rated South Africa as the 6th best country for expatriation. However, the HSBC noted that for immigrants of a lower socio-economic status the standards of living have been lower.

Although describing it differently, the research participants all had very similar reasons for coming to South Africa. They all stated that South Africa offers better opportunities than their home countries and with the economic turmoil facing the region (southern Africa) most foreigners leave their countries because of jobs, and apart from Cush who talked about the issue of civil war in Burundi,

"…I came to South Africa fleeing the civil war in my country. My country knows no peace…"

they all expressed the view that South Africa is the richest and most developed country in the region offering better opportunities.

Kebo explained his move from Tanzania as a result of seeking a job in his field of education (Maritime Studies) and had to choose Durban specifically because of the sea where he hoped to get a job.

"No one can secure a job in Tanzania but now it depends on who you know; jobs are not found on merit these days in my country it's all about who you know. It's just the same with here in South Africa the syndrome of who do you know has emanated as well so it's just the same. So for me migration is a choice not that there is anything bad about Tanzania."

On the other hand, Mama Lwimba and Amos were also pushed out of their countries because of the economic situation. However, Amos also added the issue of political unrest.

"...... it was not easy to talk of going back home because the situation back home is tough. There are no jobs and ehhh.... back home they call South Africa diaspora(England) because they believe all nice things are there. So for me going back home from diaspora was not going to happen".

"...the situation back home was bad and is still bad, so basically I came here to find means to support my family and one other thing. The political unrest in Zimbabwe took away all the hope that Zimbabwe will be back in shape anytime soon".

Most importantly the researcher notes that the participants moved to South Africa all in search of a better living in their area of speciality but that has not been the case because all of them have managed to get jobs but not in their area of speciality.

6.4.2 Imaginative caricatures of the Rainbow Nation (South Africa)

Most importantly there is a common observation that first impressions are notoriously persistent which according to Nauert (2011) is supported by recent research. Nauert (2011) referred to a study that compared first impressions to contradictory subsequent experiences and the conclusion was that new experiences that contradict a first impression become bound to the context in which they were made, whereas first impressions still dominate in other contexts. Further, foreign visitors form first impressions of a country and its citizens as they walk from the aircraft to the airport exit (Fukuda, Hatori, & Matsuo, 2010) so the overall lived experience of visitors in a country will be significantly influenced by their immediate impressions after arriving.

Notable is that this hasn't been the case with all of the participants engaged with in this research. They came to South Africa hoping to find jobs in their field of expertise but most of them are either maids or are street-traders.

Amos is a holder of a diploma in fitting and turning obtained from Zimbabwe but is here now employed as a truck driver. He was disappointed but due to the situation back home he had to take the job.

"I am a driver but I am qualified in fitting and turner working for Radar in Bulawayo before I got retrenched".

This is also the same issue with Kebo who came here in search for a job in the sea as he holds his qualifications in maritime studies and was disappointed when he learnt that his certificates

would not get him a job here because they were determined to be of unacceptably low standards.

"...am a sea man I studied maritime back home but upon arrival here in South Africa ah! it's not easy to find a job"

Apart from these two who openly talked about their disappointment it was easy for the researcher to deduce from other conversations made with some participants off the record that they were equally disappointed because what they had imagined South Africa to be was not what it is. However, looking at one of the statements by Mama Lwimba in her interview one can deduce disappointment, but that returning home was not an option for her because she feared what society would say about her when she returns back to Zambia:

"...There are no jobs and ehhh.... back home they call South Africa 'diaspora' (England) because they believe all nice things are there. So for me going back home from diaspora was not going to happen".

From Cushs' interview the researcher also noted that when he came here he was filled with enthusiasm to be finally getting the long awaited peace that he had not witnessed in his growing up in Burundi. This was not however the case though and he came to realize South Africa would never be home.

".... those countries are not violent and besides in as much as there is war and staff back in Burundi it doesn't mean I don't miss home. War or no war it's my country and one day when things shape up I will go back to my country"

The positive first impressions didn't last, however, as most of the research participants in the present study were disillusioned after they arrived in South Africa, and were able to compare their new home to their favourable impressions of South Africa on TV and to their experience of South Africa back home when they saw those who lived there coming back home on holidays. The South Africa they had pictured was not the South Africa they witnessed in reality. This is evidenced by Kebo who states that:

"...If you are somewhere you hear different stories and for those who are overseas when they return home for the holidays you see they have changed and have a better life so you just say South Africa is the place and you also make ways to come here..."

