

**THE EFFICIENCY OF STRATEGIES FOR THE PREVENTION OF XENOPHOBIA
IN POST-APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA**

by

HAPPY MATHEW TIRIVANGASI

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SUPERVISOR: Prof. S.A Rankoana

CO-SUPERVISOR: Dr. T.S Nyawasha

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DECLARATION

I declare that this dissertation: **The efficiency of strategies for the prevention of xenophobia in post- apartheid South Africa** hereby submitted to the University of Limpopo, for the degree MA in Sociology has not been submitted by me for a degree at this or any other University; that is my own design and in execution, and that all material contained here has been duly acknowledged.

.....

Tirivangasi H.M (Mr.)

.....

Date

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my deceased parents Gertrude and Maxwell Tirivangasi. Their love and support kept me going throughout the years of my academic and social life.

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The Bible says in the Book of Romans 8 vs 28 “**We are assured and know that [God being a partner in their labour] all things work together and [fitting into plan] for good to and for those who love God and are called according to [His] design and purpose**” I would like to thank God for making this project a success. I would also like to extend my gratitude to the following persons for their respective contributions to this research.

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ABSTRACT

South Africa as a nation has been battling with the problem of recurring xenophobic attacks since the attainment of democratic rule in 1994. This comes against the background of a well-defined vision of South Africa stipulated by the former president Mr. Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela. Mr. Mandela said 'South Africa is a Rainbow Nation' meaning it will accommodate people of different backgrounds. However, the world witnessed with disbelief the occurrence of xenophobic attacks in 2008 which left 62 people dead and thousands displaced and injured. These incidences were followed by the April 2015 violent xenophobic attacks. The attacks resulted in seven (7) people dead, destruction of property, looting of goods and the displacement of hundreds of people.

Given this account, this study examined the efficiency of strategies for the prevention of xenophobia in post-apartheid South Africa. This was achieved through the following objectives: determining the extent of xenophobic attacks in South Africa, secondly, describing the current strategies adopted by South African Government to prevent xenophobic attacks and lastly, the limitations of the strategies in addressing xenophobia. The researcher conducted a secondary research to get the relevant information.

The results of this study reveal eight strategies implemented by the South African government to address xenophobia. The research described the strength of all the strategies implemented to stem out violence. The strategies implemented include the following: Policy strategies, intergovernmental strategies, citizenship empowerment and educational strategies, State-civil society engagement, technical and media related strategies, legal and constitutional strategies and humanitarian strategies. Moreover, this study reveals the three important limitations of the strategies namely lack of sustainability; failure to address the root cause and denialism of the existence of xenophobia. In conclusion, the study reveals that there is need to set long term and sustainable strategies as the means to prevent future xenophobic attacks in South Africa.

Key words: Xenophobia, Prevention, Strategies, Xenophobic attacks, Post-Apartheid

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DECLARATION	i
DEDICATION	ii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iii
ABSTRACT	iv
TABLE OF CONTENTS	v
LIST OF TABLES	ix
LIST OF APPENDIXES	ix
LIST OF ACRONYMS	x
CHAPTER 1	1
INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 Introduction and background	1
1.3 Study purpose	4
1.4 Significance of study	4
1.5 Operational definitions	5
1.5.1 Xenophobia.....	5
1.5.2 Prevention.....	5
1.5.3 Migrant.....	5
1.6 Motivation of the present study	6
1.7 Chapter outline.....	6
1.8 Summary.....	7
CHAPTER 2	8
LITERATURE REVIEW	8
2.1 Introduction	8
2.2 Why foreign nationals migrate to South Africa?	8
2.2.1 Migration trends	9
2.2.2 Synopsis of the causes of migration in Southern Africa	10
2.2.3 Economic, environmental, political and social causes of migration to South Africa	12
2.3 Xenophobia.....	15
2.3.1 Xenophobia in the global context.....	16
2.4 Xenophobia and Africa.....	21
2.5 Xenophobic attacks in Southern Africa	22
2.6 The main causes of xenophobic attacks in South Africa	24
2.6.1 Economic woes.....	24
2.6.2 Culture of violence	25

2.6.3 Political causes	25
2.7 Sociology and xenophobia: what is the subject matter?	27
2.8 Prevention of xenophobia	29
2.8 Summary of the chapter	30
CHAPTER 3	31
THEORETICAL ORIENTATION OF THE STUDY	31
3.1 Introduction	31
3.2 Theories of migration: An overview	31
3.2.1 Neo-classical theory-macro theory	32
3.2.2 Neoclassical economics: micro theory	33
3.2.3 Dual segmented labour- market theory.....	34
3.2.4 Lee's pull/ push factors	35
3.2.5 The network theory	35
3.3 Theories and perspectives on xenophobia.....	36
3.3.1 Institutional theory.....	36
3.3.2 Social identity theory.....	37
3.3.3 Sociobiological hypothesis.....	39
3.2.4 Isolation hypothesis	40
3.2.5 Functionalism.....	42
3.3 Theoretical framework of the study	43
3.4 Summary of the chapter.....	46
CHAPTER 4	47
METHODOLOGY	47
4.1 The study area	47
4.1.1 Limpopo Province	47
4.1.2 Gauteng Province	49
4.1.3 North West Province	50
4.1.4 Mpumalanga Province	51
4.1.5 Free State Province	52
4.1.6 KwaZulu Natal Province.....	54
4.1.7 Western Cape Province	55
4.1.8 Eastern Cape Province	56
4.1.9 Northern Cape Province	57
4.2 Methodology	59
4.2.1 Research approach	59
4.2.2 Units of analysis.....	59
4.2.3 Sampling procedure.....	60

4.2.4 Data collection	61
4.2.5 Data analysis	62
4.2.6 Quality criteria	64
4.3 Ethical consideration.....	65
4.3.1 Falsifying information	65
4.3.2 Distorting results	65
4.3.3 Plagiarism	65
4.4 Summary of the chapter.....	66
CHAPTER 5	67
RESULTS AND DISCUSSION	67
5.1 Introduction	67
5.2 The extent of xenophobic attacks in South Africa	67
5.2.1 Incidences of xenophobia in Limpopo province	68
5.2.2 Incidences of xenophobia in Gauteng Province.....	70
5.2.3 Incidences of xenophobia in Mpumalanga Province	73
5.2.4 Incidences of xenophobia in Free State province	75
5.2.5 Incidences of xenophobia in North West Province.....	75
5.2.6 Incidences of xenophobia in Northern Cape Province	76
5.2.7 Incidences of xenophobia in KwaZulu-Natal Province	77
5.2.8 Incidences of xenophobia in Eastern Cape Province.....	78
5.2.9 Incidences of xenophobia in Western Cape.....	80
5.3 The explanation of xenophobic attacks in South Africa.....	82
5.4 The impact of xenophobic attacks in South Africa	83
5.4.1 Loss of life.....	83
5.4.2 The looting of foreign owned shops	84
5.4.3 Physical effects of xenophobia	91
5.4.4 Psychological effects of xenophobia.....	91
5.4.5 Family disintegration.....	92
5.5 The strategies undertaken by the government to end xenophobic attacks: An Overview	92
5.5.1 Policy strategies.....	93
5.5.2 Inter-governmental strategies	94
5.5.3 Citizenship empowerment and educational strategies	96
5.5.4 Technical and media related strategies	97
5.5.5 State- civil society strategies.....	98
5.5.6 Legal and constitutional Strategies	100
5.5.7 Humanitarian strategies	105

5.6 Xenophobia in South Africa: Indices of Measuring the Efficiency of Strategies adopted by the South African Government	106
5.6.1 Xenophobia and the State interventions: On why government policy often fail?	108
5.7 Summary of the chapter	111
CHAPTER 6	113
CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS	113
6.2 Recommendations	118
6.2.1 Education	118
6.2.2 Developing business entrepreneurship skills	118
6.2.3 The role of policing	118
6.2.4 The role of the media	119
6.2.5 Addressing the lack of service delivery in municipalities	119
6.2.6 Community forums	119
6.3 Summary of the chapter	120
REFERENCES	120

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1:	Incidences of Xenophobia in Limpopo Province.....	67
Table 2:	Incidences of Xenophobia in Gauteng Province.....	69
Table 3:	Incidences of Xenophobia in Mpumalanga Province	72
Table 4:	Incidences of Xenophobia in Free State Province.....	73
Table 5:	Incidences of Xenophobia in North West Province.....	74
Table 6	Incidences of xenophobia in Northern Cape Province.....	75
Table 7:	Incidences of Xenophobia in KwaZulu-Natal Province.....	76
Table 8:	Incidences of xenophobia in Eastern Cape Province.....	78
Table 9:	Incidences of xenophobia in Western Cape Province.....	79
Table 8	Looting and burning of foreign shops.....	84
Table 9:	Emergency call numbers.....	100

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Map of South Africa.	45
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LIST OF APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A

Faculty Letter of Approval.....	144
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LIST OF ACRONYMS

CBD	Central Business District
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
COGTA	Social Development, Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs
DEDEA	Department of Economic Development & Environmental Affairs
GCIS	Government Communication and Information System
IMC	Inter-Ministerial Committee
NATJOC	National Joint Operational Centre
PROVJOCS	Provincial Joint Operational Structures
SA	South Africa
SADC	Southern Africa Development Community
SMEs	Small and Medium Enterprises
Stats SA	Statistics South Africa
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction and background

The study examined the efficiency of strategies for the prevention of xenophobia in post-apartheid South Africa. The interest of the study is derived from observations that xenophobia in South Africa threatens and put the lives of many people in danger. The 2008 South African xenophobic attacks claimed 62 lives, 213 houses were burnt down, 342 shops were looted, hundreds of people were wounded and it left thousands of foreign nationals displaced in just a week (Matunhu, 2011; Duponchel, 2009) and seven people died during the 2015 xenophobic attacks. Most xenophobic attacks in South Africa are perpetrated against blacks, Indians and Asian immigrants and the minority ethnic groups living in South Africa. This calls for the need to address the problem. Given the gravity of the problem, this research seeks to identify the extent of xenophobic attacks in South Africa. In so doing, it helps the law enforcement agents and the xenophobic attacks early warning centres in South Africa to note provinces with highest incidents of the attacks. Furthermore, this research identifies the limitations of the strategies implemented by the government of South Africa. This research identifies the need for the native local people to co-exist with the fellow Africans who are immigrating to South Africa.

This study reveals that both South Africans and foreign nationals are affected by the consequences of xenophobic attacks. Most Africans who immigrate to South Africa, seems to have been motivated by situations which are usually beyond their control. The African continent is troubled with war, famine, starvation, poverty, political and economic instability (Ayittey, 1999). This has resulted in the scattering refugees in all directions. The following countries have been seriously affected by one or more of the problems cited above: Ethiopia, Angola, Mozambique, Sudan, Liberia, Somali, Rwanda, Zaire and Zimbabwe (Ayittey, 1999). The instability in these countries has resulted in outflow migration into stable counties. South Africa has been at the receiving end.

Ojedokun (2015) states that South Africa is Africa's most industrialised country, and it attracts thousands of foreign nationals every year, seeking refuge from poverty, economic crises, war and government persecution in their home countries. Most foreign nationals who endured the xenophobic attacks were coming from countries such as Zimbabwe, Malawi, Democratic Republic of Congo, Somalia and Ethiopia. However, many of them also came from Pakistan and Bangladesh. The victims of xenophobic attacks were not only foreign nationals in the sense of a different nationality but in fact everybody not belonging to the dominant ethnic groups in the main cities, Zulu or Xhosa, was attacked (South African History Online, 2015). Ojedokun (2015) notes that members of smaller ethnic groups in South Africa were also viewed as foreigners by fellow South Africans. However, in contrast, white people were not viewed as foreign nationals in the context of xenophobic violence (Nicolson & Simelane, 2015).

The reasons for the attacks differ, with some blaming the contestation for scarce resources (Mothibi, Roelofse & Tshivhase, 2015). It may also be attributed to the culture of violence, insufficient service delivery, failure of early warning and prevention strategies to deal with xenophobic attacks (Ojedokun, 2015). Moreover, residents also claim that foreign nationals take their job opportunities away and they accept lower wages (Mothibi, Roelofse & Tshivhase, 2015). Furthermore, local South Africans claim that foreign nationals are criminals, and they should not have access to services and police protection. Foreign nationals are also held responsible for taking away customers from local Small and Medium Enterprises (SMEs) owners and the spread of diseases (Misago, Landau & Monson, 2008). In addition, other South African locals do not particularly like the presence of refugees, asylum-seekers or foreign nationals in their communities for instance, refugees, asylum seekers, migrant workers and undocumented immigrants (Landau, Ramjathan-Keogh & Singh, 2005; Saleh, 2015).

1.2 Problem statement

The recent South African xenophobic attacks resulted in the loss of people's lives and vandalism of property. Xenophobia represents everything against a well-articulated vision by the former President Nelson Mandela. At the dawn of democracy, the then President of South Africa Nelson Mandela described South Africa as a Rainbow

Nation, meaning a nation that can accommodate all people regardless of colour, race or religion (Harris, 2002). Harris (2002) states that in 1994 South Africa grew into a new State and represented important change in the social, political and geographical landscapes of the past. According to Kimanuka (2015:1) the demise of apartheid meant that “unity replaced segregation, equality replaced legislated racism and democracy replaced apartheid in terms of the law and the way of doing things”. Despite the transition from oppression rule to democracy, xenophobia continues to be a feature in South Africa.

The impact of xenophobia and xenophobic attacks are astonishing. Misago, Landau and Monson (2008) note that xenophobia in 2008 resulted in 62 people dead; 670 wounded; many raped women; more than 150 000 people were displaced and property worth of millions of Rands looted, demolished, or seized by local residents. The problem with xenophobia is that it is not protest rather it is crime and war rising in nature. It displays the inhuman nature of human being hence the need for a permanent solution. It is also important to note that the damages conceded have a great impact on the lives of the people. Looking at the statistics of rape cases provided by (Masago et al., 2008), one can note that some people will contract diseases during xenophobic attacks. Moreover, families displaced will experience disruptions in their normal life.

Foreign nationals especially Blacks from the neighbouring African countries continue to live in fear for their lives in South Africa. Xenophobia does not only pose security threat to South Africa but it fuels tension in the whole of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) region (News24, 2015). The other problem is that it threatens the region’s economic, social and political integration because other nations would feel humiliated and dishonoured by having their citizens harassed and killed in the neighbouring country. Xenophobia threatens to destroy a rich history of the unity shared by SADC countries since the colonial era (Nkama, 2015). South Africa during the struggle against apartheid received help from countries in SADC such as Zambia and Mozambique (Nkama, 2015). This gives South Africa an obligation to protect the welfare of the foreign nationals in the country. Against this backdrop the problem of xenophobia seems to continue recurring hence the need to find a permanent solution to the problem. Xenophobia is no longer a South African problem but rather a regional problem.

In addition, one can note that emotional scars and mistrust against South Africa will continue to increase amongst the foreign African community in the continent. Rukema and Khan (2013) note that several African states in the wake of the xenophobic attacks expressed displeasure on violence perpetrated against their citizens. For example, during the recent attacks on Somali nationals, the Prime Minister of Somalia, Mr Farah Shirdon, made an appeal to the South African government to protect Somali citizens as a matter of urgency. He also made an appeal for the South African government to intervene and contain this unnecessary and unfortunate violence against Somali business communities. This is not an isolated incidence because the Nigerian government also recalled its envoy from Pretoria (Essa & Patel, 2015). In retaliation, South Africa closed its consulate in Nigeria for a few days following the protest by the Nigerians over the xenophobic attacks in South Africa (Ngcukana, 2015). This reflects the sour relationship created by xenophobia between the two nations.

1.3 Study purpose

This study aims to examine the efficiency of strategies for the prevention of xenophobia in post-apartheid South Africa. This was achieved through the following objectives: determining the extent of xenophobic attacks in South Africa, describing the current strategies adopted by South African Government to prevent xenophobic attacks and lastly, the researcher examined the limitations of the strategies in addressing xenophobia. The researcher conducted a secondary research in order to get the relevant information.

1.4 Significance of study

Xenophobia is a social problem which has serious consequences for South Africa and the world at large. Xenophobia threatens the country's peace, economic, social and economic integration and destroys the rich history which binds SADC countries in a hub of brotherhood and comradeship. This study provides evidence of the extent of xenophobia in South Africa and the country's efforts to prevent it in terms of the Human Rights First and the United Nations mandate to protect the rights of refugees and foreign nationals.

1.5 Operational definitions

1.5.1 Xenophobia

Scholars define xenophobia differently:

Berezin (2006) defines xenophobia as the fear of difference embodied in persons or groups. For Nyamnjoh (2006), xenophobia is the intense dislike, hatred or fear of others. Pain (2007) views xenophobia as attitudes, prejudices and behaviours that reject, exclude and often vilify persons based on the perception that they are outsiders or foreign nationals to the community, society or national identity. For this research xenophobia refers to negative attitudes against non-natives in a given population and perceived hostility towards strangers and all that is foreign.

1.5.2 Prevention

Starfield, Hyde, Gervas & Heath (2008) state that prevention, in a narrow sense, means averting the development of a pathological state. In a broader sense, it includes all measures under taken to put the situation under control. This research defines prevention as to all the measures undertaken to avert the occurrence of xenophobia as well as the strategies put in place to control the attacks once they have started and reduce the consequences.

1.5.3 Migrant

A migrant can be a student, refugee, tourist, job seeker, trafficked person. This research defines a migrant as any foreign national living in South Africa either legal or illegal at the time of xenophobic attacks.

1.5.4 Migration

According to Oucho (2007) migration is a global and natural phenomenon, a worldwide practice that stimulates the movement of people from areas of social and economic anguish to those with better economic prospects. This research defines migration as

the movement of people from their country of origin to a new temporary or permanent residence in a foreign country.

1.6 Motivation of the present study

The motivation behind the study is informed by continued recurring xenophobic attacks in South Africa. Foreign nationals continue to suffer from the attacks which are perpetrated against them. This has hindered a lot of things in particular investment into businesses and as well as properties. There is no perceived solution or answer to the problem of xenophobia. There are numerous studies which have been carried out to come up with a solution (Duponchel, 2009; Crush & Ramachandran, 2014; Tirivangasi & Rankoana, 2015). The lack of a common known solution or strategy to counter the xenophobic attacks has made the researcher to engage in this study. A secondary research is designed to compile the strategies which have been implemented thus far by the government of South Africa. Secondly, this study is also based on the premise that most studies are relevant to specific areas. This study explores the extent of xenophobia in South Africa without limiting it to a certain area or province. This will help in revealing the extent of xenophobic attacks across the different South African provinces.

1.7 Chapter outline

This study presents data on the extent of xenophobia and the strategies for the prevention of xenophobia in post-Apartheid South Africa. This was done through an extensive review of literature on xenophobia showing the trends of migration, the causes of xenophobia, the theoretical explanation of xenophobia, the extent of xenophobia in South Africa and the analysis of the strategies undertaken by the South African government to prevent xenophobia in South Africa. Together the chapters present the discourse of xenophobia in South Africa.

Chapter Two provides an extensive literature analysis on xenophobia in South Africa. The chapter starts by providing the reason why foreign national migrate to South Africa. Secondly, it presents the concept of xenophobia in the African context. Thirdly, this chapter provides the historical background of xenophobia from macro level to micro level. The aim of the chapter is to provide a perspective on how this phenomenon has evolved over time from a global context to the local South African

communities. Fourthly, the chapter presents the causes of xenophobia in general and the reasons for the prevention of xenophobic attacks. **Chapter Three** provides the several theoretical perspectives of migration and xenophobia. The first section provides the migration theories which explains why the foreign national find themselves in South Africa. The second section, highlights and discusses xenophobia theories such as institutional xenophobia, social identity theory, sociobiological hypothesis and isolation theory. Lastly the researcher discusses scapegoat theory as the main theory on which this study is built. The other theories strengthen the explanation of xenophobia in South Africa. They address the gap left by the scapegoat theory in explaining xenophobic attacks in South Africa.

Chapter Four discusses the research methodology adopted to probe the extent of xenophobia and the strategies developed by the South African Government to prevent the attacks. This includes aspects such as research design, sampling, data collection, data analysis and ethical considerations. **Chapter Five** presents the analysis and discussion of the study findings. The results of the study present data about the extent of xenophobia in South Africa. It presents the effects and the intensity of xenophobia in each province and it further reveals the impact of xenophobic attacks within the South African community. The strategies employed by the South African government to deal with xenophobia are presented in the chapter. These strategies are implemented at national level, provincial level and local levels. The limitations of the strategies are addressed in this chapter. **Chapter Six** presents the conclusion and recommendations for future research. It provides the general summary of the study.

1.8 Summary

This chapter provides an overview of this dissertation and its organization. It sets out the objectives of the research, justified its importance, articulate how this study will contribute to the literature and set out the structure of this dissertation.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter provides literature review on xenophobia in South Africa. The chapter starts by providing the reason why foreign nationals migrate to South Africa. This was done to explain why foreign nationals find themselves in South Africa and become victims of xenophobic attacks. The chapter also describes the concept 'xenophobia' and how it is experienced in South Africa. Furthermore, the chapter presents a global view of xenophobic attacks. Lastly, the chapter presents the causes of xenophobia and the reasons for the prevention of xenophobic attacks. The aim was to provide the perspective on how this phenomenon has evolved over time in different places until it has become a social problem in South Africa.

2.2 Why foreign nationals migrate to South Africa?

The world is characterised by movements of people. Human migration has been present since the beginning of time and has been subject to study because of its changing trends (Van der Kruk, 2009). There is always interconnectedness in Southern Africa with people moving to search for work, refugee status, political asylum and business opportunities among other things. Africa's migration trends are deeply rooted in its history. The environmental, economic, cultural and political changes led to large historical migrations which helped to form African societies and ways of living, whereas now it is being spearheaded by globalisation and urbanisation. Urbanisation is driving rural to urban migration and yet globalisation is opening doors to the outside world (Van der Kruk, 2009).

Nyamnjoh (2006) notes that the world is now characterised with globalisation. He observes that the neoliberal rhetoric which entitles people to move freely across nations is often faced by the intensifying reality of borders, divisions and violent strategies of exclusion. It is the possibility of free and unregulated movements which have resulted in the job pressures and myriad of conflicts in the receiving countries. Nyamnjoh (2006) notes that "the accelerated flows of capital, goods, electronic information and migration induced or enhanced by globalisation have only

exacerbated the insecurities and anxieties of local citizens and foreign nationals alike, bringing about an even greater obsession with citizenship and belonging". The growing movement of people as spearheaded by globalisation brought about the increased number of immigrants in South Africa (Kesting, 2006). This gave birth to identity politics and more exclusionary ideas of citizenship. Consequently, this created what was termed by Nyamnjoh (2006) as the 'us vs them' trend and created within the local people the urge to distinguish between local citizens and foreign nationals. It is the creation of such terms which lead to conflicting situations.

2.2.1 Migration trends

Mafukidze (2006) asserts that population movements have played an integral part in shaping Africa and the rest of the world for a thousand of years. The environmental, economic, cultural and political changes have influenced the migration patterns in Africa over the years Castles and Miller (2014:125) note that these patterns were distorted and changed by colonisation which changed economic exploitation, political domination and the African culture. The Atlantic slave trade affected much of western and central Africa, while it contributed to economic development of the Atlantic economies. In contrast, it resulted in the underdevelopment and impoverishment of many African countries. It is the legacy of colonisation which results in some of the push factors influencing today's migrations within and from Africa (Castles & Miller, 2014:125).

Van der Kruk (2009:6) supports the argument above when he stated that migration in Africa is not a contemporary phenomenon, like in all societies, movements have characterised its history and present. It is, as Helgesson (2006) commends that migration is not a static phenomenon, its form and dynamics change over time along with the changing of structures and processes: "it has responded to and has affected changing social, economic, political and ecological conditions and processes" (Akin Aina & Baker, 1995: 11). Amin (1995) argues that among these transformations are: colonization, the construction of modern nations, modernization, monetization of the economy and the development process.

Migration in Africa is being marked by wars and refugee movements (Held, McGrew, Goldblatt & Perratonet, 1999). It is also marked by other migratory movements.

Adepoju (2001) argues that Africa is home to not only movements of refugees but also to intensified movements of labour, undocumented migrants, nomads, temporary contract workers and the circulation of professionals. These diverse circuits mostly take place on an intra-regional scale but must however not only be studied regionally “Migration is increasingly becoming part of the global process and can no longer be handled solely within a regional set up” (Adepoju, 2001: 44).

2.2.1.1 International migration trends

Massey, Arango, Hugo, Kouaouci, Pellegrino and Taylor (1993:431) note that immigration has become a permanent feature throughout the world. Migration trends have changed with many migrants choosing to migrate to countries such as Australia, Canada, the United States and South Africa whilst shifting away from the usual destination, Europe. Most migrants in Europe were coming from countries such as Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Massey et al. (1993:431) note that Europe previously had been sending immigrants to other nations, however, after 1945, almost all countries in Western Europe began receiving more numbers of immigrants from countries in Southern Europe, Africa, Asia, the Caribbean and the Middle East.

In the 1980s countries in Southern Europe-Italy, Spain, and Portugal which had previously send immigrants to Western Europe started to import workers from Africa, Asia, and the Middle East (Massey et al., 1993:432). Massey (1999) notes that Japan started to import more workers from poor Asian and South American countries to satisfy its labour needs. This was due to the declining birth rates, aging population and increasing standard of living. The emergence of international migration, attributed most to the effects of industrialisation resulted in the creation of multi-cultural societies (Massey, 1999).

2.2.2 Synopsis of the causes of migration in Southern Africa

Crush, Williams and Peberdy (2005:1) argue that Southern African people have always migrated within the region since the pre-colonial period. During the colonial era countries within SADC used to share the same labour market, hence resulting in intra-migration within the region. This is due to the movement of people searching for

employment opportunities and better income. However, the entrenched patterns of migration have undergone major restructuring in the last two decades. Southern Africa is now a region on the move (McDonald, 2000). This was made more possible for instance, when South Africa a regional economic power opened its borders to international migrants in 1994. There was a free flow of the movement of people from other parts of Southern Africa into South Africa.

Crush et al. (2005) assert that by the end of apartheid in South Africa, a system that restricted movement and limit opportunities made available to outsiders produced new opportunities for cross-border mobility and new incentives for moving. The subsequent integration of South Africa within the SADC region brought a major increase in legal and undocumented cross-border flows and new forms of mobility into South Africa. Secondly, the attainment of independence by all the SADC countries, made these countries to be opened up to all forms of migration commonly associated with globalization. Crush and McDonald (2002) argue that the third factor is attributed to increasing rural and urban poverty and unemployment which are acting as push factors driving people from their home countries in search of a better livelihood. The economic strife in Zimbabwe and Mozambique has seen most rural and urban folks leaving their comforts moving across the border.

Further, Dodson (1998: 145) commends that HIV and AIDS has also impacted considerably on migration. Not only is the rapid diffusion of the epidemic inexplicable without references to human mobility but new forms of migration are emerging in response. In the face of such a scare, humans have their own survival skills and one of them is to seek help in times of trouble. HIV and AIDS has made many people vulnerable hence, it made many people to move to better economies where they can find the help required. In Southern Africa, it is South Africa which has made better advancement towards ensuring that its citizens have quality health care. Consequently, most of the people from the poor countries in Africa like Somalia and Zimbabwe move into South Africa to secure treatment and better health care facilities.

In colonial Zambia, labour migrants left the country to work on mines in South Africa until the 1960s. In 1930, more than 50,000 worked on mines outside the country (Crush et al., 2005). The copper mines of Zambia also attracted workers from countries such as Zimbabwe and Malawi. In most cases the mines were often short of

workers, hence, they imported migrant workers (Crush et al., 2005). In colonial Swaziland, labour migrants from Malawi and Mozambique worked on the Havelock asbestos mines from the 1930s. Migrants from Mozambique were also hired by the country's sugar companies to work on the Lowveld sugar estates (Crush et al., 2005:1). This trend of events has been happening for generations since the precolonial era. This explains why migrants are on the move to South Africa in the modern era. The migrants and potential migrants are forever looking for opportunities to explore in the greener pastures.

2.2.3 Economic, environmental, political and social causes of migration to South Africa

2.2.3.1 Economic hardships

Economic hardships play an influential role in directing the movements of people from their countries of origin to foreign countries. Nwonwu (2010) designates that the economic consequences of the disreputable acts in Zimbabwe from the year 2000 are manifest in increased food supply shortages and acceleration of poverty and hunger in the country. The political unrest that ensued and the arrogance of the government in arresting, incarcerating, killing and demolishing the homes of members of the opposition created an immense push force that compelled large numbers of people to flee the country. However, Matlou and Mutanga (2010) assert that due to economic hardships Zimbabweans were forced to migrate from their country that used to be the food basket of the region into South Africa. In this regard, it shows how extreme the situation was by alluding that Zimbabweans had to cut barbed wire fences and helped one another to crawl over the weak barrier in defiance of the scant security presence and incessant warnings of repatriation. They crossed in thousands daily into Zambia, Mozambique, Botswana and South Africa. This was because of the decay of the economy of Zimbabwe over the past decade.

2.2.3.2 Environmental problems

Migration is considered as a possible adaptive response to risks associated with climate change (McLeman & Smit, 2006). Northern Ethiopia provides a classic example of this situation. Meze-Hausken (2000:379) shows how climate change causes

migration in dryland areas of less developed countries. The effect of drought on migration depends on the visible impacts of the change, the vulnerability of the communities, individual who are affected by the change and the survival strategies put in place to help people who are affected. The vulnerability means an individual's risk of exposure to the effects of climatic calamity and the inability to cope with its effects. This research can establish that survival strategies are actions taken to avert and to manage the climatic disaster after the event (Drabo & Mbaye, 2011).

A study by Drabo and Mbaye (2011) shows people adjust to the effects of climate change differently, with families with more survival strategies being able to resist migration longer than those with fewer survival strategies. However, there comes a time after which survival strategies are reduced for all members of society and many members of the society are motivated to migrate to countries or places where they are better coping strategies. In other words, in this case, migration is initiated by the failure of people to develop better coping strategies (Drabo & Mbaye, 2011). These are the conditions which millions of people are exposed to around the world and results in them migrating into countries with good economic outlook in order to avert the effects of climate change.

2.2.3.3 Political causes

Matlou and Mutanga (2010) state that the political and economic meltdown in Zimbabwe since 2000 exposed the lack of integrity in South Africa's opposition of the protocol on free movement of persons. South Africa maintains its opposing stance because such liberalisation of movement of people in the region would lead to serious brain drain and capital flight from the neighbouring country economies (Matlou & Mutanga, 2010). Paradoxically, one must understand that migration is a global phenomenon driven by human instinct. Hence, when the Zimbabwean crisis erupted, and with long and penetrable borders, Zimbabweans streamed into South Africa in millions almost unrestricted.

Oucho (2009) notes that migration in the SADC region is conflict-driven migration. This is evidenced in countries such as Zimbabwe, Angola and Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). These countries have just emerged from, or are still involved in political upheaval and are revolving from the pains of the conflicts. In each of these countries,

nationals were forced to escape to other areas within or outside their own countries. Zimbabwe went through a turbulent period of political catastrophe after the 2000 presidential and parliamentary elections. In addition, Crush et al. (2005) suggest that the post-election turbulence was further exacerbated by the 2002 unpopular land redistribution exercise of the government of President Robert Mugabe. The catastrophe of the land redistribution forced many white farmers whose farms were seized to flee the country. Moreover, the members of the opposition Movement for Democratic Change party, who opposed Mugabe became targets for persecution and were evicted from both their land and country. However, Matlou & Mutanga (2010) notes that the eviction was perceived by the outside world as tantamount to killing the 'goose that lays the golden egg.

Nonetheless, Nwonwu (2010) adds that many Zimbabweans left their country leading to South Africa after the disputed elections of March 2008 which failed to produce an outright winner. During the period after these elections violence broke out in the country and thousands of Zimbabwean citizens sought refuge in South Africa. Hence, it is convincing to argue that political unrest is one of the major motives behind the movement of people from one country to the other.

2.2.3.4 Social factors

Blackwell (2008) notes that new information technologies like internet and other communication tools have a profound effect across the continent (Blackwell, 2008). Due to globalisation, the number of people migrating across the borders increased with skilled workers choosing to go where they have better lives. (Baruch, Budhwar & Khatri, 2007: 99). This was largely motivated by factors such as better job opportunities, rapid developments in technology, travel and communication that are more affordable and encourage people with skills to move beyond their national borders (World Bank, 2003). The satellite television showing images of life experienced in other parts of the world can be found in very remote areas of sub-Saharan Africa. This creates the eagerness of migrants to move to such areas where there are greener pastures. Moreover, mobile telecommunication's increased usage has improved the networking system between relatives resulting in potential movement of people to connect. The diffusion of information from one part of the world

to the other could be seen as determinant in making people take the decision to migrate. Therefore, globalisation, conceived as the opening of national or international borders and the diffusion of information has a dialectical link with the processes of migration.

Consequently, the global circulation of information and other attendant processes, the African migrants are now found anywhere in the world (Adepoju, 2006). Migrants are now able to sustain links with families, friends and business contacts in their countries of origin so cheaply. This can ensure that the immigrants can maintain their transnational relationships over long distances and many years. Consequently, this may have led to increased number of people eager to leave their families to find better opportunities (Adepoju, 2006). The number of African immigrants dying crossing the Mediterranean Sea into Europe every year reveals the nature of problem of migration especially in the context of Africa (Yardley & Pianigian, 2016). The impact of globalisation within the Southern African region can be one of the factors why there are many migrants in South Africa in recent years.

2.3 Xenophobia

Xenophobia is a complex global phenomenon that differs on intensity and manifestation depending on the contexts where it is found (Masuva, 2015; Tirivangasi & Rankoana, 2015). The common definition of xenophobia is “the hatred or fear of foreign nationals, combining the Greek *xenos* (foreign) with *phobia* (fear)” (Crush, 2008:15). Moge kwu (2005) defines xenophobia as the fear and dislike of foreign nationals as a result of poor intercultural communication on which members of one culture do not understand, appreciate and accommodate members of another culture among them. Xenophobia is grounded in the discriminatory attitudes and behaviour towards non-citizens which may result in violence, abuse and killings of human life. In other words, in its broader sense xenophobia means the fear of foreign nationals.

Xenophobia in South Africa is peculiar and unique, it is what the researcher describes as ‘targeted xenophobia’. It displays at least three characteristics which probably differentiate it from other forms of xenophobia in other countries or continents. It is predominantly directed at black African foreign nationals, hence the term ‘Afrophobia’. Harris (2002) observes that xenophobia in South Africa isn’t against all foreign

nationals but a certain group of people. South Africa since the attainment of democracy, it experienced an inflow of migrants from many parts of the world. However, a larger number of people came from its neighbouring countries. The migrant's inflow from the African continent was driven by several factors which include, economic crisis, political refugees and others seeking greener pastures. This group of African migrant is literary targeted during xenophobic attacks due to the fact that they fit on the lower cluster of the South African community, resulting in competition for jobs, houses, services and business opportunities.

Harris (2002) argues that in South Africa, not all foreign nationals are uniformly victimised, rather, Blacks, Indians and Asians foreign nationals, particularly those from Africa are the target and they comprise of many victims. This trend is what Wutawunashe (2011) describes as 'Afrophobia', Africans loathing Africans. Afrophobia is not a new concept but it is a form of xenophobia which has been inspired by a series of events. Matsinhe (2011) concurs by stating that 'this is Africa suffering from the fear of itself'. Masuva (2015) notes that the second feature of xenophobia in South Africa is the violent manifestation of xenophobia beyond xenophobic attitudes. Xenophobia manifested itself in 2008 and 2015 with violence as the most notable feature to draw the attention of the people across the globe. The violent attacks resulted in sixty-two (62) deaths in 2008 and seven (7) people died in April 2015. The third feature and the most important part of this study is the looting of immigrants' shops. In each xenophobic attack, which occurred the foreign owned shops were looted as the anger of people rise.

2.3.1 Xenophobia in the global context

This section presents an extensive literature analysis on xenophobia as a global phenomenon. The section begins by giving an overview of xenophobia and its extent especially in the context European experiences.