Thus, one can conclude from the above that the lived experience of the research participants with regards to first impressions of South Africa was mostly a disappointing one. Although, the idea of South Africa had impressed them when they saw others back home on holidays and in general the life portrayed on television had given them the idea that South Africa is the place to be, that all came to a cessation after they arrived here. This seemed to eventually exacerbate their disappointment with regards to Durban (KwaZulu Natal) and the local inhabitants who were not welcoming.

6.5 Cultural Patterns

Cultural patterns/mores are a set of related traits and characteristics that describe a particular group of people. These can also be described as folkways, including the philosophical and ethical generalizations as to societal welfare which are suggested by them, and inherent in them as they grow (Fischer, 1989). In other words, cultural patterns/mores are folkways of central importance which are accepted without question and which embody the fundamental moral views of a group or culture. These patterns develop through a society's perception, interpretation, and response to its surrounding environment; cultural patterns are this examples of adaptive behaviour. As the participants from this study all came from different socio-cultural groups and have different cultural patterns incorporating their beliefs, customs, habits, norms and views, it is important to examine the perceived effects that each participant's own cultural mores/ patterns had on their experiences in South Africa.

This section will explore the difficulties that each of the participants faced when attempting to settle in their new environment and then examine the various cultural differences that each of the participants noticed during their stay in Durban (KwaZulu-Natal). Finally, this section focuses on the enormous cultural and social importance of language when a foreign resident attempts to integrate into a new and different society.

6.5.1 Glitches in integrating into the South African society

It is apt to note that when one is integrating or rather moving into a new society, individuals often experience culture shock which can be demarcated as the anxiety, feelings of frustration, alienation and anger that a person may experience when placed in a new culture or society. A common reason for culture shock is individuals moving to a foreign country find themselves in a totally different world operating according to different norms and values. Culture shock consists of at least one of four distinct phases: Honeymoon, Negotiation, Adjustment, and

Mastery (Pedersen, 1995). There is no true way to completely avoid or prevent culture shock, as individuals in any society are personally affected in various ways by the cultural contrasts they experience (Barna, 2009).

The issue of integration is best linked with some theories guiding this research, in particular the Social Identity theory which articulates that the groups in which people belong to whether family, social class, or football team are an important source of pride and self-esteem. Thus groups give one a sense of belonging to the social world.

From the research it is also of paramount importance to note that research participants experienced various difficulties with integrating into society, with regard to socialising, studying, working, safety and security matters. With three of the research participants - Kebo Amos and Cush - having witnessed both waves of the attacks it is not surprising that after all this, integrating with the locals was difficult for them. For Kebo it was merely a matter of having to accept one's circumstances but one could tell by the way he expressed himself he was not comfortable at all:

"As a migrant I face a lot of challenges especially at work and where I live being surrounded by Zulu people who you really know do not want you in their country. I have suffered two waves of these attacks and it has not been easy for me"

However, from the researcher's point of view the main thing that was mostly a problem is the issue of language. It is clear that the moment you do not understand the language that is used in a society, before you are discriminated against you actually handicap yourself. This is so because one does not feel comfortable being around people you do not understand and, given the hatred of foreigners that hangs on their necks, one simply marginalises oneself from the rest. The researcher looks at Amos and sees a very different situation although at some point the integrating process has been made difficult because of his experience. He laments that he had friends and they would engage in different types of activities together. For him language was not a barrier because he comes from Bulawayo where Ndebele is spoken and there is not much difference between the two languages Ndebele and Zulu. Amos is a multi-lingual person as he claims to be fluent in six African languages:

"...what hurts the most in all this is being attacked by somebody whom you thought was a friend and even today they still come to you and pretend like everything is just fine…They even ask for small favours to top it all but they forget what they did to me and my friends and family

One of them came to me about two months back and asked for a cigarette I just told him off, you think I am mad or I have forgotten or am stupid ....".

Integration into society is not merely centred on the capability to speak the local language but to be able to feel welcome and loved as well. It is pertinent to note that from the participants' responses they never felt loved or even vaguely welcome because they were perceived to be a threat to the South African community, and hence the continuous scapegoating of the foreigners. Amos and Kebo also raised the issue of jobs as one that makes South Africans hostile to foreigners. Allied to this are gender rivalries between South Africans and foreigners, in which foreigners are blamed for stealing local women.

"They say we take their girlfriends, wives we all know that… but we are not sure to what extent is that true…., They say we take their jobs that was the case and argument put forward for 2008. These were the issues raised of which in a sense no one is taking anyone's job in that much everyone knows that if you are qualified to do a certain job you definitely go and do it. Because the very same person who wants that job is not qualified to do it in the first place." (Amos)

Furthermore, integrating into a society from the researcher's point of view is being able to do things together. With the understanding that a foreigner and local are from two different countries there is bound to be a glitch in understanding each other. Social integration is all about the under-privileged (foreigners/refugees) sections of society weaving into the mainstream society (South African society). According to the theory of Isolation, South Africans find difference threatening and dangerous (Morris, 1998); allowing integrating in society thus becomes difficult because foreigners are different and unknown. This however does not dismiss the mere fact that in an African culture and traditional society like the one in KwaZulu Natal, Zulu people have a rich culture which is widely envied in most African nations. They value relations and family above all, hence the term "Ubuntu" and "Imbumba" meaning 'cultured' and 'one'. The researcher notes that from this rich culture the Zulu people feel threatened to have the 'other' interfering in their space; in other words, their culture does not leave room to incorporate the 'other'. This can be a foreigner from another country or a foreigner from the other tribe.

"……. it's not easy it's not easy to be in an area or a place where you are not family, you are not loved. At home if you do not have salt you can go borrow next-door but in South Africa if

you do not have you do not have, you can sleep on an empty stomach. There is no relationship here between foreigners and South Africans." (Mama Lwimba)

"Um! My sister I am afraid to say there is no relationship whatsoever with these people in fact for me I am honestly afraid of them and their violent ways. I don't feel at home and I will never feel at home If only this government could do something and have us transferred to other countries because we live in fear of what tomorrow holds and it's not a good feeling at all." (Cush)

In a nutshell it is conclusive that the experiences of the participants and the unwelcoming characters of the local people at a primary level, where they already see a foreigner as a threat before getting to know them better, has raised obstacles between the two hence the failure by the foreigner to weave into the society.

6.5.2 Violence: A 'new identity' and 'culture' diffused on the continent

It is also pertinent to look at the conceptions that foreigners have about Durban. According to a report released by the Mexican research group Seguridad, Justicia Paz (security justice and peace). Durban has a 32,4 murders per 100 000 people in a population of 3,4 million citizens making it the 3rd most violent city in South Africa, with Cape Town and Nelson Mandela Bay at the top.

Thus it is not only xenophobia that brings the fear of the locals to the foreigners. Indeed, South Africa has a long standing history of violence which can be traced back as far as the apartheid era, before an excessive influx of foreigners who they now lash out their frustrations on by carrying out violent protests. Most of the people approached to participate in the research pulled out at the last minute when they realised they were going to be recorded as well as when they realised that the researcher wanted to carry out the research in their places of dwelling. What is interesting is that they thought the researcher was South African because of her language and appearance, which made it difficult to get them to talk. Thus the researcher notes that there is a belief by foreigners that you cannot freely express yourself when you are among the locals; one has to practise self-censorship.

However, it is also important to take note of the sentiments made by the participants during their interviews:

"...it's their country if they can justify the violence and the killings we can't stop them from attacking..." (Cush)

"…I just want this inhumane behaviour of burning each other to come to an end…" (Kebo)

As mentioned earlier on in chapter two South Africans suffer what can be termed 'relative deprivation'. This deprivation does not imply blaming poverty as a cause in itself; it implies recognising it as an underlying condition which leads to volatility when coupled with unmet expectations. These expectations and the perceived threats from foreigners when it comes to access to housing and resources do not cause people to commit violent acts, but they do lead to frustration. It is this frustration that leads to anger, and this anger is turned on "frustration scapegoats", namely foreigners (Harris 2002). Thus a violent culture emerges which is agitated by the existence of the foreigner alongside government unmet promises. Hence the reference by many that South Africans are ruffians caught up in a culture of violence. It is common when South Africans want the government to attend to their complaints that they engage in violence during the protests (burning buildings, cars, looting, etc.) This violent culture is seen to have spread to surrounding countries, for example the recent protests (#ThisFlag) in neighbouring Zimbabwe, where Zimbabweans protested in the same manner that the South Africans often do. The protests witnessed a call by Zimbabwean citizens to their neighbours South Africa to help them burn the Beitbridge border as a sign to the government that they were not pleased with the import ban. Violence is now a culture which is seen to be diffusing into the African continent whenever people feel dissatisfied with the government. Notable is a more recent assumed xenophobic outbreak in Namibia where Namibians were striking for a salary raise for teachers but took to attacking foreigners instead (The Live Monitor 16-10-2016).

The foreigners often hold the view that one day it is going to be possible to find their way back home, taking with them the anger that foreigners have against South Africans because of the unfriendly xenophobia, and it is disappointing to say discrimination against foreigners within South Africa will hurt South Africa's regional reputation and political authority. According to Misago et al (2009) foreigners in the country—most of whom retain links with families and communities in their countries of origin—already have limited respect for the current government, the public administration (particularly the Department of Home Affairs), or South Africans generally. Ironically, many non-nationals impose the same accusations against South Africans that South Africans do against them (e.g., ignorance, violence, disrespect, aggression, and generally without moral virtues). This is having regional effects.