2.3.1.1 Xenophobia from the European context

Xenophobia has a long history in the existence of human beings. This is evidenced by the widespread of the problem in every part of the world. The difference is usually seen in the different contexts in which it manifests, as shall be shown in this section.

However, the consequences which xenophobia poses on minorities like immigrants, ethnic groups, woman and children remains so immense. This section also presents analysis of six European countries for instance, Germany, France, Hungary and Czechs Republic. Germany and France represent the Western democracies whereas Czech and Hungary represent the former socialist states. The literature reviews of the countries established under different democracies will help the scholar in understanding the extent of xenophobia globally and shape the perspective of this researcher regarding xenophobia.

Buthelezi (2009:10) concurs with the argument that “xenophobia is a global problem that has been experienced in both industrialized democracies of the north and the developing countries of the south. It is a reality in Germany, Belgium, and the United Kingdom as it is in China, Ivory Coast and South Africa.”

(a) The Germany context

The Germany society represents a classic example of the society where the problem of xenophobia is well documented. Zatlin (2007) provides a case study of an era where Germany and Polish people had problems. In 1972, Germany and Poland signed an agreement to relax the border restrictions. This was done to promote the cultural relations between the two nations. Moreover, this agreement was forged to ensure the ordinary citizens maintain their friendships, as well as maintaining the relationships between each other. The liberalization of the border ensured the free movement of people from both countries. Zatlin (2007) provides the estimates of the movement of people and the cultural exchange rates.

In the first eleven months, the Germany immigration officers recorded nine (9) million visitors coming into Germany whereas about six million five hundred (6,5million) Germans moved into Poland. This movement resulted in an approximately 10,000 marriages between the two nations. These developments came because of the consensus between the two nations and that was done with no consultation of the grassroots people. The consequences of this marriage of convenience was short lived. Zatlin (2007) points out that the enactment of the law did not help to bury the long-standing animosity between the Polish and the Germans.

Consequently, the relationship was bound to end with disagreements or clashes of interest between the citizens of the two nationalities. The East Germans became critical of the Polish. The East Germans accused the Poles of buying all the essential goods from the shops leaving the Germans vulnerable. The local people living at the border post argued that the Poles consumers bought all the goods which are essential to the lives of the Germans. Zatin (2007) points out that the native Germans argued that the Poles were causing the depleting of the already short supplied goods, as a result threatening the living standards of the East Germans. The economic downslope of the East Germany helped to trigger the xenophobic behavior. The East Germans started portraying the Poles as people who were engaged in crooked behavior at the expense of the East Germans.

The source of the problem was the scarcity of consumer goods created by the lack of economic planning. This helped to trigger the culturally long held perceptions of the East Germans on the Poles. Geis (1995) points out that policies matter much in the countering or creation of xenophobic tendencies. The scholar notes that historically the Germany agricultural and industrial capitalist always advocated for the importation of foreign labor. Foreign labor was essential because it was cheap and thrived in sordid living conditions. However, Geis (1995) observes that the German political system has always been wary of foreign labor. The fear of foreign nationals, has always been noted in the implementation of some policies. Smith (2010) notes that historically from the 1980s onwards, migrant labor has been used extensively. There are differences which are highlighted between the needs of business people and of the general public. The business people require labor which necessarily show the need for critical skills in South Africa today and the other parts of the world. However, the conflict emerges when the local people do not have such skills and the business people turn to foreign nationals. Enmity is created between the two groups.

The East Germany case study shows the need to address and heal cultural barriers to the peaceful integration of people of different communities. The cause of xenophobia tendencies has been triggered by the economic downslope on the part of East German. Zatin (2007) concurs that the politicians and journalists ignored the source of the problem. It can be noted that in both planned and market economy, the

source of xenophobic behavior is largely entrenched in the local histories of the ethnic conflict, which can be perpetrated by social groups. In a case where the economy is prospering the eruption of xenophobic attacks is limited to a down scale and there is likely to be co-existence between the foreign migrants and the local people.

In a recent study, Anon (2014) notes that one in every seven young Germans, or 14.4 percent, could be considered "very hostile to foreigners." Moreover, an approximately, 30 percent responded in the affirmative when asked whether they thought whether there were too many foreign nationals in Germany. This reflect the xenophobic attitudes which is harbored by the youngsters in Germany.

(b) The France context

Roemer and Straeten (2005) note that the political campaigns can also help in stimulating the xenophobic behaviors. They observed that 2002 election campaign moved from being economic driven to a scenario where non-economic issues took the center stage. The National Party's second place win during the 2002 election was accredited to their capitalization on the immigration laws. It is further observed that there was a wave of anti-immigration among the people at the end of the elections. This came as a result of the Jean-Marie Le Pen's party (Front National), a nationalistic and xenophobic law and order movement's propaganda during the election campaign. The reason for the popularity of the party was accredited to the failure by the traditional parties to respond to the increasing anti-xenophobic sentiments among the people. Consequently, people developed mistrust towards the traditional parties. In the case of the French, it can be noted that the political parties can sway public opinion in regard to certain social issues. The issue of migration if not correctly handled can result in the frustration of the citizens and people taking the issue into their own hands. This can result in the increase in xenophobic attacks and lack of sympathy for the foreign immigrants.

(c) The Russian context

Nyamnjoh (2006) reported separate incidences of xenophobic attacks against Africans in Russia. The first incidence involved a former South African ambassador to Moscow, the wife of another ambassador, and a minister counsellor were reportedly assaulted

by groups of young men. The wife of the ambassador was burnt with cigarettes on the chest and verbally abused. Blacks were rescued by the police from harmful attacks. Nyamnjoh (2006) points out that most of these attacks were carried out by ordinary Russians struggling to meet out their consumer dreams. These young people were infuriated by the fact that Blacks can afford to have the consumer power in a world they are supposed to be poor than Whites in the post-communist Russia (Magubane, 2004). The Russian President Vladimir Putin noted the seriousness of the problem and instructed his chief prosecutor to enact legislation that bans organisations that promoted xenophobia (Nyamnjoh, 2006).

(d) The Czech Republic context

Lolashvill (2011) notes that the list of xenophobic behavior in Czech Republic are continuing. Foreign nationals complain about the unwelcoming behavior of the Czechs. The scholar notes that this was the mark which was left by the socialist regime. Lolashvill (2011) also gives an example of political xenophobia, in this case he notes that the Workers Party, established in 2003 was described as anti-Semitic, xenophobic, homophobic and Neo-Nazi. The party was expelled primarily because it was exploiting the downward economic downturn. Furthermore, Lolashvilli (2010) observes that political xenophobia is rife in most countries. For instance, a Hungarian Party which is anti-Semitic and anti-Roma garnered 11 percent of the votes in the 2010 election and the popularity of its ideas doubled over time.

Slovakia, the Czech Republic's eastern neighbor is not different. Its Slovak National Party Leader, Jan Slota has always been in the parliament since 1990 but he is known for his anti-Hungarian sentiments. The Bulgarian's Right Wing Party, Alaka is also known for its hostile notions against the Turkish immigrants but it has gone to win 20 seats in every election. The bad economy presents the pro-xenophobic elements in the society to take the opportunity to stir the xenophobic attacks or sentiments.

(e) The Hungarian context

Furthermore, in support of the above argument one can note that xenophobia is not a new phenomenon indeed. Popper, Fenvesi and Keszthelyi (2015) states that 46% of

the Hungarian adult population is xenophobic. The highest xenophobic rates since 1992 when the Tarki first began the survey. The research points out that only 9% of those who were interviewed said foreign nationals are welcome to stay in Hungary. The immigrants from Asia were found to be less welcome. The Chinese, Romanians, Roma and Africans have an equal rejection rate of 80% percent (Popper et al., 2015). The strangest part was the fact that about 60% Hungarians reflected that they would totally ban an unknown ethnic group known as Pérez people. This scenario reveals a general dislike of foreign nationals in Hungary and is widespread within the population and there is need to do something about it. This case study is among others which are mentioned above which reflects the need to deal with xenophobia as an urgent problem world wide

2.4 Xenophobia and Africa

Xenophobia, globally it is not a new phenomenon. It is something that has gone for ages and has happened from time to time. Nyamnjoh (2006) notes that xenophobia in Africa is intensified by globalisation. He observed that people flee their countries to other countries because of the problems created by the legacy left by slavery, colonisation, apartheid, genocide and terrorism. In other words, xenophobia is explained by problems such as poverty, underdevelopment, economic disparity and cultural disparity, assumptions of social and cultural superiority. These factors or issues facing nations trigger xenophobia in the sense that, today they intensify the movement of people (Nyamnjoh, 2006). Many African countries find themselves in poverty hence, spearheading an increase in the movement of people from their countries of origin to the countries where there are greener pastures.

Castles and Miller (1998) note that the increased economic disparities between the poor and the rich countries have contributed to the high level of international migration which in turn result in xenophobic attacks against the migrants. Below are some of the xenophobia incidences in other regions of Africa apart from Southern Africa. In the post-colonial era Ghana and Nigeria provide two classic examples of case studies which may be placed within the context of xenophobia. Campbell (2009) gives an extensive review of the case of Ghana. Ghana was the first African country to gain independence which resulted in the influx of foreign immigrants flocking to look for the

means to better their lives. However, in the wake of high unemployment and inflation rates in Ghana in the 1960s, the civilian government of Ghana identified immigrants as the cause of the economic problem.

The Ghanaian government introduced the Aliens Compliance Act in 1969 which directed all the irregular immigrants in Ghana to legalise their stay within two weeks or leave the country (Campbell, 2009). The order was very impractical and resulted in the deportations of many foreign nationals and the Nigerians. It is estimated that approximately 1, 5 million people were deported (Campbell, 2009). The Ghanaians went further to develop policies which restricted foreign nationals from owning any business in their country.

The government of Nigeria similarly implemented a Parliamentary Act in the 1980s which saw about 1, 5 million people and mostly Ghanaians being expelled from the country. Adepaju (1984) notes that the population of those affected comprised of 180, 000 deportees from Ghana while 120, 000 were Cameroonians, 150,000 Chadians, 5,000 Togolese and 5,000 Beninese (Adepaju, 1984). This population migrated to Nigeria mostly after the discovery of oil. In 1982 the highly increasing inflation and unemployment led politicians to scapegoat foreign nationals for the mass expulsion. The public responded with violence in the case where the political leadership has started the initiative. The policies implemented were too harsh and did not give the immigrants time to organise their papers hence creating the culture of exclusion.

2.5 Xenophobic attacks in Southern Africa

Olukoju (2008) traces the incidences of xenophobia in Africa to the pre-colonial era. The social exclusion started in marriage arrangements in which some people would not marry in certain clans or families. The main reason for exclusion was that some clans or families were regarded as inferior and some were viewed with animosity or seen as a threat to the clan. He notes that the rivalry for political supremacy was a major cause for animosity between neighbouring clans. The *Mfecane* period in the 1820s and 1830s also known as the 'time of trouble' marked the period where non-Zulu tribes were driven out of South Africa. The Zulu under Tshaka wanted all the ports and fertile land for themselves hence they waged wars against their neighbours.

Olukoju (2008) notes that the history of the subjugation or even enslavement of one group by another promoted deep-seated animosity. For example, the Zulu ruled other Xhosa tribes while the Ndebele under Mzilikazi enslaved the Shona. Mzilikazi was a general in Tshaka's army but migrated north-west to move far away from the marauding Zulu impies. These pre-colonial facts informed the negative stereotypes about certain African groups. This also shows that xenophobia has always been part of Africa, the Xhosas hating the Zulus and the Shona not liking the Ndebele (Olukoju, 2008). This animosity between the tribes and the issues about one tribe dominating another can be used to pinpoint the origins of xenophobia in South Africa.

Xenophobia in South Africa is further traced back to the colonial era. De Jager and Hopstock (2011) observe that xenophobia in South Africa is rooted in the apartheid system. They point out that during apartheid; xenophobia was expressed through laws and policies which separated anyone who is not white from the leading elite (Kruger, 1969). The apartheid government would put policies to protect their white minority agendas. This is where the culture of violence emerged from black people running in the streets in protest and using violence as a way of speaking to the government. The culture of violence was seen across Africa during the colonial era, where in most cases the response against xenophobia was violence. Matunhu (2011) concurs that xenophobic attacks are the result of human nature to protect certain interest. He further argues that this nature is also found in animals. According to him there is nothing unusual about animals protecting their territory. In this case, the scholar was revealing that the antagonism against foreign nationals may be an innate quality. For instance, when a newly born baby refuses to be touched by a stranger, showing that humans have a tendency not to trust foreign things or people whenever, they first encounter them. Hence, the need for the promotion of co-existence within different communities.

The post-colonial era is the current stage which has seen South Africa grabbing the headlines across the globe with an increase in xenophobic attacks since 1994. The most serious attacks occurred in 2008 and these were followed by the 2015 xenophobic attacks. These attacks can all be attributed to a number of factors.

Furthermore, Mafukata (2015) commends on the growing xenophobic sentiments spoken against the Chinese people in Zambia and Africa in general. Mr Michael Sata who rhetorically opined that Zambia has become a province of China, and the Chinese became the most unpopular people in the country because no one trusts them and other sentiments such as “The Chinaman is coming just to invade and exploit Africa”. The sentiments uttered by Mr Sata show or can reveal hatred directed towards exploitative foreign nationals who take the reminiscent of the former colonisers. Mafukata (2015) notes that the sentiments expressed by the two leaders may be taken lightly but they add own to a growing or building up of xenophobic tendencies. There are always preceding circumstances to any event (O'Brien, Remenyi & Keaney, 2004). The Chinese activities within the mining industry where they have treated their workers with indifference and exploitative way has made people to develop a hatred against them (Lim, 2012).

2.6 The main causes of xenophobic attacks in South Africa

2.6.1 Economic woes

Bordeau (2010:6) notes that in South Africa, citizens often look for a scapegoat, or someone to blame for their poor financial situations. Most black South Africans are living in poverty and there is a high level of unemployment rate in the country. StatsSA (2015) reveals that the current unemployment rate stands at twenty-four percent (24, 3%). This has made the native South Africans to view other Africans as a threat. The 2015 xenophobic attacks were directed towards other Africans because of the threat they cause on them. Matunhu (2011) pointed out that xenophobia attacks denote a nature of human beings protecting their natural habitat. The natives see the foreign nationals as causing an unnecessary pressure to a situation already bad.

The foreign nationals are seen as causing a huge burden on the job market and also on service delivery in general. Bond, Ngwane and Amis (2011) note that about thirty-two percent (32%) of South Africans believe that xenophobic attacks are caused by foreign nationals' acceptance of cheap labour and blame them for taking all job opportunities. These sentiments reveal the fact that some South Africans are uncomfortable by the presence of foreign nationals in the country. According to

Cunningham (2012), the ethnic competition theory provides a powerful explanation for this intergroup conflict as exhibited in South Africa. This theory posits that ethnic solidarities intensifies when members of multiple ethnic groups occupy same positions. The ethnic groups usually contest over the available resources such as jobs, housing and welfare benefits. In some instances, some local citizens would join anti-immigrants' groups or political parties in a bid to reduce competition from immigrants over scarce resources. For instance, in South Africa, Mamelodi Concerned Residents Group organised a march against the foreign nationals' stay in South Africa. The participants and organisers cited that foreign nationals were responsible for unemployment, drug abuse and prostitution, blaming immigrants for "taking" South Africans' jobs.

2.6.2 Culture of violence

Neocosmos (2010) observes that xenophobia is not domicile to South Africa only but also in other parts of the world. The more disturbing thing about South African xenophobia is its violent nature. Valji (2003) notes that there exists in this country what have been termed as culture of violence. Violence has become normative instead of deviant and is used to communicate people's grievances, despite, the fact that it results in terrible consequences. Bond et al. (2011) report that most South African citizens are dissatisfied with the existing few employment opportunities and the declining levels of service delivery. They further stated that about thirty-one percent (31%) of xenophobic attacks were caused by crime, theft and fraud committed by foreign nationals. The use of violence to drive away foreign nationals became a more acceptable way of dealing with the situation. This can be traced back to the colonial times where people hold mass violent demonstrations against the apartheid government. In the post-colonial era, South Africans have continued to practise mass demonstrations as a way of expressing their disgruntlement or grievances.

2.6.3 Political causes

The outbreak of xenophobia in South Africa can be attributed to political causes. Since 2008 several factors have been cited by scholars as the cause of xenophobia but they

continue to go unaddressed. Bond et al. (2011) note that the causes of xenophobia in 2008 can be attributed to economic decline, lack of jobs and poor service delivery. This can all point to the government's inability to deal with the causes of xenophobic attacks. Several scholars have connected poverty in South Africa and xenophobia attacks (Chimbga, & Meier, 2014; Hamber, 1999). The failure by the government to address service delivery in the country and the need to end poverty may also would have caused the anger among the people.

Further, the political causes of xenophobia can be traced to the formative years of the African governance in South Africa, when the nation acquired democracy. Some political leaders instead of addressing the issue of migration and increasing population, incited the xenophobic attacks. Landau, Ramjathan-Keogh and Singh (2005) note the comments made in parliament by then Minister of Home Affairs, Mangosuthu Buthelezi proclaimed in his speech following his appointment:

“If we as South Africans are going to compete for scarce resources with millions of aliens who are pouring into South Africa, then we can bid goodbye to our Reconstruction and Development Programme (Human Rights Watch 1998: 20).”

He went on to argue that:

“The employment of illegal immigrants is unpatriotic because it deprives South Africans of jobs and that the rising level of immigrants has awesome implications for the RDP as they will be absorbing unacceptable proportions of housing subsidies and adding to the difficulties we will be experiencing in health care” (Reitz 1994:8).

The sentiment creates a perception among the general population that foreign nationals are taking all the opportunities which are meant for South Africans. Xenophobic attacks have been building over the years due to the limited opportunities for the local people. The negative political utterances create a perception on how most of the people feel about foreign nationals.