"…South Africa should do something very! very! very! fast because e this issue will never affect a foreigner more than it will affect them South Africans…The South Africans it's like they are

putting fire inside their own eyes, because even right now if I had to go back home if I see a South African I will just feel like no man let me try something on this man".

Um!!so the anger has reached to that point?

"Yah! obvious and the reporters will even report on that issue and they South Africans will see it all over the news that there has been a South African who has been attacked to death here and one thing they will learn from others is that life is not only in South Africa there is life all over Africa." (Amos)

From the above, one can conclude that xenophobia is a cancer creating enemies with the neighbouring countries. Apart from Durban xenophobia spreads to neighbouring cities and it's only a matter of time before it spreads to neighbouring countries in the region and continent hence creating new identities and cultures of violence.

6.6 Xenophobic experiences

Limited academic work exists on the lived experience of xenophobia and this deficiency illustrates the relevance of the present study as the researcher had to rely on the theories put forward to help understand and extend knowledge on xenophobia.

The experiences that the research participants had during the Durban xenophobic attacks have been similar in some ways and quite different in other ways. They all had very few or no South African friends despite spending extended periods of time, surpassing a number of years, in the country, and they all had unpleasant reception and attitudes coming from these local people.

The various lived experiences of xenophobia by the participants range from discrimination in the place of work and in their dwelling places, to prejudice and neglect by the local community. Their experiences have somewhat shaped their ideologies regarding race and colour. It is thus suitable to note that on the forefront of these attacks were the black South Africans hence foreigners now have a hatred of the black South African and a liking of white South Africans because of the treatment they have received from these two groups of people.

6.6.1 Experiences related to the work place

Kebo found it hard to acquire a job in Durban and to him the job sector has become so corrupt that without any connection in Durban one cannot find a job in as much as one is qualified for it. His experience has led him to the conclusion that discrimination starts the moment they

realise one is a foreigner where they find an excuse not to give one a job. South Africans, still mostly black, see foreign Africans as competition for jobs, housing, and other resources and services. These conditions, along with high crime rates that foster violence, serve as factors that translate xenophobic attitudes into violent attacks on foreigners (Misago et al. 2009). The researcher thus finds this interesting because it is not the black people who own most companies in Durban and South Africa as a whole. The researcher thus argues that the white people might not be involved in the physical fight with the foreigner but play a silent part in the whole situation by stiffening recruitment requirements in the companies:

"Yes, because now I am just a delivery boy from a maritime graduate from Tanzania and even here in South Africa…., here they refuse certificates from our home country but what we learn is the same. They say our certificates are not of high standards its low quality but to me I just see it as a way of discriminating because as an asylum seeker I have a right to an education so I enrolled for their maritime studies here and it was no different it was the same. The certificates are the same, the syllabus for the studies is from the U.N (United Nations); all over the world we use one syllabus, wherever you go it's the same"

In addition, statistical representative surveys have been conducted to investigate South Africans opinion of foreigners, in particular foreign Africans, showing that South Africans across race, class, gender, and political leanings are highly intolerant (Crush et al., 2008; Afro barometer, 2009, cited in Dodson, 2010). As such, there is no 'typical' xenophobe profile, (Crush and Pendleton, 2007: 80). This finding problematises the notion that certain social groups particularly the poor and vulnerable are more prone to xenophobic attitudes than others (Crush and Ramachandran 2009). This brings us to the conclusion that the dislike of foreigners by the local people has extended to a situation where the less qualified are employed for a job and that has an impact on the job industry as well as the economy of the country.

"They say we take their jobs that was the case and argument put forward for 2008.These were the issues raised of which in a sense no one is taking anyone's job in that much everyone knows that if you are qualified to do a certain job you definitely go and do it. Because the very same person who wants that job is not qualified to do it in the first place. Secondly it's (stammers) what can I say when you are working the level of literacy number 1 level of understanding, number 2 above all your level of education right which makes you to outclass the rest whether local or foreigner just like me… The locals will fight and raise question like why this one? why not me? why not him? why not them? You see that is what was happening in 2008 and this is

now 2015. I had just come back from home from burying my brother that was in March of last year. Again it was almost the same period like that of 2008."

We recall that a Malawian friend of Amos was killed in the bushes of Verulam by local work-mates. It is important to note that the work place has become a contested terrain because local South Africans are in constant comparison when it comes to the issue of salaries. From the lenses of remuneration in any company or organisation it is apt to note that salaries vary due to a number of reasons. Thus, in a way South Africans are concerned about cheap labour from their African counterparts.