2.7 Sociology and xenophobia: what is the subject matter?

This study also distinguishes the general explanations of xenophobia in South Africa by revealing what concerns sociology regarding xenophobic attacks. The question which comes to mind is what can sociology tell us about xenophobia in South Africa? Sociologist Berger (1963) noted that sociological examination always allows us to realise that “things are not what they seem”. Considering the South African context, various scholars have noted that the intolerance and hostility towards foreign nationals in South Africa was largely directed towards other black African immigrants (Crush & Dodson, 2007; Crush & McDonald, 2001; Harris, 2002; Morris, 1998; Neocosmos, 2006; Nyamnjoh, 2006; Peberdy, 2001; SAHRC, 2004:27; Valji, 2003; Tirivangasi & Rankoana, 2015). This is an intriguing fact which gives the researcher a sociological task to discover what the government is doing to stop this. Marcos (2010) note that sociologists provide a broader social frame of reference by looking at the role of the state and nationalism, in enabling or preventing xenophobic sentiments. Moreover, both broader social and historical contexts are considered to develop an understanding of how boundaries of inclusion and exclusion are drawn. In this study, I am looking at xenophobia from the perspective of government intervention.

The causes of xenophobia are explained more under the following concepts in sociology: prejudice, stereotyping, ethnocentrism and discrimination of many immigrants basing on social differences (Crush, 2001; Dodson, 2010). These are macro-sociological enablers of xenophobia. However, the migrants' experiences of attitudes and behaviours from South African local people differ with each context (Jearey-Graham & Böhmke, 2013). Macionis (2010) defines prejudice as any rigid and unfounded generalisations about an entire category of people. Duponchel (2013) pointed out that since the attainment of democratic rule in 1994, politicians and government institutions have been reinforcing the message that South Africa is being "invaded" by "illegal immigrants" who contribute to crime and are a drain on the country's limited resources (Neocosmos, 2008; 2010). Adam and Moodley (2014) concur with the argument above when they noted that prejudice against foreign nationals in South Africa is not confined to the poor. However, the two scholars gave an example of one senior politician saying how deeply concerned the government is about the fact that whenever they go to a restaurant they are served by foreign

nationals (Adam and Moodley, 2014). These are claims which lead to the development of different attitudes towards foreign immigrants in the country.

Sherif, Harvey, White, Hood and Sherif (1961) using the realistic group conflict theory points out that competition for access to limited resources results in a conflict between groups. Competition over these limited resources between groups leads to prejudices against the 'out-group', whose members are viewed by the 'in-group' as a source of competition. Furthermore, immigrants have been repeatedly being associated with the declining economy, overpopulation, pollution, increased violence, loss of cultural values, and terrorism (Cowan, Martinez & Mendiola, 1997; Munro, 2006). Moreover, migrants are often depicted as criminal, poor, violent, and uneducated (Espanshade & Calhoun, 1993). Sociologist Neocosmos (2006) also concurs with the argument above when he links the outbreak of violence to a widespread xenophobic feeling among South Africans, a sentiment created by the South African elite in order to protect their interests and wealth as well as cover their shortfalls by pointing a finger at the 'other' (Sharp, 2008; Duponchel, 2013). These are prejudices and stereotypes which lead to the outbreak of xenophobia in South Africa. Stereotypes are closely linked to prejudices in that they give an exaggerated description applied to every person in some category, when such sentiments are created they result in strong fear or hatred towards another group more often foreign nationals.

Sociologist also explain the causes of xenophobia using ethnocentrism. It brings out a belief in the superiority of one's nation-state over others (Licata & Klein, 2002; Schirmer, 1998; Yakushko, 2008). Sociologically, ethnocentrism is defined as a belief in the inherent superiority of one's own ethnic group or culture, and a tendency to view alien groups or cultures from the perspective of one's own. The term was first used by the American sociologist William Graham Sumner (1840–1910) to describe the view that one's own culture can be considered central, while other cultures or religious traditions are reduced to a less prominent role (Yakushko, 2008). This will lead to self-interest, family preference, clan, ethnic or national preferences. The problem that comes out is the fact that there is no limit to how people elevate their prominence over other or what entitlement do they have over others and the protection of the 'other's' rights. Bennett (2013) points out that manifestation of ethnocentrism is "xenophobia," or the fear of outsiders. It can be used as a defence mechanism where ethnocentric people attribute complex motivations to members of their own culture while attributing

simple motivations to other groups. For instance, when the local people argue that immigrants come to steal jobs and conduct criminal activities. These are the sentiments or attitudes which are created within different communities. However, there is a need to arrive at a situation where individuals can inhibit their ethnocentric behaviours.

2.8 Prevention of xenophobia

The Human Rights First (2008) outlines the challenges that xenophobic and other bias-motivated violence present to the protection of the human rights of refugees, asylum seekers, internally displaced persons, stateless persons, migrants, and other persons viewed as foreign. The Framework for Action sets out concrete recommendations for states which, based on their international obligations and other commitments, bear the primary responsibility for protecting all persons including non-nationals from xenophobic or other bias-motivated violence (Human Rights First, 2008).

The United Nations agencies and intergovernmental organizations were mandated to design plans to prevent xenophobic attacks. The UNHCR, the Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights (OHCHR), the International Organization for Migration (IOM), the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), and other bodies, designed strategies to prevent xenophobia according to their respective mandates and responsibilities (Human Rights First, 2008).

In addition, several states pledged to address the root causes of xenophobia by developing comprehensive domestic education policies and strategies and increased awareness-raising measures that promote greater understanding of and respect for humanity (Human Rights First, 2008). South Africa, with the highest incidences of xenophobia in the SADC block, should have the strategies designed according to her respective mandate and responsibilities to protect the human rights of refugees, asylum seekers, internally displaced persons, migrants and other persons viewed as foreigners.

2.8 Summary of the chapter

The chapter provides the reasons why foreign nationals find themselves in South Africa and exposed to xenophobic attacks. It is observed that most foreign nationals find South Africa to be their alternative from their dilapidating home country economy. This is due to an array of reasons which vary from personal choice to situations where it is beyond their control but to move to South Africa. Secondly, the researchers gave an overview of xenophobia in different context, ranging from the industrialised Western countries, the former socialist countries and the African countries, to understand the phenomena. This helped the researcher in understanding the South African context. The review shows that xenophobic sentiments are grossly embedded in the poor economic outlook and social service delivery challenges by the current government. Lastly, the causes of xenophobic attacks in South Africa vary from economic, political and social causes. In this section, the researcher went on to look at the causes of xenophobia from a sociological perspective. The researcher wanted to provide some insights on how sociologists view xenophobia behaviour. Lastly, the researcher reveals that it is the mandate of the South African government to protect all the foreign immigrants in South Africa.

CHAPTER 3

THEORETICAL ORIENTATION OF THE STUDY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter provides an extension of the literature analysis on xenophobia as a phenomenon. The previous chapter has dealt with providing the contextualisation of xenophobia from the global context to the South African context. It also provided immediate causes of xenophobia in South Africa. However, this chapter provides the theoretical explanation on why foreign nationals find themselves in South Africa and end up being exposed to xenophobia. The chapter makes an analysis of different perspectives regarding migration and xenophobia. These theoretical perspectives strengthened the ideal theory chosen for this study. The researcher used scapegoat theory as the fundamental theoretical framework underpinning this study.

3.2 Theories of migration: An overview

The continual movement of people has led this research to look at the theories which seek to explain the real underlying causes of migration. These theories explain the initiation of migration and how the movement of people is sustained. This helped the researcher to understand the reasons why people find themselves in South Africa and exposed to xenophobia. The main reason for international migration found in the theoretical and the empirical literature is differences in economic opportunities or, more precisely, wage differentials (Harris & Todaro, 1970; Ghatak, Levine & Price, 1996). Different theoretical perspectives have been proposed to explain why the initiation of international migration, and although each seeks to explain the same phenomena, they use radically different concepts, assumptions, and frames of reference (Massey, Arango, Hugo, Kouaouci, Pellegrino & Taylor, 1993:433). The “movement of people and their temporary or permanent geographical relocation is nothing new, people have always been on the move and they moved great distances” (Held et al., 1999: 283). The movement of people from the past decades has been characterised by the expeditions of nomads, traders, missionaries, as well as those caused by European conquest, slave trade, and mass movement of labour (Held et al., 1999).

Furthermore, there are many types and forms of migration existing and spurred by different reasons differing for different groups and societies (Held et al., 1999). Forces that drive migration are situation specific and are often a combination of circumstances (Amin, 1995). Migration patterns, differing in duration, destination, motivation, and related contextual factors such as socio-economic and political situation as well as individual characteristics, change over time and are continually shaped by endogenous and exogenous influences. As Mafukidze (2006) argues, there is no single, common definition of migration which can explain different aspects and forms of migration nor can migrants be a similar group (Held et al., 1999). The researcher gave an analysis of the theories of migration to get a clear picture of why foreign nationals find themselves in South Africa. The theories explained the causes from a different departure point and illuminate on the different contexts in which migration manifests itself in South Africa.

3.2.1 Neo-classical theory-macro theory

Neo classical theory is described as the oldest and very well cited theory of international migration. It was developed to explain the initiation of migration in the process of economic development in the works of the following scholars; Hicks, 1932; Lewis, 1954; Ranis & Fei, 1961; Harris & Todaro, 1970; and Todaro, 1980. Neoclassical economics looks at differences in wages and employment conditions between countries, regions and on migration costs. The theory states that the family's decision to migrate is based on the wish to maximise the benefits attained from such an action (Borjas, 1989). This decision is not solely based on one person's wish but a household, whereby a decision is taken to minimise risks to family income or to overcome capital limits on family production activities (Massey et al., 1993).

This theory reveals that migration is influenced by geographic differences in the supply and demand for labour among different nations. Countries with a large outflow of labour have a low equilibrium market wage, while countries with a limited labour outflow are characterised by a high market wage (Massey et al., 1993:232). Consequently, one can note that it is the differences in wages between the regions which cause workers from under developed countries to move to developed countries. This will result in the decrease of labour supply and increase in wage rise in the

sending country whilst the supply of labour increases and wages also fall in the receiving country leading to equilibrium (Massey et al., 1993:232).

The International flows of human capital is highly influenced by the differences in the wage rates. This theory produces four elements which can be used to look at the South African context. These elements include wages, cost of migration on the household economy, employment conditions, supply and demand. South Africa is a regional economic giant in Southern Africa which makes it to be attractive in terms of wages and employment conditions. Educated people in different countries like Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Somalia see it as a good option to travel to South Africa for better opportunities for their families. Hence, it is easy for the people to leave their home countries for South Africa. Further, the laws of supply and demand apply to the South African context, migrants choose to travel to South Africa, because the sending country's economy has no use for the critical skills available or is unable to pay the workers. Hence, the big economy available in the region attracts the workers, in this case its South Africa.

On the contrary to the Neo-Classical theory's assertion that an individual's decision is influenced by the families' decision to maximise income or wages between regions, Mhlanga (2011) found out that most Somali families migrate to South Africa fleeing from starvation caused by famines in their home country. Hence, this theory may not be applicable to the African context where people migrate due to factors beyond their control, rather it is a matter of survival.

3.2.2 Neoclassical economics: micro theory

The macroeconomic model is a direct opposite of microeconomic model which explains that the movement of people is because of individual choice (Massey et al., 1993:234). According to this theory, the individual only migrates after making a significant calculation on what they are going to benefit from taking such an action. For instance, one would expect to get high monetary returns at the end of the year. This will act as a positive reinforcement influencing individual decision. People choose to move to where their skills are appreciated and experience higher wages taking into consideration other factors such as: costs of traveling, the costs of maintenance while

moving and looking for work, the effort involved in learning a new language and culture, the difficulty experienced in adapting to a new labour market, and whether they are ready to leave their old friends or not (Massey et al., 1993:234).

The migration flows between countries are simple sums of individual choice to migrate undertaken after doing individual cost-benefit calculations. International migration does not occur in the absence of stimulating factors like increase in wages or the opportunity to experience better life (Massey et al., 1993). The major theme arising from this theory is individual decision choice or individual cost benefit calculations. In the context of South Africa, this theory helps to explain that despite a wide array of factors used to explain the movement of people into South Africa, people also make individual choices that inform their decision to leave their home countries or not. In this case, South Africa presents many Africans with opportunities for better access to health, education, employment, social security and entrepreneurial prospects. These are factors which can inform individual decisions when people migrate to South Africa.

3.2.3 Dual segmented labour- market theory

Massey et al. (1993:443) note that the two models mentioned above are essentially micro-level rational choice decision models. Derived more from the works of Piore (1979), the dual labour market theory argues that migration stems from the basic labour demands of industrial economies (Massey et al., 1993). The proponents of this theory include factors such as structural inflation, job motivation, economic dualism and the demography of labour supply. Structural inflation happens when employers raise the salaries of the unskilled workers for them to attract more workers. It is these actions which upset socially defined relationships between status and remuneration, creating demand for wage increases from those who occupy higher positions (Massey et al., 1993). Motivational problems occur when workers in a organisation or system are unable to get job promotion which they are entitled or guaranteed elsewhere (Massey et al., 1993:444).

Furthermore, what the employers need are workers who need employment to earn money and not as a way to increase their status or prestige in the society (Arango,

2000). The segmented labour market theory therefore states that labour migration is made possible by the urge to evade the structural problem in the sending country.

3.2.4 Lee's pull/ push factors

This theory was coined by Lee (1966) when he was trying to assess the causes of migration at individual level. It looks at both the supply and demand side of migration. The theory looks at both the positive and negative side of the receiving and sending countries to bring out what influences individual choices. Migrants are more likely to move to areas where they are attracted by the resources and result in personal benefits. South Africa presents most people in Southern Africa (and those from East and West Africa) with greener pastures since it offers better services in comparison to other countries. This is due to higher wages, standard of living and availability of opportunities. As a fast growing economy, South Africa attracts people from all over the world. The other issue is the fact that most immigrants come from countries which are in economic crisis like Zimbabwe and Somalia.

3.2.5 The network theory

The network theory sees networks as a form of social capital that are sets of interpersonal ties that connect migrants, former migrants and non-migrants in origin and destination areas through ties of kinship, friendship and shared community origin (Massey et al., 1993:448). It is the existence of diaspora connections which influences decisions of people when they migrate or choose destinations (Vertovec, 2002; Dustman & Glitz, 2005). These links reduce costs and risks of migration and at the same time, the 'expected net returns' of migration increase (Massey et al., 1993). Stark and Wang (2002) argue that initially, migration is started by more educated pioneers who migrate to receiving countries because of their skills. However, after getting settled, they help their siblings to relocate where they are by identifying areas or jobs where their skills are required. Most emigrants travel with their families in order to minimise cost as well as sharing the economic success. This is evidenced by the migration trends among the Zimbabweans, Ethiopians and Somalians. This theory is more applicable as well in the South African context where upon getting settled, migrants have a tendency of bringing their relatives to stay with them.

Stapleton (2015) agrees with the argument above, when he notes that networking plays a crucial role in influencing people's decisions to migrate. For instance, if an individual hears news about job opportunities in South Africa, they may be encouraged to move, however, when they do not have access to such news they may not migrate at all. Furthermore, networks provide assistance to potential immigrants by providing them with such necessities like accommodation, food, security and employment opportunities. This reduces the risk of the person who intends to migrate to a different nation.

3.3 Theories and perspectives on xenophobia

This section gives an overview on existing theories and perspectives on xenophobia. The section begins by discussing the 'institutional theory' and how such a theory can help in understanding the causes or origins of xenophobia. Other theories to be discussed in this section include, the social identity theory, the sociobiological hypothesis, and the isolation hypothesis.

3.3.1 Institutional theory

Burns and Rydgren (2001) referred to 'institutional others' as a situation whereby a community have established patterns of thinking and response. These are called institutionalized strategies for dealing with others who are deemed or considered problematic or dangerous. This has been noted in the United States of America and in Europe where they are groups of people which are regarded as problematic and viewed in a negative way. For example, Jews, Muslims, foreign nationals and immigrants. Burns and Rydgren (2001) observe that the migrants are often seen as an economic or political competitor by the local people. This may be connected to feelings of threat, hatred, or both. They are perceived as a threat if they are believed to be taking or gaining from the opportunities entitled to the local people. It is the success and achievements of foreign nationals which spur resentment against them. Thompson (1997:92) concurs that institutional xenophobia is the mass expulsion of a group such as illegal immigrants. In other countries immigrants or minorities are seen as a threat to national loyalties and identity. The general population regard them as polluting their national ideals. This case usually happens when authorities and people

in the community accepts other migrants for instance, because of the value which they bring and a situation where some immigrants are not acceptable because they bring nothing. This is what creates different prejudices or discrimination towards a certain group of people. This in other cases will result in local people taking the matters in their own hands. Hence, bringing the concept of 'gate keeping' into play. The mechanism of institutional xenophobia is "gate-keeping", which is described as the decision-making process by which members of a society are admitted to positions of power, privilege, and status. The scenario where foreign nationals hold the positions is generally not acceptable and tends to create animosity between the immigrants the local inhabitants.

3.3.2 Social identity theory

Tajfel (1972) promulgated the idea of social identity to theorise how people view themselves in intergroup contexts, how a system of social groups creates and defines an individual's own place in society (Tajfel, 1972: 293). He defined social identity as "the individual's knowledge that he belongs to certain social groups together with some emotional and value significance to him of this group membership" (Tajfel, 1972: 292). The theory explains how the members of the group derive their social identity and value the properties of the ingroup. This results in social comparisons between groups which focuses on establishing evaluative positive distinctiveness for one's own group (Hogg, 2001). Intergroup relations involve a process of competition for positive identity (Turner, 1975) in which groups and their members strive to protect or enhance positive distinctiveness and positive social identity (Hogg, 2001).

The possible conflicting situations which arise from the social identity theory are found in the works of some Afrocentric writers who argue that it is the way you see identity which may be problematic. Busakwe (1997) considers homogenous ways of thinking about xenophobia as leading to 'closed definitions' and understandings, and can have disastrous consequences for those who are defined homogeneously, and those doing the defining. For instance, Kang'ethe and Duma (2014) note that the Eurocentric perspective tends to view African immigrants as one group. Busakwe (1997:37) puts it this way: "... reductionist statements assume that all Africans can be grouped together, and will want the same things, and will expect the same things and can be

treated in the same way.” This is a misunderstanding of the African evolving identity. Mbembe (2001) is of the view that the continent of Africa is undergoing transformation in many ways. His contention revolves around the notion of how geographical spaces, economic and political life, and African identities are all transformed into a singular ‘continental Africa’. Hence, it is dangerous to view African identities as one. The emerging identities or existing ones may be the source of xenophobic behaviour as exhibited in South Africa. The recognition of the differences in thoughts, behaviour and belonging may help in integrating the foreign immigrants within South African communities.

Reisinger (2013) states that psychology has a number of explanations on why humans form identity groups and the implications which the formation of such groups have towards the formation of attitudes towards outgroups. They are basically two assumptions which emerge from the social identity theory. Firstly, individuals make every effort to maintain or enhance their self-esteem. They do this by joining social groups. The membership of these groups are associated with negative and positive feelings. People like to think positively about the group to which they feel they belong. The other way in which one can be positive about their in-group is through nationalism.

Anderson (1983:15) defines the nation as “an imagined political community into which one is either born or tied to in some naturalising manner, as with a family, and thus the concept of nation can evoke familial love and loyalty”. For instance, words such as fatherland and mother of the nation (Gaitskell & Unterhalter, 1989) are commonly used in depicting national as well as gendered subjectivities. Moreover, it can be noted that within a nationalist framework, one’s positive feelings towards one’s national in-group can also entail rejection of and hostility towards the out-group (Mummendey, Klink & Brown, 2001). Gellner (1996:1) states that:

nationalist sentiment is a feeling of anger aroused by the violation of the principle, or the feeling of satisfaction aroused by its fulfilment... the nationalistic principle is violated when a political boundary of a given state does not include all members of the appropriate nation; or it includes them all but also includes some foreign nationals; or it may fail all at once, not incorporating all nationals and yet including some non-nationals (Gellner, 1996).

In other words, conflicting situations may arise due to the mere inclusion of foreign nationals within South Africa as highlighted by the sentiments raised earlier where local citizens argue that foreign nationals are taking jobs and opportunities which belong to them. Nationalistic sentiments may trigger xenophobic attitudes or behaviours against foreign nationals. The researcher may observe that the transition from apartheid to a post-apartheid context was synonymous with calls for national unity coupled with the exclusion of those deemed not to belong to the nation (Reitz, 1994).

Reisinger (2013) notes that although xenophobia can be treated differently from nationalism. The question which would arise is how one's national identity create or stimulate one towards xenophobic tendencies or lead to high xenophobic tendencies towards outgroups. Some sociologists are of the view that sentiments such as "foreigner" arise out of discourses that are derived from nationalism (Crush, 2001; Harris, 2002) with national identity revealing cultural uniqueness and homogeneity (Wodak, de Cillia, Reisigl & Leibhart, 2009).

Reisinger (2013) concludes that pride equals prejudices. He also notes that xenophobia and in group degeneration is the product of nationalism and in group attachment. Other factors intervene to turn the nationalist against an outgroup. These factors can include group threat, cultural, economic or elite manipulation as well as other factors such as age, gender, education and institutional factors. Liebkind (1989) notes that social identity when it is added another approach called ethnocentrism, it will create such xenophobic behaviours.

3.3.3 Sociobiological hypothesis

This theory is largely derived from the works of Darwin's theory of evolution and attempts to examine and explain social behavior within that context. However, its application to xenophobia was put forward by Waller (2002); Omoluabi (2008) and Davis (2010) where impetus is given to the view that 'all human beings have an innate, evolutionary tendency to seek proximity to familiar faces because what is unfamiliar is probably dangerous and should be avoided'. This theory explains xenophobia as rooted in the perceived difference between the foreign immigrants and the local

people. Davies (2010:10) notes that sociobiological differences can be identified through “hairstyle, accents, language, dress and physical appearance which helps to differentiate the people”. Morris (1998) notes that the Nigerians and the Congolese are identified because of their physical features, clothing and their inability to speak the local language. The scholar observes that “the phrase *amakwerekwere*” is designed to mimic their strange speech. The locals believed that when foreign nationals speak they sound like chickens, hence, according to Phiri (2014), he argues that foreign nationals are uncivilised. The discourse of ‘social difference’ becomes essential in understanding the emergence of xenophobia in a context. In South Africa, for instance, the way foreign nationals are ‘different’ from locals becomes the basis of open and subtle forms of prejudice, discrimination and xenophobia.

Further, this evidently goes on to explain why South Africans have negative attitudes towards other black Africans. This clearly shows that the sociobiological factors play a role in explaining xenophobic violence in South Africa where the term has become synonymous with non-national black Africans who remain the primary target of xenophobic attacks. Harris (2008) argues that xenophobia is often targeted at specific ethnic groups. This is confirmed by the sociobiological theory. It helps to explain why foreign nationals are not always considered in a similar way and are seen differently. In relation to this, foreign nationals are classified by their difference to the host population, rather than by their similarities as a group. Their linguistic, physical and behavioural differences categorize them as an ‘other’ in terms of relative difference to the host population group. This explains why ‘Afrophobia’ was easy for the perpetrators to pursue. Most of the people who come from the northern parts of Africa are dark brown in complexion in comparison with some South African ethnic groups. The other determining factor was the issue of language where most of the foreign nationals use English as their language of communication.

3.2.4 Isolation hypothesis

The Isolation hypothesis offers an alternative explanation to the scapegoat theory. This research adopts scapegoat theory as the main framework that informs the study. However, the scapegoat theory does not explain why the foreign nationals and not any other group or individual become the scapegoat. Phiri (2014) traces the concept of

isolation from an American journalist Edward Prince Bell in 1922. Phiri notes that America between 1939 and 1941 it adopted the isolation policy. This policy made them to distance themselves from the affairs that had to do with Europe. However, according to Bell that was a wrong economic strategy when it comes to international cooperation. It only left this policy when it decided to confront Germany. Isolation meant that the US will not involve itself with the wars in other continents but it would concentrate on domestic affairs (Doeneke, 1982:20). Phiri (2014) noted that there is no agreed definition on what the concept of isolation entails.

Duncan (2011) argues that isolation hypothesis holds that xenophobic attacks in South Africa came because of South Africa's isolation from the rest of the world during apartheid. Phiri (2014) argues that apartheid left its legacy long before 1948. The laws that were passed before then subjected the blacks under segregation. Apartheid created cultural, physical and legal boundaries between ethnic groups. The community of the elite consisted of the Afrikaans and the English-speaking people whereas other races constituted the lower classes.

Most of the blacks were classified into linguistic groups (Lowstead, 2010:100). The notable result of such segregation was the fact that even the black people started hating each other along those lines. Fanon and Gibson (2011) note that the pieces of legislation such as the law of population registration Act of 1950, the Group Areas Act of 1950, Prohibition of Separate Act of 1949, Suppression of Communism Act of 1953 and the Bantu Education Act created a false consciousness. Fanon and Gibson (2011) note that the social unconsciousness made the blacks to see themselves in the image of the coloniser. The independent black people took their former oppressors' character. The foreign nationals were treated as inferior.

The apartheid government was slapped with sanctions by the international community. In other words, it was considered a pariah state and its home affairs policy was racist and a threat to democracy practised by the West. Democracy holds the liberalist policies which advocate for the equal rights under the law (Morris, 1998: 172). Duncan (2011:107) argues that "there is little doubt that the brutal environment created by apartheid with its enormous emphasis on boundaries maintenance has impacted on people's ability to be tolerant". Phiri (2014) notes that the non-acceptance of fellow Africans by South Africans is a residual effect of the internalised antipathy or hostility

caused by the apartheid state towards the outside world. Hook and Harris (2000) notes that the isolation hypothesis as it relates to xenophobia places foreign nationals at the centre of hostility.

It is evident that xenophobia is the legacy left by the apartheid system in South Africa. Despite, the fact that most Africans resented the concept of apartness, its legacy was left in the minds of the people. There is a general belief of keeping to one's own kind and group. This is an imprint which was left by apartheid which the new democratic South Africa is facing today.

3.2.5 Functionalism

Functionalism perspective reveals that xenophobic sentiments are created due to cultural differentness (Wimmer, 1997). Wimmer (1997) gives an example of migrants who emigrate from Southern and Eastern Europe, the scholar notes that immigrants from Third World are seen as unable to assimilate in the Western societies due to the fact that they are mainly agrarian and often semi feudal which internally is still in part strongly oriented to tribe and clan. Moreover, they still excise some religious beliefs or religions which have not experienced the Reformation and Enlightenment' (Hoffmann-Nowotny 1992:74). As consequence, these groups of people find it difficult to assimilate within the Western society.

Furthermore, Wimmer (1997) reveals that cultural incompatibility is also attributed to lack of higher educational qualifications and professional experience which is required at work place. The scholar noted that the foreign immigrants are also blamed for the for their inability to integrate into the class structure of the host society and therefore finally finding themselves in a ghettoized and marginalized. The new immigrant group, find itself being the favourite of public sentiments hostile to foreign nationals which spread during the time of social crisis. Thus, according to this functionalist view, the inability of certain minorities to integrate into the structure and culture of the host society leads the majority population to xenophobic rejection.

This research can reveal that, according to functionalist view, it is the immigrants' foreignness that causes problems. The citizens believe in the cultural homogeneity, it is whereby the local citizens prefer to remain among their own kind and to wish others

to remain among their own kind. The proponents of this theory display similar features with the one noted under socio-biological theory. This researcher can derive from this theory that that cultural incompatibility leads to ghettoization, and discrimination against foreign nationals.

This theory is both applicable and inapplicable to the South African context. The study by Wimmer (1997) is applied in the European context which speak forth about the inability of immigrants from third world countries' inability to assimilate due lack of education and different culture. In most cases, in South Africa, foreign nationals are over qualified than the host nation's citizens hence, the complain about foreign nationals taking jobs. Secondly, there is a minor difference on the culture and religion of South African citizens and their neighbouring countries which makes the issue of culture to be a little bit farfetched to explain xenophobia in South Africa. However, South Africans are able to identify foreign nationals because of their inability to speak local languages fluently, skin colour, and differences in religion as well. This may cause the inability of foreign nationals to integrate and assimilate within the wider community.

3.3 Theoretical framework of the study

The proposed study used scapegoat theory to probe xenophobic attacks in South Africa. Scapegoat theory is a theoretical framework which is used mainly in sociology and psychology. The theory can be traced to the Biblical act performed by Aaron for the Jews in order to cleanse the Israelites out of their sins. Gollwitzer (2002) provides this explanation with an insert from the bible as follows:

"And Aaron shall lay both his hands upon the head of the live goat, and confess over him all the iniquities of the people of Israel, and all their transgressions, all their sins; and he shall put them upon the head of the goat, and send him away into the wilderness..." (Leviticus 16:21-22 RSV). One of two goats was slaughtered and sacrificed to God; the other was burdened with the folk's sins and dismissed into the wilderness, carrying away the sins. This metaphor has been adopted by several sociological and psychological

theories and transformed into what has become known as the scapegoat hypothesis (Gollwitzer, 2002:6).

This scapegoat hypothesis was used by various scholars to explain a wide range of social phenomena such as prejudice, discrimination and xenophobia (Allport, 1954; Tolnay & Beck, 1995; Tshitereke, 1999). The theory was first applied to explain the situation experienced by the black Americans where the black people paid a price for the fluctuations of the price of cotton. Another case study is one about the Jews who were killed in Nazi Germany for economic problems (Breckler, Olson & Wiggins, 2005).

The proponents of the scapegoat theory posit that in times of national crisis, people usually seek for an object to place their misfortune, hence, the foreign nationals found themselves being a target (Blalock, 1967; Marrus, 1982). For instance, when most European experienced bad fortunes which include: economic recession after 1879, major wars and a series of social upheavals, Jews became the object of their frustration and aggression (Andreski, 1963). The scapegoat theory holds that in times of significant national trauma, the host population tends to blame minorities for its misfortunes. Brustein and King (2004) observe that the scapegoat theory fails to provide an explanation on why one minority group rather than other minorities is a target of people's anger. Crush (2009) argues that scapegoats are invariably weaker, vulnerable, minority groups as non-citizens who may already be marginalized because of their status; the migrants make easy scapegoats and victims.

In South Africa, hate or hostility against foreign nationals is deemed to come because of limited resources such as employment, housing, education, medical services and other public services which are entirely the expectation of the people during transitional periods (Tshitereke, 1999; Harris, 2002). As such, relative deprivation among the poor local citizens might be the root cause of scapegoating the 'foreign other' in South Africa. Allport (1954) points out that frustrations lead to prejudice, especially among disadvantaged people and, in this context, they identify a scapegoat who is usually foreign nationals. At the turn of transition into democracy, the black majority had higher expectations of the new government. As time goes on, they soon realised that their expectations were never going to be fulfilled (Tshitereke, 1999). This gap between the expectations and the reality was filled with frustration (Gomo,

2010). This made the black South African population to turn their anger on the immigrants living in South Africa. The immigrants became the scapegoat by South African citizens, instead of directing their anger towards the government; they forged violence against foreign nationals as a form of protest.

The theory was used to assess the extent of xenophobia in South Africa. The assumption is that South Africans exercise xenophobia due to the frustration of the unfulfilled promises by the government, hence foreign nationals become a scapegoat. It is based on this assumption that this study is conducted to try to establish the efficiency of the strategies used by the government to prevent xenophobic attacks. The scapegoat theory provided the necessary framework to understand the different mechanisms through which local communities in South Africa direct their anger to those who are seen as 'foreign' to them. More crucially, the theory illuminates on the process of 'othering' that is mostly associated with the phenomenon of xenophobia. The adaptation of the scapegoat theory in this study helped in teasing-out the circumstances leading to local South Africans displacing their frustrations to those who are perceived as the 'foreign other'.

In this study, the scapegoat theory was used to examine this interplay (intersection) between disillusionment and displacement (of anger or frustration). Moreover, the theory provided useful lenses of examining the ways through which governmental agencies respond to incidences of popular disillusionment that carry xenophobic undertones. By placing more emphasis on the process of interaction between those in positions of governmental authority and local citizens, the scapegoat theory helped in the process of theorising xenophobia as not only a social question but a political one. For this reason, the theory was adapted and applied in this study to examine both the social and political aspects of xenophobia and how these are being attended to by the South African government. Unlike any other existing theories, the scapegoat theory was useful in providing illumination on how foreign nationals living in South Africa become 'targets' of xenophobic attacks especially whenever the state is perceived as falling short in meeting the day-to-day survival needs of its citizens. It is this interplay between citizens and the state that theory helped in unravelling as it remains crucial in understanding the dynamics of xenophobic experiences in contemporary South Africa.

3.4 Summary of the chapter

In summary, the first section of this chapter dealt with the migration theories which sought to explain why foreign nationals migrate to South Africa. The chapter has revealed that institutional xenophobia can be because of the government's way of dealing with the problems emerging from migration. This result in the government having to deal with issues of exclusion, stereotyping where foreign nationals are regarded as dangerous, problematic, illegal immigrants and exclusion. The social identity theory speaks of nationalism where the locals feel a sense of belonging which provokes the hostility against the out-group or the foreign nationals. The third theory, the socio biological theory reveals how the foreign nationals can be distinguished from the locals. For instance, the differences are due to hairstyles, accent, language and physical appearances.

The isolation hypothesis argues that the South African xenophobic attacks emanates from the apartheid regime's isolation from the rest of the world. The transition from apartheid to a democracy in South Africa resulted in the reopening of borders which brought South Africans in contact with the world. The consequence was mistrust and suspicion of foreign nationals. The last section discussed the scapegoat theory which was adopted for this study.

CHAPTER 4

METHODOLOGY

4.1 The study area

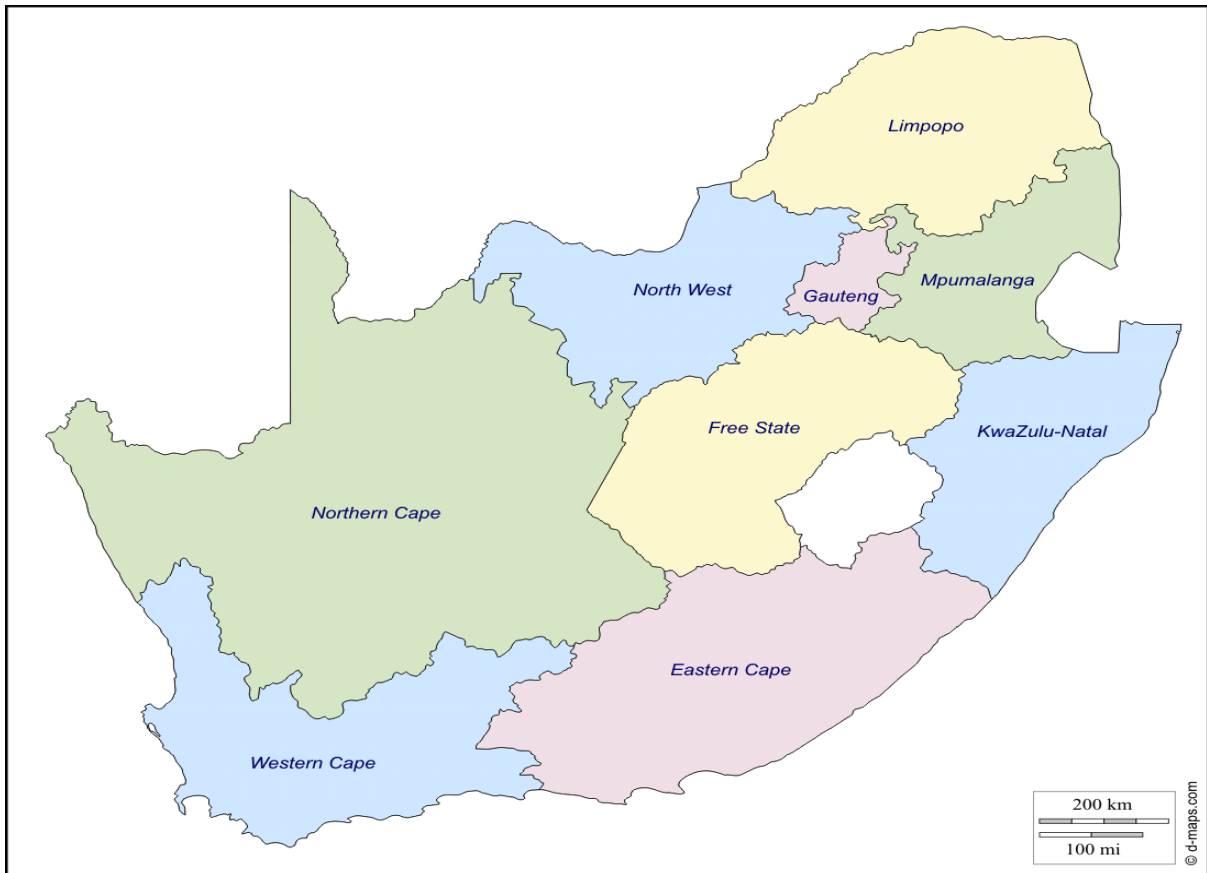


Figure 1: Map of South Africa. Source: Infor South Africa, 2016.