"There is a Malawian man who was killed here in Verulam during the attacks and the issue was about the job…That guy was a forklift driver at a company which I won't mention the name (pauses)…he was earning a lot of money. He was new at the company and all his papers were valid and all right. In the morning on his way to work in an area where this guy worked a local from the same company tipped off his guys and said this is the guy… He was questioned by the same work mate how he has come to earn that much when he has been with the company for more than 8 years and has not got the recognition of such a salary but him as a newcomer gets to come and earn more than him…. They 'hacked' him in the bush with bush knives and machetes in the bushes and that was it."

In conclusion these experiences in the place of work can be linked to the Isolation hypothesis which brings one to realisation that the interface between previously isolated South Africans and unknown foreigners creates a space for hostility to develop, hence tensions in the work place.

6.6.2 Experiences within the local community

The researcher notes that the most affected group of people is the poor; the poor locals go and fight the poor foreigners living in the peri-urban areas (high density suburbs). As a result, there is a frustration that is ignited in the local community the moment they realise that the foreigner is doing much better than them. This frustration however manifests into anger and when anger can no longer be contained violence erupts. This is the scapegoating hypothesis which understands hostility towards foreigners to be a result of limited resources, such as housing, education, health care and employment, coupled with high expectations during socio-political transition (Morris, 1998).

"...local women who had us foreigners as their boyfriends but they turned their boyfriends in and sold them out to the local hooligans who came out to loot in our homes. Because it's my girlfriend she knows what is inside my house. The looting basically took away the right over my belongings to the girlfriend and as a foreigner I am not entitled to own such (sheds a tear)...There is a certain lady that I know in her house you can't walk, there is everything – fridges, washing machines, you name it. These were looted from the foreigners".

Mama Lwimba's story of a Congolese student from Mongosuthu highlights what could have been going on in different parts of Durban. A car and money and few household properties where acquired from this student's backyard room with the help of a mob by her landlord.

"...this woman was of Congolese descent she was attacked in her backyard room by her landlord who demanded she surrendered everything she had including money if she wanted to still survive in South Africa This lady brought a mob of about 10 boys to the homestead. It is understood the woman was a PhD student at Mongosuthu University. She used to drive her car a (VW) Polo and that too was taken from her by this lady who she had come to believe they shared a relationship and had come to respect her like her own mother..."

6.6.3 Xenophobia or racism?

Some of the research participants at times wondered whether the treatment, prejudice or discrimination to which they were subjected was rooted in racism rather than xenophobia. It is difficult to distinguish between these two phenomena at times and it is also possible for a person to be both the victim of xenophobia and the victim of racism at the same time. Cush brings out this in a statement:

"...I experience a level of discrimination every-day. I can't identify myself with the rest. Be it in a bank there is this queue for asylum users when you trying to open an account. There is a lot of stuff that they need from you which they clearly know you cannot get as an asylum seeker so at the end of the day I just feel very foreign here it's not my home and that's it (bangs arm rest)."

The issue of failure to identify oneself brings the findings to concur with the Social Identity theory which is understood to be all-encompassing as it successfully explains prejudice and discrimination such as social categorisation, stereotyping, social comparison and social identity as well as social psychological processes on the intra-personal, inter-personal, positional and ideological levels (Augostinos & Walker, 1995;Leynes, Schadron, & Yzerbyt, 1994).

As earlier mentioned in the literature appraisal, The South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC 2004) articulates that xenophobia in South Africa has a racialized aspect with largely black African foreigners facing abuse and discrimination. Not only scholars have difficulties separating xenophobia from discrimination, racism and violence but also the victims of this unjust behaviour. From the data gathered during the research the researcher found out that specific explanations between these motivations is difficult as the victims might have one perception of why a perpetrator acts in a certain way, but the perpetrator could in theory have other reasons for the behaviour, and only in rare circumstances do the victims get an explanation.

This racial idiom is also noted when Amos narrates his story when he mentions that it was safer on the other side of the town of Verulam: The Indian -Muslim area.

"...when they saw us in the Indian area they never crossed that road there by the garage all they could do is shout at us and insult us promising us they will get hold of us it wasn't the end of the fight. That was the first day I slept we found refuge at a lady's house there..."

Ironically, it is therefore the foreigner's very blackness that makes him or her a target of xenophobia.