South Africa is divided into nine (9) provinces. This study covered extensive literature on xenophobia from all provinces. The provinces are namely, Limpopo, Gauteng, Mpumalanga, Northwest, Free State, KwaZulu-Natal, Northern Cape, Eastern Cape and Western Cape. South Africa is a nation that is made up of many ethnic groups hence, the study provides a detailed population demographics of each province. This was used to understand some of the causes of xenophobia in each province and this can also reflect why the extent of xenophobia is rifer in some provinces than others.

4.1.1 Limpopo Province

Limpopo Province is located on the Northern part of South Africa. The province was formed from the then Transvaal province and the White colonial government named it Northern Transvaal Province. However, the name lasted only for one year, it was named Northern Province. The name was later changed to Limpopo province in 2003

as a tribute to the Limpopo River (Makiti Guides & Tours, 2016). The river separates South Africa from Zimbabwe and Botswana. The name Limpopo is derived from the Nguni word *iLimpopo* which means the rapids or waterfalls (Makiti Guides & Tours, 2016). The province is often referred to as the South African gateway to the rest of Africa. It shares border with three countries Botswana, Zimbabwe and Mozambique. Further, the province is a neighbour to Gauteng, Mpumalanga and North West provinces. Igumbor, Bradshaw, Laubscher (2003) note that the province encloses 123 910 km², constituting 10, 2 % of the country's total land area (Stats SA, 2003).

4.1.1.1 Population structure

Limpopo province has a population of an approximately 5, 3 million people. The Northern Sotho (Bapedi) is the largest ethnic group in the province. They are followed by the VaTsonga, the VhaVenda people and Afrikaans. The Limpopo province, in terms of language, it has four predominant languages namely Sesotho SaLeboa (Sepedi) 52, 1%, Xitsonga 22, 4 %, Tshivenda and Afrikaans (Makiti Guides and Tours, 2016; Igumbor, Bradshaw, Laubscher, 2003). The 2011 Census found that a higher proportion of the population was female (at 54.6%). Just over 40% of the population were younger than 15 years, 56% were in their 'economically active' years (15-64), and 6% were aged 60 years or older. In terms of the race distribution, Blacks occupy 97% followed by Whites 2.4%, Coloured 0, 2% and the Asians take 0,5% of the total population (Limpopo Provincial Government, 2002).

4.1.1.2 Living conditions

According to the 2011 Census, 17,3% of the population aged 20 years or more had no formal school education; 49% of those in the age group 15-64 years were unemployed, and 33% of those who were employed were in elementary occupations (Stats SA, 2012). Over 6 in 10 persons (61%) lived below the national poverty line in 2002 (UNDP, 2004). Just over 70% of all households lived in formal dwellings, and 7% and 20% respectively in informal and traditional structures. On average, 4.3 persons shared a household. Piped water, either in the dwelling, on site, or from a communal tap, was available in 78% of households (Stats SA, 2003). Almost one-quarter of households did not have access to a toilet facility, and a mere 14% had a

refuse removal service once a week or more (Stats SA, 2003). In 25% of the households, electricity was used as the main source of energy for cooking, wood in 60%, and paraffin in 11%. Almost 70% of the households had a radio, 40% a television, 39% a refrigerator, 8% a telephone and 25% a cell phone (Stats SA, 2003).

4.1.2 Gauteng Province

Gauteng Province is located on the north-eastern part of the country. It is surrounded by four other provinces, Limpopo in the north, Mpumalanga in the east, Free State in the south, and North West in the west. The province is formerly known as Transvaal during the colonial era. The province mainly encompasses the three urban areas of Pretoria, Johannesburg and the southern Vereeniging Vanderbijlpark industrial complex. The 2011 census revealed that the majority of the population (97%) lived in urban areas (Stats SA, 2011). The Gauteng land area is the smallest in South Africa, in square kilometres it measures an approximately 16 937 (Stats SA, 2011; Morojele, Kachieng'a, Mokoko, Nkoko, Parry, Nkowane, Moshia & Saxena, 2006). Further, the Gauteng is considered as the country's economic centre (Stats SA, 2003). It has a very well developed infrastructure which consist of airports, telecommunications networks and very strong and complicated financial system (Bradshaw, Groenewald, Laubscher, Nannan, Nojilana, Norman, Pieterse, & Schneider, n.d); Landau & Gindrey, 2008).

4.1.2.1 Population structure

The population of the Gauteng province was about 13, 20 million people by mid-year 2015 (Stats SA, 2015). In 2007, the Province's ethnic composition was as follows: Black: 7,856,102 (75.2%), White: 1,923,828 (18.4%), Coloured: 390,188 (3.7%) and Indian or Asian: 281.595 (2.7%) (Bradshaw et al, et al., n.d). Further, migration is an important demographic process in determining the population structure in the province. For example, for the period 2011 to 2016 it is estimated that roughly 243 118 people will migrate from the Eastern Cape (Stats SA, 2015). Furthermore, Limpopo is estimated to experience an out-migration of nearly 303 151 people. Within the same period, Gauteng is estimated to experience an inflow of migrants of approximately 1 169 837 million people (Stats SA, 2015). This is without accounting for the migration

from other countries. Moreover, due to its economically dominant position within both South Africa and Southern Africa, Gauteng continues to be a major destination for domestic and international migrants (Landau & Gindrey, 2008:12).

4.1.2.2 Living conditions

An approximately one fifth of the province's population lived below the national poverty line in 2002 (UNDP, 2004). Further, 7% of the households in Gauteng province are having a shack in the backyard, 2% lived in traditional households. Furthermore, the province had a highest number of those living in informal housing settlements (Housing Development Agency, 2012). Stats SA (2003) states that piped water, either in the dwelling, on site, or from a communal tap, was available in 98% of households. About 4% of households did not have access to a toilet facility, and 84% had a refuse removal service once a week or more often (Stats SA, 2003). Electricity was used as the main source of energy for cooking in 73% of households, wood in 1%, and paraffin in 21%. Approximately, 28.7 percent of the households in Gauteng had a family member receiving grant (Stats SA, 2009).

4.1.3 North West Province

North West is in the central north of South Africa and its capital city Mahikeng, formerly known as Mahikeng or Mafikeng. The province borders Botswana in the north, Limpopo and Gauteng in the east, Free State in the south, and Northern Cape in the west. The province encloses 116 320 km², constituting 9.5% of the total land area of the country (Stats SA, 2012). In 2000 the average population density was estimated at 32 persons per square kilometre. During the 1996 census almost two-thirds of the population (65%) lived in non-urban areas (Stats SA, 1998). The Rustenburg and Brits areas have the largest single platinum production in the world. Further, there is diamond mining at Bloemhof, Christiana, Koster and Lichtenburg, marble mining in Taung, Rustenburg and Brits, fluorspar exploitation at Zeerust, and gold and uranium mining at Klerksdorp, Orkney and Stilfontein (Bradshaw et al., 2003). The North West contributed 26% of national mining and 7% of national agriculture, but only 3% of manufacturing and 4% of construction (Bradshaw et al., n.d).

4.1.3.1 Population structure

According to the 2000 ASSA estimates, 3 707 000 people lived in North West, constituting 6.7% of South Africa's total population (Stats SA, 2015). The province accommodated slightly more men (1 887 202) than women (1 819 760). One-third of the population were younger than 15 years, 64% were in their 'economically active' years (15-64), and 6% were aged 60 years or older (Bradshaw et al., n.d).

4.1.3.2 Living conditions

The North West has relatively high levels of joblessness with 39% of the working-age population employed in 2015, compared to a national average of over 40%. The international norm is around 60%. Over half of the population (57%) lived below the national poverty line in 2002 (UNDP, 2004). Nearly 69% of all households in North West lived in formal dwellings, and 22% and 5% respectively in informal and traditional structures (Bradshaw et al., n.d). The growth of mining meant the North West attracted substantial in-migration, even though many people also left poorer regions for Gauteng. The province's population grew 36% from 1996 to 2015, compared to a national average of 35 % (Bradshaw et al., n.d).

4.1.4 Mpumalanga Province

Mpumalanga is in the north-east of South Africa, having international borders with Mozambique and Swaziland in the east, and local borders with KwaZulu-Natal and Free State in the south, Gauteng in the west, and Limpopo in the north. The province encloses 76 495, constituting 6.3% of the total land area of the country (Stats SA, 2011). Mpumalanga has an estimated population of about 4 039 939 and it contributes about 8% of the total population in South Africa (Stats SA, 2011). The best performing sectors include mining, manufacturing and services. Mpumalanga is rich in coal reserves, highly noticeable by the presence of huge power stations. Further, agriculture plays an important role in the economy through sugar production, an abundance of tropical and sub-tropical fruits, maize, wheat, sunflowers, potatoes and other vegetables, nuts, cotton, wool and dairy products (Bradshaw et al., n.d).

4.1.4.1 Population structure

Approximately 4 039 939 people lives in Mpumalanga, constituting 6.8% of South Africa's total population. The province accommodated slightly more women than men, with men constituting 49.5% and women 50.5% of the population (Stats SA, 2015). Just over 35% of the population were younger than 15 years, while 62% were in their 'economically active' years (15-64), and 5% were 60 years or older (Stats SA, 2015). Mpumalanga is linguistically heterogeneous, with no dominant particular language (Alexander, 2016). The people in the province speak Afrikaans (7, 2%), English (3, 1%), IsiNdebele (10%), IsiXhosa (1, 2%), Sipeedi (9, 3%), SeSotho (3, 5%), Sitswana (1, 8%), Sign (0, 2%), Siswati (27%), Tshivenda (0, 3%) and Xitshonga (10, 4%) (Stats SA, 2011).

4.1.4.2 Living conditions

According to the 2001 Census, 27.5% of the population aged 20 years or older had no formal school education, and 41% of those in the age group 15-64 were unemployed (Bradshaw et al., n.d). Almost one-third of those who were employed were in elementary occupations (Stats SA, 2003). Almost 55% of the province's population lived below the national poverty line in 2002 (UNDP, 2004). Further, about 67% of all households lived in formal dwellings, and 16% and 13% in informal and traditional structures respectively (Stats SA, 2003). An estimated average of 4 persons shared a household. Piped water, either in the dwelling, on site, or from a communal tap, was available in 87% of households. About 10% of households did not have access to a toilet facility, and 39% had a refuse removal service once a week or more often (Bradshaw et al., n.d).

4.1.5 Free State Province

The Free State is a central Province of the country, having an international border with Lesotho, and local borders with all other provinces except Limpopo and the Western Cape (Bradshaw et al., n.d). The province encloses 129 825 km², constituting 10.6% of the total land area of the country, making it in surface area the third largest province of the country (Stats SA, 2011). The average population density during 2000 was 22

persons per square kilometre, and about 31% of the population lived in non-urban areas (Stats SA, 1998).

Mining is the largest economic sector in the Free State, and this industry is the biggest employer in the province. The Free State Goldfields form part of the 400 km+ gold reef that stretches across Gauteng and the Free State. About 82% of the province's mineral production value is derived from gold mining (Bradshaw et al., n.d). Gold mines also supply silver, while the considerable concentrations of uranium occurring in the gold-bearing conglomerates are extracted as a by-product. Additionally, the mining activities also include coal, diamonds are extracted from kimberlite pipes and fissures, and the largest deposit of bentonite in the country is found in the province (Bradshaw et al., n.d). Manufacturing agricultural products, horticulture, potatoes, cherries, asparagus, soya, sorghum, sunflowers and wheat are cultivated (Bradshaw et al., n.d).

4.1.5.1 Population structure

According to the Stats SA (2015) estimates, 2 862 088 people lived in the Free State, constituting 5.1% of South Africa's total population. The province accommodated almost equal numbers of men (49.96%) and women (50.04%). In addition, about 30% of the population were younger than 15 years, 66% were in their 'economically active' years (15-64), and 6% were aged 60 years or older (Bradshaw et al., n.d). Alexander (2016) notes that Sesotho is the language of the Free State, it is spoken by 64.4% of the Free State population, or 49% of all Sesotho speaking South Africans are staying in the Free state.

4.1.5.2 Living conditions

Living conditions according to the 2011 census 16% of the population aged 20 years or older had no formal school education, and 43% of those in the age group 15-64 years were unemployed (Stats SA, 2011). A large proportion of the population (60%) lived below the national poverty line in 2002 (UNDP, 2004). Further, almost 63% of households were accommodated in formal housing, and 26% and 7% respectively in informal and traditional structures (Bradshaw et al., n.d). On average 3.6 persons

shared a household. The vast majority of households in the Free State (97.8%) also had access to piped water inside the dwelling or yard.

4.1.6 KwaZulu Natal Province

KwaZulu-Natal is on the east coast of South Africa, bordering Mozambique and Swaziland to the north, Mpumalanga and Free State to the west, Eastern Cape to the south and Lesotho to the south west. The province encloses 94 931 km², constituting 7.8% of the total land area of the country (Alexander, 2016). During the 1996 Census 57% of the population lived in non-urban areas (Stats SA, 1998). Furthermore, the territory comprised of several patches of the self-governing area of KwaZulu. Together with the 'national state' of the former Transkei in the southern part of the province, these areas formed part of the so-called 'homelands' (Bradshaw et al., n.d). The rest of the province was under the separate provincial administration of the then Natal.

In addition, Durban has an international airport and one of the 10 largest ports in the world and an extensive national road network. KwaZulu-Natal experienced rapid industrialisation and their industries are in places such as Dundee, Hammarsdale, Ladysmith, Mandeni, Newcastle, Richards Bay, and Richmond.

4.1.6.1 Population structure

According to the Stats SA (2015) an approximately 10 919 100 people lived in KwaZulu-Natal, constituting 19, 9% of South Africa's total population. KwaZulu-Natal is the province with the second largest population in South Africa, the province accommodated slightly more women (5 691 015) than men (5 228 062). Moreover, nearly 35% of the population were younger than 15 years, and 61% were in their 'economically active' years (15-64), while 6% were aged 60 years or older. IsiZulu is the most common language in South Africa, spoken by nearly 23% of the total population (Stats SA (2015). But it's a regional language, with 71.8% of its speakers to be found in KwaZulu-Natal, where almost 80, 9 % of the people speak the language (Alexander, 2016).

4.1.6.2 Living conditions

According to the 2011 Census, 21.9% of the population aged 20 years or older had no formal school education, and 48.7% of those in the age group 15-64 were unemployed (Stats SA, 2003). Just over half of the population (50.5%) lived below the national poverty line in 2002 (UNDP, 2004). A large proportion of the households in KwaZulu-Natal (nearly 57%) are accommodated in formal housing, and 10.8% and 27.9% respectively in informal and traditional structures. On average, 4.2 persons share a household. The majority of households (86%) have access to piped water, whether it is in the home, yard or at a public facility. In 16.2% of the households there is no toilet facility; 49.2% of the households' refuse is removed at least once a week (Bradshaw et al., n.d).

4.1.7 Western Cape Province

The Western Cape province is located on the south-western tip of the African continent; it has the Northern Cape in the north and Eastern Cape in the east as its neighbouring provinces whereas the Atlantic Ocean lays on the west and the Indian Ocean in the south. The province encloses 129 462 km², constituting 10.6% of the total land area of the country (Alexander, 2016; Stats SA, 2003). In 2000 the average population density was estimated at 34 persons per square kilometre. During the 2011 Census 11% of the population lived in non-urban areas (Stats SA, 2012). Cape Town has an extensive transport system which includes an international airport, port, an extensive network of roads and railways. Further, their industry is backed by agriculture, forestry, fishing, mining and quarrying all contribute to the economy (Bradshaw et al., n.d). Furthermore, Cape Town houses the headquarters of South Africa's main petroleum companies, as well as insurance giants and national retail chains (Bradshaw et al., n.d). The clothing and textile industry is the single most noteworthy industrial source of employment in the Western Cape. The province is also one of the world's greatest tourist attractions (Bradshaw et al., n.d).

4.1.7.1 Population structure

According to the census 2011 an approximately, 5 822 734 people lived in the Western Cape, constituting 11, 3% of South Africa's total population (Alexander, 2016). The

province accommodated slightly more women (51%) than men (49%). African youth constituted 83.2% of South Africa's youth population and comprised the majority of youth in all provinces except for the Western Cape, where about half (52, 3%) of the youth were Coloured (Stats SA, 2015). Further, about 28.3% of the population were younger than 15 years, 66% were in their economically active years (15-64), while 7.8% were aged 60 or older (Stats SA, 2015).

4.1.7.2 Living conditions

According to the 2011 Census, 5.7% of the population aged 20 years or older had no formal school education; 48.5% of those in the age group 15-64 years were unemployed; and 29% of those who were employed had elementary occupations (Stats SA, 2012). The province records about 386 616 people who are not employed for instance 50,8 % of the economically active group were unemployed whereas 49,2% of the men who are economically active age group were unemployed as well (Stats SA, 2015). However, less than a third of the population (28.8%) lived below the national poverty line in 2002 (UNDP, 2004). Further, about 78.4% of all households lived in formal dwellings, and 16.2% and 2.2% respectively in informal and traditional structures (Bradshaw et al., n.d).

4.1.8 Eastern Cape Province

The Eastern Cape is located in the south-east of South Africa, bordering Free State and Lesotho to the north, KwaZulu-Natal to the north-east, the Indian Ocean along its south and south-eastern borders, and Western and Northern Cape to the west (Alexander, 2016). The province encloses 169 056 km², constituting 13.8% of the total land area in South Africa. Hence, this makes it the second largest province because of the surface area which it covers (Alexander, 2016). The average population density during 2002 was 41 persons per square kilometre, and about 63% of the province's people lived in rural areas (Bradshaw et al., n.d). The economy of the Eastern Cape province is mainly based on manufacturing of motor vehicle, agricultural game industry, forestry plantations and fishing industry (Bradshaw et al., n.d).