"sometimes I even think South Africans are afraid to make a move on these other people like Indians and whites because they are different from us." (Cush)

6.7 Mutual Preference/Venomous Sequence

Mutual bias/venomous sequence is defined by the Oxford Dictionaries (2011) as a series of reciprocal causes and effects in which two or more elements intensify and aggravate each other leading inevitably to a worsening of the situation. Throughout the analysis of the transcripts of the interviews it became clear that one of the effects of the participants' experiences of xenophobia has been how it has affected their views and opinions of other cultural groups. This section aims to examine the mutual preference/venomous sequence that can be formed not only by the local cultural groups for foreign groups but also from the foreign groups towards local cultural groups. Following this discussion, the section then examines some of the personality characteristics that the participants identified within themselves to help them deal with xenophobic experiences and concludes with how these experiences acted as a catalyst for personal growth for some of the participants.

6.7.1 Xenophobia can effect bias on both parties

Amos mentioned that his experience of xenophobia twice has made him generalise his negative impressions about the Zulu people to anyone who is South African. Noteworthy, is that the South African community has smaller ethnic groups that generally have no power whatsoever, for example from Limpopo and Venda. His experiences with Zulus has led him to label all South Africans the same way.

"...All I can say is God is not sleeping neither does he drink alcohol. It's only one-day South Africa will suffer a very! very! strong fate and will need assistance from other countries and as for myself if God could give me the chance to be the president of Zimbabwe I will never allow a South African in my country am telling you! and am telling you this is true because this thing is very! very! painful (sheds tears)".

From this statement one can see the extent to which foreigners have developed a dislike for the local black South Africans in general. It is thus, apt to note that the issues of locals blaming foreigners are bringing about tension in the African community, not just the South African community. The love that existed before among Africans is simply dying out; to further connote the hate that has developed between foreigners and the South Africans.

The Social Identity theory holds the assumption that if in-group members consider themselves superior to the out-group there is a likelihood that they will reinforce each other and elevate their self-esteem bringing the out-group to face hostility from the in-group. In the case of xenophobia, the opposite may be true because the more the out-group suffer hostility from the in-group they reinforce each other as well and prejudice is created from both sides.

6.7.2 Personal growth

Interestingly, while all research participants certainly seemed like they would have obviously preferred to have avoided their encounters with xenophobia, several of them readily provided examples of how their experiences had helped them grow, becoming stronger, or proving their positive social and conflict resolution skills. Perhaps, this is testament to the old saying that what does not kill you makes you stronger, as most of the research participants in the present study did succeed in turning some negative experiences into personal gain.

Analysing most of the research participants' statements, their keen interest to stay despite the brutality has made them grow and become stronger. This can be seen in this statement made by Cush:

"...Those countries are not violent and besides in as much as there is war and stuff back in Burundi it doesn't mean I don't miss home. War or no war it's my country and one day when things shape up I will go back to my country"

The experience of xenophobia has helped Cush become strong and await a new Burundi where he would be able to feel at home. In addition to this the researcher examines a statement by Kebo:

Well, I do not know for other people but what I do know is people know it's a passing phase. It's not like a war which will go on for years or months; it lasts a few weeks so those who manage to make it through will continue with their business as usual waiting for another attack in April the following year if there would be any attacks.

From this statement one observes this attitude from the foreigners has made them stronger and it has made them stay positive. Despite the attacks they are in South Africa to earn a living and the researcher is made aware that they are not ready to go back to their home countries anytime soon.

From these analyses the researcher is convinced that the experience of this brutality has made them stronger and it has somewhat given them hope that whatever their countries are going through they will one day be in a good state and they will one day go back home where they will feel loved and accepted.

6.8 Factors influencing foreigners to stay despite the brutality

6.8.1 Fear of victimisation back home

From the research participant's experiences, the researcher notes that despite the attacks and how brutal they were, foreigners have remained in that xenophobic space. That is, they were not ready to give up on South Africa. For example, Kebo who came to Durban to look for a sea-faring job. Despite his disappointment after not getting a job in that field he remains in Durban and engaged in vending and working as a delivery boy. What is more interesting is that Kebo denies that there is the issue of jobs, which is a problem in Tanzania, from where he

came. He does not want to go back home for fear of what people back home will say about a graduate who went out of the country to seek riches and comes back empty handed.

Meaning to say in Tanzania there is no life?

"...No there is but everybody has his own decisions and we all can see that South Africa is better than most African countries in our region. Life is not difficult there is no civ il war but it's a choice people make".

So is it an issue of jobs in Tanzania or what?

"No one can secure a job in Tanzania but now it depends on who you know. Jobs are not found on merit these days in my country it's all about who you know. It's just the same with here in South Africa; the syndrome of who do you know has emanated as well so it's just the same. So for me migration is a choice, not that there is anything bad about Tanzania".

The researcher notes that it is not just the fear of victimisation back home; foreigners also have pride and they also want to be put on the scale of people who are doing well in South Africa. Mama Lwimba, a spaza shop worker in Umlazi, laments that going back home was no choice; despite the difficulty in securing a job she was motivated to succeed.