4.1.8.1 Population structure

According to the Department of Economic Development & Environmental Affairs (DEDEA) (2010) approximately, 6, 6 million people live in the Eastern Cape, constituting 15.1% of South Africa's total population. This population constituted approximately 87.6 percent of whom are African, 7.5 percent Coloured, 4.7 percent White and 0.3 percent Asian (DEDEA, 2010). This makes the province to be the third populous in South Africa constituting or taking up 13, 5 of the total population in South Africa (DEDEA, 2010). The province accommodated more women (52.9%) than men (47.1%) (Bradshaw et al., 2005).

4.1.8.2 Living conditions

According to the 2011 Census, 23% of the population aged 20 years or older had no formal school education, and 55% of those in the age group 15-64 years were unemployed (Stats SA, 2012). A large proportion of the population (68%) lived below the national poverty line in 2002 (UNDP, 2004). Further, less than half of the households (47%) lived in formal housing, and 11% and 38% respectively in informal and traditional structures (Bradshaw et al., n.d). Moreover, an average of 4.1 persons shared a household. In 31% of the households there was no toilet facility. In 36% of the households' refuse was removed at least once a week. About 64% of the households had a radio, 39% a television, 32% a refrigerator, 15% a telephone, and 21% a cell phone (Stats SA, 2003).

According DEDEA (2010), unemployment is regarded as one of the most challenging economic problems facing the Eastern Cape. The Eastern Cape Province's unemployment rate has always been above South Africa's rate, the unemployment rate of 2014 in Eastern Cape province stood at 29,1% whereas the South African official rate was 24,1% (Stats SA, 2014).

4.1.9 Northern Cape Province

The Northern Cape is in the north-west of South Africa, having international borders with Botswana and Namibia, and local borders with Western Cape and Eastern Cape

to the south, and Free State and North West to the east. It is the largest province of South Africa in terms of surface area. The province encloses 372 889 km², constituting 30, 5% of the total land area of South Africa (Stats SA, 2011). In 2000 the average population density was estimated at 3 persons per square kilometre, by far the lowest density of all the provinces. During the 2011 census 29.9% of the population lived in non-urban areas (Stats SA, 1998). Northern Cape's major airport is in Kimberley, the capital, and Upington. The Northern Cape is serviced by an excellent road network which makes it easily accessible from South Africa's major cities, harbours and airports.

The economic activities of the province evolve around agriculture, sheep rearing in Upington, Carnarvon, Colesberg, Kenhardt and Prieska. Further, the province also boasts of several national parks and conservation areas (Bradshaw et al., n.d). Furthermore, the Northern Cape boasts of large mineral reserves, these include diamonds, iron ore, copper, asbestos, manganese, fluorspar, semi-precious stones and marbles (Bradshaw et al., n.d).

4.1.9.1 Population structure

An approximately, 1 185 600 people lived in the Northern Cape, constituting 2.2% of South Africa's total population (Alexander, 2016). The province accommodated slightly more women (50.7%) than men (49.3%). Just over 31% of the population were younger than 15, 64% were in their 'economically active' years (15-64), and 7.3% were aged 60 years or more (Bradshaw et al., n.d). In addition, about 68% of the people speak Afrikaans while Setswana, isiXhosa and English are also widely spoken. These statistics reveal that Afrikaner people are dominant in the province. However, the remaining true San (Bushman) people also live in the Kalahari area (Alexander, 2016).

4.1.9.2 Living conditions

According to the 2011 Census 18% of the population aged 20 years or older had no formal school education, and over 33% of those in the age group 15-64 years were unemployed (Stats SA, 2012). Over 54% of the province's population lived below the

national poverty line in 2002 (UNDP, 2004). About 80% of all households lived in formal dwellings, and nearly 13% and 4% respectively in informal and traditional structures. Furthermore, on average, 3.8 persons shared a household (Bradshaw et al., n.d). In addition, it noticeable that of all the households, 68% had a radio, 56% a television, 56% a refrigerator, 30% a telephone and 26% a cell phone (Stats SA, 2003).

4.2 Methodology

4.2.1 Research approach

A qualitative research approach was adopted for the proposed study. Qualitative research refers to “inductive, holistic, emic, subjective and process-oriented methods used to understand, interpret, describe and develop a theory on some phenomena” (Burns & Grove 2003:356). Qualitative research is flexible and data can be extracted from spoken and written words, films, postcards, art and all sensory data. All this data is considered qualitative data unless they are transformed into some numerical system (Brink & Wood 1998:5). This is an appropriate research approach for this research as the researcher sought to extract secondary information on the extent of xenophobia and the efficiency of strategies used to prevent xenophobia in post-apartheid South Africa.

4.2.2 Units of analysis

Cant, Nel, Gerber Nel and Kotze (2005:65) define secondary data as the data that already exists and can be gathered from internal and external sources. This consists of information available from other sources such as journals, dissertations, theses, books, conference reports, internet sources, and Honours and Masters Dissertations as well as PhD thesis relating to xenophobia. In light of this, Babbie (2005) concurs that in social research there are virtually no limits to what or who or the units of analysis which can be studied. Secondary data documents with ‘xenophobia’ as the main theme were used as the units of analysis in the context of this research.

4.2.3 Sampling procedure

Data were collected from purposive samples derived from secondary sources. The selection of the secondary documents was informed by the suitability to meet the research objectives. The researcher employed criterion purposive sampling to select the documents. The sample units were chosen because they have certain characteristics or features for instance, information pertaining to xenophobia and strategies used by the government of South Africa to prevent xenophobia. Patton (1990: 176) points out that the logic of criterion sampling is to review and study all cases that meet some predetermined criterion of importance. Qualitative information was collected from the documents which contained relevant information pertaining to xenophobia and the strategies implemented by the government to prevent xenophobia.

The researcher found out that although purposive sampling is a right method to employ in the sampling of the secondary data sources, snowballing sampling qualified as a complimentary method. This method was used after having purposively found the initial documents with information on xenophobia incidences and the strategies to prevent xenophobic attacks. A snowball searching technique was employed using the criteria indicated by (Wohlin, 2014), the researcher did the following:

- Search terms were executed in Google scholar and the publications that came up were analysed.
- The relevant and highly cited (as indicated by the number of citations) publications were then searched by title and author.
- The authors who were cited by the selected authors were searched for and new authors who came up were continually searched in the Web of Knowledge and Google scholar.
- Example of searches that were executed using key words or phrases include: “xenophobia and South Africa; South African government strategies to prevent xenophobia; incidents of xenophobic attacks in post-apartheid period”

This sampling procedure ensured that the most relevant information was made available to the researcher as was revealed in the presentation of results and discussion.

4.2.4 Data collection

The secondary information collected by the researcher consisted of government documents, online newspapers and articles. There were eleven (11) government articles used for this study which were retrieved from the following sources: Eastern Cape provincial government, Parliament of South Africa, South African Government News Agency, KwaZulu-Natal Office of the Premier, Department of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries, Department of Military Veterans, Republic of South Africa; Department of Science and Technology, Office of the Chief Justice, Free State Sport, Art, Culture and Recreation, Government Communications and Information Centre (GCIS) and Department of international Relations and Cooperation.

The newspaper information was retrieved from the following five (5) newspapers agencies such as News24; The Mail and the Guardian, Mpumalanga news, Times live and the Chronicle. The last batch of information was three (3) online articles accessed from; South African Broadcasting Cooperation (SABC) news, Farmitraker, Khulumani Support group and Cornish, 2015. The information collected from newspapers and online articles were used to provide descriptive information on the extent of xenophobic attacks in South Africa.

The researcher collected information over a period of twelve weeks of reading and assessing the relevance of the documents to the research project. The number of documents was initially hundred (100) articles. However, after reading through the documents the number of articles used for the research was reduced to twenty-seven (27). This was so because no any new information was emerging.

4.2.5 Data analysis

Data analysis was done using Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). Blommaert and Bulcaen (2000: 1) point out that critical discourse analysis (CDA) was developed in the late 1980s as a programmatic development in European discourse studies headed by the works of Norman Fairclough, Ruth Wodak, Teun van Dijk, and others. This research was based more on the works of van Dijk (1991) and Fairclough's (1989).

Woodila (1998) notes that CDA refers to the practises of talking and writing which brings text into being through the production, dissemination and consumption of text. Bondarouk and Ruel (2004) commends that the goal of the discourse analyst therefore is to explore the relationship between discourse and reality, interpret hidden meaning, and meditate it between past and present. They also point out that a concrete representation of discourses is texts or discursive units. These include formal written records such as news information, company statements, and reports, spoken words, pictures, novels, television programs, advertisements and artefacts. The researcher analysed data collected information from government sources, newspapers and journal articles.

In other words, CDA draws attention to the existence of stereotyped categorisations in daily talk, elite talk and texts. This is what helps to understand the extent of xenophobic attacks in South Africa. The researcher looked at a series of events in each province as reported by the newspapers and the articles chronicling the events which happened. Furthermore, the government strategies implemented involved various figures making different utterances, for instance people like ministers, community leaders, provincial Premiers and religious leaders. These actions require discourse analysis to understand each strategy employed.

4.2.5.1 Critical Discourse Analysis procedure

According to one of the pioneers and developers of CDA van Dijk (1998: 61) he proposed five steps for conducting CDA analysis which were found to be very useful in this research. These were mentioned below:

1. Examine the context of the discourse.

2. Analyse which groups, power relations and conflicts are involved.
3. Look for positive and negative messages about different social groups.
4. Spell out the presupposed and implied messages.
5. Examine all formal structures that (de)emphasise polarised group opinions.

The five steps mentioned above were used along with Fairclough's 1989/1995 model for conducting CDA on three different levels were used in the analysis of the newspaper articles, articles and government document chronicling the xenophobic events in different provinces since the acquiring of the democratic rule. Secondly, in analysing the strategies employed by the South African government in dealing with xenophobia.

The second bases of this research are founded on the works of Fairclough's (1989, 1995) model for conducting critical discourse analysis. This model allows us to study three levels of discourse - text, process and social context. Janks (1997: 1) points out that, according to Fairclough, each of these dimensions requires a different kind of analysis, which she characterises as follows:

1. Text analysis (description),
2. Processing analysis (interpretation)
3. Social analysis (explanation).

In cognisance of the steps suggested by van Dijk, the researcher relied more on the steps detailed by Fairclough and used in (Janks, 1997) study to analyse the research findings of this research. Rohleder and Lyons (2014) suggested that the research should be contextualised in the context of other discourse analysis studies. The analysis and the discussion should be combined followed by a separate conclusion section drawing out the theoretical implications and suggestions for future research.

4.2.6 Quality criteria

4.2.6.1 Trustworthiness

The researcher ensured that all data collected are accurate and all fabrications, fraudulent materials, omissions and contrivances were avoided. The researcher ensured accuracy by reporting the results as accurate as possible. The researcher assumed the responsibility for examining the data, findings, interpretations and recommendations to attest that they are supported by the data.

4.2.6.2 Credibility

It is the ability of the study to capture what the research really aimed at studying (Bitsch, 2005). In other words, credibility is about ensuring truthfulness of the research findings. The researcher ensured credibility by analysing enough sources to confirm the study findings. Furthermore, the researcher took time to immerse himself in the literature to get truth or meaning of xenophobic attacks. Anney (2014) notes that peer debriefing can also be used to ensure credibility. The researcher consulted the supervisor and fellow researchers on xenophobia. They took time to read and advised me as well on the research findings.

4.2.6.3 Confirmability

Shenton (2004) notes that confirmability entails the research process and results are free from prejudice. The researcher ensured that as far as possible the study's results are objective and are not based upon biases, motives and perspectives of the researcher. The research results were also read by the supervisor to ensure that the author has ensured objectivity.

4.2.6.4 Dependability

Bitsch (2005) notes that dependability refers to the stability of findings over time. Dependability is established using an audit trail, stepwise replication, triangulation and peer examination or iterator comparisons (Anney, 2014). The researcher used peer examination, this is whereby I discussed research process and findings with colleagues of mine who have knowledge of qualitative research. Further, the researcher used audit trail to ensure dependability. An audit trail involves an

examination of the inquiry process and product to validate the data (Anney, 2014). The researcher did this by going over for all the research decisions and activities to show how the data was collected, recorded and analysed.

4.3 Ethical consideration

The researcher has a moral obligation to the ethical standards of carrying a good research (Streubert-Speziale & Carpenter, 2003). The researcher will abide by the ethical standard by paying careful attention to the following key aspects.

4.3.1 Falsifying information

Du Plooy-Civilliers, Davies and Bezuidenhout (2014) point out that falsifying information is the deliberate fabrication of data. The scholars note that several researchers can falsify information to keep funding or secure additional funding, and to avoid time consuming aspect of data collection and analysis. In light of this, the researcher ensured honesty by following proper research methods of data collection and analysis procedures. The research provided detailed information on how the information was acquired which in turn ensured objectivity.

4.3.2 Distorting results

There are different ways of communicating and interpreting data. Du Plooy-Civilliers, Davies and Bezuidenhout (2014) are of the view that researchers are guilty of distorting the results when they deliberately emphasise certain aspects over other aspects of equal significance. In this research, the researcher ensured accuracy by making sure that each chapter was assessed by the supervisors to ensure that there was no bias in the dissertation. Peer reviewing was also found to be useful in ensuring that this ethic is treated with utmost regard.

4.3.3 Plagiarism

Negulescu and Doval (2012:35) defines plagiarism as “ideas, methods, procedures, technology, results and papers belonging to other person appropriation, indifferent of

the way that have been obtained, presented as personal creation". This includes stealing an idea from a theory, a conclusion or hypothesis without acknowledging the originator. The researcher avoided plagiarism by familiarising himself with the ways of avoiding plagiarism. More so, the research also ensured that plagiarism is avoided by referencing authors in an appropriate way.

4.4 Summary of the chapter

In this chapter the researcher started by describing the place of study. This part of the research shows the history of each province, population structure and the living conditions of the people in the province. These factors reveal and gives a clear picture to the researcher on the people or ethnic groups involved in the study, the population structure and living conditions were also given in order to understand why in other provinces there were more incidences of xenophobia and whilst in others they were no any such incidences. The picture given can help the reader to understand the area where the xenophobic attacks occurred. The second party of this chapter highlighted the methodology of the study, the researcher outlined the sampling methods used, the process of data collection, data analysis as well as the research ethics abided by the researcher in conducting this research.

CHAPTER 5

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents data analysis and discussion of the results. As outlined in chapter 4, discourse analysis was conducted based on the published newspaper reports and articles which trace the xenophobic incidences in different provinces revealing the extent of xenophobia in South Africa. The researcher followed three steps stipulated by Fairclough's model which emphasised that the researcher looks at text analysis (description), processing analysis (interpretation) and social analysis (explanation). The time span for the analysis stretches from January 2010, five years before the infamous 2015 xenophobic attacks took place in South Africa. This was done because the researcher wanted to find the strategies implemented by the current Jacob Zuma's government (administration) in dealing with the xenophobic attacks in South Africa. Firstly, the analysis below reveals the presentation of data showing the extent of 2015 xenophobic attacks in South Africa. Secondly, the researcher examined the strategies implemented by the government of South Africa to counter xenophobic attacks. Lastly, the researcher discussed the limitations of the strategies implemented by the government to prevent xenophobia and xenophobic attacks from occurring and recurring.

5.2 The extent of xenophobic attacks in South Africa

In order to understand the extent of xenophobia in South Africa, this section discusses the 2015 xenophobic attacks in South Africa. The researcher provides a trajectory of ongoing and steadily increasing xenophobic violence against foreign nationals for the past five years. Further, the researcher looked at the cases which occurred in each province. This was done to make sure that all the incidences which occurred are captured and as well as providing a clear insight on the areas which experienced high incidences.

5.2.1 Incidences of xenophobia in Limpopo province

Table 1: Incidences of Xenophobia in Limpopo Province

Date	Place	Incidences
June 2011	Seshego	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hundreds of Zimbabweans living in Seshego were left homeless after the attacks erupted which left one-person dead (Chronicle, 2014)
November 2013	Lephalale Town	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Five shops, two vehicles and two houses belonging to Zimbabweans were burnt (Chronicle, 2014)
February 2014	Tswinga Village in Thohoyandou	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Two Zimbabweans were abducted from their homes and taken to a secluded place where they were brutally attacked. One died on the spot and others sustained injuries (Chronicle, 2014).
19 August 2014	Tshikota Village in Makhado	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Zimbabwean attacked and killed by an angry South African mob • They used any type of weapons to beat him up until he died • The man was accused of stealing from the villagers (Chronicle, 2014)
05 March 2015	Ga-Sekgopo	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Xenophobic attacks in South Africa have moved to the north-eastern province of Limpopo. Foreign nationals on the outskirts of the provincial capital Polokwane in Limpopo have abandoned their shops after protesting villagers threatened to burn them alive and then looted them.

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Violent protests erupted on Sunday with villagers sending all the foreign nationals packing and pushing them out of 11 villages in Sekgopo. • One of the shop owners says he has lost his stock and won't regain the profit lost during the looting (Cornish, 2015)
29 April 2015	Thabazimbi.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Xenophobic attacks have spread to Limpopo. Shops owned by Somalis and Ethiopians have been set alight and looted at a township • Eight locals have been arrested and there is no sign of foreign nationals. About 50 of them, including women and children, are now temporarily housed in town at a community hall at a place called Tala Park. • They have indicated that they have lost all their belongings and they had to rely on government and some humanitarian organisations to provide basic things such as food (SABC, 2015).

Sources: Chronicle, 2014; Cornish, 2015; SABC online news). *The incidences compiled by the researcher.*

The Limpopo province had ten (10) media recorded xenophobic incidences from 2010 to 2015. These incidences were characterised with the brutal attacks on foreign nationals which resulted in four deaths as cited above. The xenophobic attacks in this province involved the looting of goods from the shops belonging to Somalians, Zimbabweans and Ethiopians. In these incidences the foreign nationals lost their

property, basic things such as food and shelter. Further, the foreign nationals did not only lose their belongings but their businesses and their means of livelihood. In some cases, the local people accused foreign nationals of theft. This reveals another cause of xenophobia in which crime can be the source of the problem.