"There are no jobs and ehhh…. back home they call South Africa diaspora (England) because they believe all nice things are there. So for me going back home from diaspora was not going to happen".

6.8.2 Economic and political unrest

Amos is in Durban because of the economic and political unrest in Zimbabwe. Looking at his nomadic features when he first settled in Polokwane and later Durban brings to the attention of the researcher that one settles in an area where opportunities arise. The immigration of people to South Africa in general despite the xenophobia in Durban is a sign that there are opportunities in the country hence the constant coming in of the foreigner.

The economic and political unrest on the continent has led to the 'influx' of foreigners into South Africa hence a competition of resources and jobs which leads to South Africans feeling insecure and hence engaging in violence to have the foreigner moved out of the country. As previously stated in the literature appraisal the instigators of the xenophobic attacks often come from groups that are unable to compete effectively in a modernizing economy and society,

while the targets are those who are able to do this. Violence becomes a desperate act in which the perpetrators seek to compensate for their shortcomings (Du Toit & Kotzé 2011: 162).

The researcher notes that the most affected people by this brutality are the people who have low paid jobs. The researcher tried to engage people who have professional jobs and these were not affected by this brutality. Conclusively xenophobia affects people who have mostly odd jobs and stay in highly densified areas. Steinberg (2008) argues that in the townships democracy in South Africa is understood to be about gaining access to largesse and resources that the state is able to distribute. They also see wealth as a measure of success, and its distribution is seen as a zero-sum game: if the wealth goes to a foreigner that means that a South African has lost the possibility to acquire this wealth. A more 'deserving' citizen has lost wealth when a foreigner gains it. Hence incessant dissatisfaction erupts leaving the local citizen with no choice but to attack the foreigner.

6.9 Conclusion

As is evident from the interview excerpts from the individual interviews conducted by the researcher, the individual, personal, lived experiences of xenophobia by the research participants resulted in a wide range of descriptions of various forms of psychological concern and pain related to those experiences. It should be noted that the research participants' perceptions in the specific local context of this study naturally have been affected by their subjective experiences. Others encountering similar incidents and people could very well have different experiences and impressions.

Nevertheless, the findings of this research provide an elaborate, phenomenological view into the participants' lived experiences of xenophobia represented in the main themes extracted from their individual interviews. The conclusions related to the findings presented in this chapter as well as the limitations and recommendations for future research in this field are presented in chapter six.

Chapter Seven: Conclusions, Limitations and Recommendations

7.1 Introduction

This chapter will provide a succinct summary of the present study and highlight the results and conclusions that can be reached based on the collected data. The implications of this study are also discussed and its limitations are clearly highlighted and recommendations for further studies are made.

7.2 Conclusions

The primary aim of this study was to describe the lived experience of xenophobia by the victims of 2015 attacks. This was done in order to offer the foreigner a voice in this; because they are marginalised in the South African community the researcher saw it fit to have the victims narrate their experience in the most comfortable way they could. This was achieved by interviewing three male foreigners and one female who all lived up to a predetermined set of criteria for the research participants in this study. All participants resided in Durban and had experienced some sort of brutality or negative experiences of some sort during the attacks. Individual research interviews were conducted and later transcribed and analysed by using Tesch's 1990 model of data analysis.

It was evident from the research findings that the research participants, as a combined group, had lived through a wide range of xenophobic experiences ranging from people not being interested in them and ignoring them to outright prejudice and discrimination. It should be noted, though, that some of the participants of this study because of their traumatic experience in both waves found it difficult to narrate their story in a comfortable way as the researcher wanted an audio recorded interview. The researcher thus became very close to some of these participants and on some days she would bring up the subject in their conversations and they would open up and talk about their experiences.

It can also be concluded that the research participants personal, social skills, attitudes and resilience have had a significant influence on not only the xenophobia they were exposed to but also the way they are able to cope with it and their opinion of South Africans and the country as a whole. The research findings supporting this conclusion are Amos and Cush's saddening, emotional experiences and their resilience and attitude that helped them afford to hang on until they see a change in their situations back home. Also pertinent are the staunch, reserved attitudes of Kebo and Mama Lwimba who have been so disappointed with the way

the local South Africans have treated them that they have given up on successfully integrating into South African society and prefer to stick to the company of other foreigners.

7.3 Limitations to the Study

First and fore-most the present study is qualitative which prevents any form of generalisation of the findings of this study. Furthermore, the collection of data was the most challenging as the researcher had a lot who wanted to be interviewed for a fee. The victims would express that they were warned by the police not to talk to anyone about their experiences so my request for them to participate had to be for a price. However, the researcher resorted to those who wanted nothing to do with money for them to share their experiences. This led the researcher to spend three months looking for victims who wanted to speak at no cost until she landed herself the first volunteer to the project in March. This also affected the researcher's access to the most brutalised victims who found themselves on a farm in Cato-Ridge. These victims at first agreed to carry out interviews, but they quickly diverted the issue from their experience of xenophobia to the politics of the refuge-farm and treatment they were getting there. This was not the aim of the study. In trying to convince them into narrating their experience which had led them to the farm, they demanded the researcher pay a sum to get the information as the researcher had refused to address their farm issue that seemed more important and pressing to them than the xenophobia attacks which had come and gone.

Despite its limitations, this study has still managed to produce vital information useful in understanding the subjective experience of xenophobia in Durban by the foreigner.

7.4 Recommendations for Future Research

Based on the findings that were achieved in the present study a number of further research ideas and topics can be recommended. First and foremost, focused research needs to be undertaken on the presence of xenophobia in specifically high-density living areas, as is evidenced by the participants' places of dwelling.

For further research, one can also consider engaging the educational institutions, because it is also at schools, universities and colleges where the othering syndrome is seen to manifest itself. Research needs to examine what policies these institutions are pursuing to counter xenophobia amongst the youth.

Indeed, the researcher recommends that the government of South Africa, working with civil society institutions, should proactively take on the task of educating the masses (locals) against xenophobic behaviour, including of course making South African citizens aware of the possible self-destructive effects of these violent and brutal attacks on their economy and South Africa's regional and international reputation. As evidenced by most research studies carried out on xenophobia, it is believed to erupt in the peri-urban areas where there are a lot of grievances which the government has failed to address. Hence, the scapegoating and targeting of the foreigner to solve their problems - but of course none of the waves of xenophobic attacks have solved any of these local grievances. It is thus important for the government to address the issue through campaigns and workshops in these areas to educate the people against xenophobia, including how it so very often a displacement of other local problems unconnected to the presence of foreigners.

7.5 Conclusion

This final chapter of the present thesis outlined the findings of the study as well as the conclusions made on the basis of said findings. The limitations of the present study were clearly described and recommendations were made for further research into the xenophobia that threatens the humanity of South African society as well as South Africa's international reputation and cooperation with other African states, and indeed also with the international community as a whole.

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Appendix 1

Participant

I…………………………………………………have been informed about the study entitled…………………………………………………………………………………………………… …………………………………………….

I understand the purpose and procedures of the study (add these again if appropriate). 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 on ……

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

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

Use of my photographs for research purposes   YES / NO

_____   _____

Signature of Participant   Date

_____   _____

Signature of Witness   Date

(Where applicable)

_____   _____

Signature of Translator   Date

(Where applicable)

Appendix 2: Biographical Questionnaire

Age	sex	Nationality	Home language	Residence	Migrant Status	Occupation	Marital Status	Race	Duration of stay

Appendix 3

Interview Structure

(i) Introduction and welcomes.

(ii) Explanatory Preamble – background and reason for study.

This study was developed because of the integration problems experienced in recent years amongst local South Africans and African immigrants. This study aims to understand and describe the lived experiences of xenophobia. With your permission, the interview will be audio-recorded. Your responses during the interview will be strictly confidential, and individual responses will not be shared with any outsiders. The tape recording will also be coded and your name will not be visible. The tape will be stored in a locked facility at the university. After the research has been completed the audio-recording will be destroyed and all identifying information relating to your participation will be deleted or disguised in any findings of the research. You will also have the right to withdraw from the research project at any time and your decision to be part of this research study is completely voluntary.

(iii) Interview Questions:

Kindly fill out the biographical questionnaire.

- How do you earn a living in South Africa?

- What challenges have you faced before, during and after the attacks?

- What challenges do you face as a migrant?

- How do you value social capital?

- What is xenophobia in your understanding?

- During the attacks where did you seek for safety?

- Can you briefly relate how the attacks sprouted in your area? What was your reaction?

- In your own view how did the media and other state institutions portray the attacks?

- After the attacks how have integrated back into society?

- What were your reasons for migration (the pull factor to South Africa and the push factor from you home country).

- What was it like for you when you first arrived here?

- Why South Africa and not any other country

- Can you tell me about your xenophobic experiences?

- What has been the experience of living in South Africa been like?

- Please explain to me, how it affected you and what you felt?

- How do you relate with South Africans especially now after the attacks?

- How do you feel about this exercise of xenophobia?

- During the attacks how did you manage to survive the attacks?

- What has made you stay regardless of what you went through during the attacks?

Thank you. If you need to discuss anything further or to debrief please let me know