5.2.2 Incidences of xenophobia in Gauteng Province

Table 2: Incidences of xenophobia in Gauteng Province

Date	Place	Incidences
20 July 2010	Kya Sands, Johannesburg	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 16 people, most of them foreign nationals, were attacked • Five patients were taken to Helen Joseph hospital • 10 people arrested • Gauteng minister for community safety Khabisi Mosunkutu insist that it is crime not xenophobia • Residents demanded that the army be deployed to protect them, saying police were not doing enough (Khamango, 2010).
2012	Gauteng	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ The six reported attacks resulted in the injury of at least eight victims ▪ 42 shops and businesses burnt or looted, 273 people arrested and more than 600 displaced within same year.

February	Doornkuil	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Eight foreign nationals were assaulted • The men, from Zimbabwe and Malawi, were sleeping in their shack when five youths armed with knobkerries and clubs attacked and robbed them • The police could not identify the motive for the attack. However, they noted that resentment could have been a factor, as all eight men worked for a local construction company in the area (News24, 2012)
21 July 2014	Thokoza Township	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hundreds of learners were out on the streets attacking and looting from the foreign owned shops • Silence from both the media and the leaders from Ekurhuleni Khulumani Support group, 2014)
April 18, 2015	Jeppestown	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rubber bullets were fired and the protesters retaliated by throwing bottles and rocks at the police • People clashed with police, demanding foreign nationals to leave • Many shops were looted • Many of the foreign nationals from the area decided to pack

		<p>up their bags and leave their homes in fear of being attacked.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The locals argued that foreign nationals are taking over their country. They are stealing Jobs that are meant for them (eNCA, 2015).
April 18, 2015	Alexandra	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Journalists were in Alexandra, reporting on the xenophobic attacks taking place within the community, they witnessed the brutal killing of a Mozambican national Emmanuel Sithole, • He was stabbed by four man in full view of the public • Groups of people looting many foreign owned shops • Some of the streets where barricaded by residents of Alexander, blocking police from entering (Tromp & Oatway, 2015).

Sources: (Khamango, 2010; News24, 2012; Khulumani Support group, 2014; eNCA, 2015; Tromp & Oatway, 2015). Table *compiled by the researcher*.

They were approximately, six (6) incidences associated with protest and xenophobia from 2010 to 2015 in the province of Gauteng as highlighted above. These attacks resulted in the killing of foreign nationals, looting of the goods, and displacement of people in the process. In addition, about 42 shops were destroyed in the year 2012 alone (News24, 2012). The number increased during the widespread xenophobic attacks in 2015. Moreover, the police records indicate that about 273 people were

arrested about xenophobic attacks in the year 2012 (News24, 2012). This resulted in the displacement of about 600 people within the same year as highlighted by the statistics given above (News24, 2012).

In most cases protest service delivery marches are conducted in order to convey a specific message to the government. However, they end with violence being directed against foreign nationals as shall be seen in the section below explaining the incidences. These can explain the frustration indicated by the attack on foreign nationals who were employed by a construction and the targeted looting which occurred. The crowd used weapons of violent protest such as the use of bottles, stones, clubs and knobkerries to attack foreign nationals. In turn the police were armed with guns wielding rubber bullets.

5.2.3 Incidences of xenophobia in Mpumalanga Province

Table 3: Incidences of xenophobia in Mpumalanga Province

Date	Place	Incidences
February 2014	Pienaar	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A Somali national killed a student by gun fire the previous week. • Thirteen people were arrested on Sunday after they went on a rampage, looting the shops of foreign nationals after the funeral • Shops were vandalised and roads blocked by students from different schools • Elders restrain students and community members from

		burning all foreign owned shops (Mpumalanga news, 2014).
9 February 2010	Balfour	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Police arrested at least 21 people for public violence • People barricaded roads with burning tyres, and looted several shops belonging to foreign nationals • 30 foreign nationals had to stay at the Balfour police station • Many of those affected by the violence last night were also victims of violence in July 2009 where the shops of foreign nationals were targeted

Source: (Mpumalanga news, 2014; Mail & Guardian, 2010). *The table created by the researcher.*

There were two incidences recorded in Mpumalanga province which included violence. However, the first incidence was triggered by the shooting of a student by a Somalian national. This looks like it was a retaliation action however, it resulted in the outbreak of more attacks on foreign nationals' shops. The locals burned all the shops belonging to foreign nationals. In addition, it resulted in the arrest of the 13 people. The most peculiar about the incidence in Mpumalanga was the role played by the community elders in calming down the students and the youth from engaging in more violence. The researcher observes that this was the first-time school students were involved in xenophobia. The incidence reveals the anger and retaliation towards foreign immigrants. At Balfour, the police noted that the same people who were

affected by xenophobia in 2009 also encountered the same challenge in 2010. This shows the lack of acceptance of foreign nationals among the community members.

5.2.4 Incidences of xenophobia in Free State province

Free State province did not record any xenophobic attacks during the April 2015 xenophobic attacks which were noticed in other provinces like Gauteng and KwaZulu-Natal. However, there is one case which occurred a month after the attacks have died. The looting could not be established by the police as xenophobic but the researcher can still categorise it as such. This is because the lootings were directed against foreign owned shops. The incidence is illustrated below:

Table 4: Incidences of xenophobia in Free State Province

Date	Place	Incidence
May 19 2015	Petrus Steyn	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Eleven people were arrested in the Free State • Three foreign-owned shops were burned down • 18 shops were looted (Lotriet, 2015).

Source: (Lotriet, 2015). *Table created by the researcher*

5.2.5 Incidences of xenophobia in North West Province

Table 5: Incidences of xenophobia in North West Province

Date	Place	Incidence
April 16 2015	Ledig Village	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Foreign traders have been caught in the crossfire of service delivery protests

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Shops have been looted and forced to close down as community member's demands action from local government. • Protestors burning tires and wood, foreign-owned businesses were looted (Pilane, 2015).
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Source: (Pilane, 2015). *Table created by the researcher*

In the North West province, there were no previous xenophobic incidences leading to the 2015 xenophobic attacks. However, the incidences were actually influenced by the protest for service delivery at Ledig village. The protesters burned and looted foreign owned businesses as a way of demanding action from the local government. There is the display of frustration and anger towards the local municipalities. However, in order to attract the attention of the local government, foreign nationals became the target.

5.2.6 Incidences of xenophobia in Northern Cape Province

Table 6: Incidences of xenophobia in Northern Cape Province

Date	place	Incidences
21 July 2015	Kuruman, Northern Cape	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Two shop-keepers were fatally shot and • A fellow shop-keeper sustained serious injuries which placed him in a grave condition (Myburgh, 2015).

Source: (Myburgh, 2015). *Table created by the researcher*

In the Northern Cape province, there were no incidences leading to the 2015 xenophobic attacks and the incidences cited in this study occurred after the country-wide violent attacks in April 2015. The incidence happened when two shopkeepers were shot.

5.2.7 Incidences of xenophobia in KwaZulu-Natal Province

Table 7: Incidences of xenophobia in KwaZulu-Natal Province

Date	Place	Incidence
8 April 2015	Durban	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini quoted in the media as declaring that foreign nationals should go back to their home countries because they are changing the nature of South African society with their goods and enjoying wealth that should have been for local people (Ndou, 2015).
12 April 2015	Umlazi KwaMashu V Section	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Shops owned by foreign nationals were set on fire • Five people killed • A shop owned by a Somali is set on fire (Wicks, 2015)
14 April 2015	Veralum, North of Durban KwaNdlazi	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 300 people participates in the looting of foreign shops • locals, foreign nationals and police clash in the city centre • 14-year-old boy shot dead • Two people arrested (Stolley, Khoza & Hartleb, 2015).

15 April 2015	Veralum; Durban city centre	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 58-year-old man died from the attacks by a mob • 112 people arrested in connection with the attacks • Teargas and rubber bullets were fired in the city centre.
21 April 2015	Isipingo, south of Durban	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • People tried to return to their homes and businesses but were attacked by violent mobs and had their possessions taken (SABC, 2015).

Sources: (Ndou, 2015; Evans & Wicks, 2015; Stolley, Khoza & Hartleb, 2015; Wicks, 2015; SABC, 2015). *Table created by the researcher*

The xenophobic attacks in KwaZulu-Natal province started the 2015 violence. The Zulu king is credited for starting the attacks when he reportedly declared that foreign nationals should pack their bags and leave South Africa. The attacks in KwaZulu-Natal resulted in the death of about seven people in the province alone. The other thing that was different was the fact that about 300 people participated in the attacks. This was the largest number of people who participated in the attacks across all the provinces. They were an approximately 112 people who were arrested in the process (Evans & Wicks, 2015).

5.2.8 Incidences of xenophobia in Eastern Cape Province

Table 8: Incidences of xenophobia in Eastern Cape Province

Date	Place	Incidence

28 May 2013	Port Elizabeth	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Shops belonging to Somali nationals were looted and burnt • Ten shops were attacked • A vehicle which was parked outside the shop was set alight • The attacks occurred after a Somali national shot a man outside one shop • Government repeatedly insisted that it does not identify the incidences as strictly xenophobic in nature (Mail & Guardian, 2013)
17 April 2015	Cala community	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The first xenophobic incidences in the Eastern Cape has been sparked by the discovery of the body of a missing woman • Four foreign national owned shops were looted. • Tense and community leaders and senior police officials are addressing the residents on the issue • Public order policing units have also been deployed to the area (Wilson, 2015).

Sources: (Mail & Guardian, 2013; Wilson, 2015). *Table created by the researcher.*

They were two incidences reported in Eastern Cape since 2010. The table above reveals that most of the incidences occur after an alleged crime has been committed by a foreign national. As a result, the public took the law in their hands in order to protest the crime committed. Looting of foreign shops is synonymous with xenophobic attacks. There was a total of 14 shops which were looted in both incidences (Mail &

Guardian, 2013; Wilson, 2015). This is probably a way discovered by locals of retaliation against the perceived crimes committed by foreign nationals. However, it can be noted that even when the incidences have been committed by one person, all foreign nationals who own businesses in the area suffers the loss as a result. In a nutshell, these attacks on foreign owned shops reveal what sociologists term the ‘us vs them’ phenomenon. This happens when foreign nationals have not been integrated fully in the community hence, the locals refer to one incidence committed by a foreign national as the crime committed by all foreign nationals. Despite, the occurrence of the incidences where foreign goods are looted, the law enforcement agencies still refuse to regard such incidences as xenophobic. This an impeding perception in the fight and battle against the rise of xenophobia in South Africa as this research shall reveal.

5.2.9 Incidences of xenophobia in Western Cape

Table 9: Incidences of xenophobia in Western Cape Province

Date	Place	Incidence
12 July 2010	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Nyanga • Philippi East • Khayelitsha on the Cape Flats • Wellington Paarl East • Mbekweni (a Paarl township) • Franschhoek • Klapmuts. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Police Minister Nathi Mthethwa flew into the Western Cape on Monday for an assessment after a wave of xenophobic violence • Police and the army were deployed in force as scores of foreign nationals sought refuge at police stations in Cape Town and surrounding towns

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There were "sporadic incidences of looting" at shops belonging to foreign nationals. • Seven men, aged between 19 and 30, had been arrested • 70 foreign nationals had sought refuge overnight at the Mbekweni police station in Paarl and 22 at Wellington • Spaza shops and containers used as shops were "damaged" in Mbekweni, Paarl East, Wellington and Nyanga • Mediators deployed to communities (News24, 2010)
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Source: (News24, 2010). *Table created by the researcher.*

The Western Cape province has at least seven reported incidences of xenophobia which occurred in 2010. What makes the Western Cape incidences to be interesting is how the government responded to the attacks against foreign nationals in the province. The government deployed both the police and the army at the same time in order to bring peace to the province. This was an effective strategy since, this study can reveal that since 2010, they were no reported incidences in the province. The police provided safe places for foreign nationals and went on to arrest the perpetrators of the attacks. Furthermore, government deployed mediators to affected communities to reach an understanding with the local people about how to stop the attacks. Similarly, all other provinces, xenophobic attacks in Western Cape involved the looting of foreign owned shops.

5.3 The explanation of xenophobic attacks in South Africa

Based on the extended history of xenophobic attacks illustrated and documented above. The researcher notes that the April 2015 xenophobic attacks were not the first after the 2008 xenophobic attacks. The 2015 xenophobic attacks attracted the attention of the world hence, the immediate government response to the problem. However, as noted above, there was a continuous increase in xenophobic attacks over the years. This literally means that the xenophobic attacks never stopped in South Africa but it is the level or magnitude which differs. The broader patterns of xenophobic violence are a critical reference point in understanding the form and shape of xenophobic attacks (Nyar, 2008). This is what prompted this researcher to look at the trends of xenophobic attacks in South Africa after the 2008 xenophobic attacks.

In the previous studies, (Nyar, 2008) also conducted a study in which she arrived at the same conclusion that the xenophobic attacks increase over the course of time and they continue unabated. Her study analysed the trends of xenophobic attacks since South Africa attained democratic rule up to the incidences leading to 2008 xenophobic attacks. Nyar (2008: 16) argues:

“The trajectory of the xenophobic attacks showed a trend toward increasing lawlessness, with communities often owing to continue their anti- ‘foreigner’ campaign even in the presence of police. Such a pattern of violence speaks to a culture of impunity in which attacks against foreign nationals have been allowed to continue in a context of a gross lack of accountability”.

The incidences of xenophobic attacks have continued with many of such incidences going unreported or the police doing little to contain the situation. There is a failure of a radical action to stamp out xenophobic attacks in the time of peace. The xenophobic attacks have gone from being a sentiment to being a national issue once more. Nyar (2008: 17) notes:

What distinguishes the 2008 xenophobic violence from preceding incidences? The xenophobic attacks of 2008 denoted a marked difference in scale, for which the increasing momentum of earlier incidences of violence could well be seen as a forewarning.

This is exact scenario which is repeated by the 2015 xenophobic attacks in which the margin and extent of xenophobic attacks was the one which captures the imagination of political leaders and evoked an action. The xenophobic attacks have been going on as revealed by the incidences of violence which are cited above.

5.4 The impact of xenophobic attacks in South Africa

5.4.1 Loss of life

The incidences indicated above show cases where the attacks result in the loss of life due to the outbreak of xenophobia. In the Gauteng province, one death of a man is reported. Further, in KwaZulu-Natal province, seven people died during the same period. The loss of life is not something that is new. In the 2008 xenophobic attacks there was loss of life as well more than the total number of human loss recorded in 2015. Matunhu (2008:95) states that:

Xenophobic attacks in South Africa, which started around mid-May in 2008 in the informal settlements of Alexandria claimed 62 lives.

This information is further confirmed by Neocosmos (2010:120) when he notes that:

In May 2008, the country exploded into an orgy of killing, looting and burning. The outcome in Gauteng was 62 people dead of whom 21 were South Africans.

This evidence reveals the gravity of xenophobic attacks in South Africa. This is what raises the eyebrows of the rest of the world and cause worry to all the humanity. The 2015 xenophobic attacks revealed the same trend of the loss of life as well. This reveals the need to protect humanity from the violence emanated from within our communities. In addition, one can note that they were approximately seven (7) people who died during the month-long incidences of xenophobia. Moreover, the death of people due to xenophobic incidences did not stop in 2008 as this research has revealed but they are many people who died.

5.4.2 The looting of foreign owned shops

In light of the above incidences shown in all the provinces, the xenophobic attacks were characterised by the looting of shops owned by the foreign nationals. In each province where xenophobic attacks were reported, shops belonging to foreign migrants were looted. This was not done in peaceful terms, however, in the process the shop keepers were injured. This had serious consequences on the livelihood of immigrants in South Africa. For instance, they lost all their goods at once which reduces them into near destitute. Further, the loss of their property and goods resulted in their business being reduced to nothing.

This affects both the business owners and the same community suffers from lack of access to the cheap goods which they received nearby their houses. However, despite the ongoing looting and violence against foreign immigrants, these acts were categorised as xenophobic acts. The authorities urged the communities not to regard them as such. This is well noted by Crush (2014) when he quotes the Minister of International Relations and Cooperation, Maite Nkoana-Mashabane, in 2013 saying:

The looting, displacement and killing of foreign nationals in South Africa should not be viewed as xenophobic attacks, but opportunistic criminal acts that have the potential to undermine the unity and cohesiveness of our communities (Crush, 2014:9).

The looting of the foreign owned goods as we have noted in the incidences highlighted above is part of the widespread xenophobic acts but however, in this scenario this study can reveal that despite this being a characteristic feature of xenophobic attacks in both 2008 and the preceding years the authorities have denied the looting of goods as a form of xenophobia in South Africa.

However, despite such denial, the most notable feature of these xenophobic attacks was the looting of goods from both shops and the houses of foreign nationals. Cooper (2009) notes that an approximate of 342 shops were looted and 213 shops were razed to the ground by the local marauding xenophobes as the violence rages on around the country in 2008.

Table 10: Looting and burning of shops owned by foreigners

Province	Shops/ houses Looted	Shops/ houses burnt	Suspects Arrested
Western Cape	33	2	435
Mpumalanga	44	3	49
Eastern Cape	2	0	5
Gauteng	155	202	227
Free state	5	0	97
Limpopo	0	0	--
North West	16	3	298
KwaZulu Natal	87	2	121
Total	342	213	1384

Source: (SAPS, 2008 in Cooper, 2009)

Petersen (2016) highlighted the protest which took place in Dunoon, where protests marches were made over housing in Dunoon; foreign owned shops and containers were targeted for break-ins and looting, with everything from clothing to food stolen. However, from the whole scenario it could not be established whether the attacks were xenophobic or not. The Ward Councillor, Lubabalo Makaleni believed the looting was not motivated by xenophobia, but was rather simple acts of crime committed by opportunistic thieves during the protests. This is an explanation given by the authoritative figure of his nature but given the history of xenophobia in South Africa wherever, there is an attack on foreign nationals, it is accompanied by the looting of goods. This is what many scholars have described as denialism, whereby those in authority fail to acknowledge that its xenophobic act when the looting of goods occurs rather than categorising under crime.

Further, during xenophobic attack in April 2015, News24 (29 April) narrates an incidence in Limpopo whereby members of the public in Thabazimbi looted four Pakistan shops. This resulted in the arrest of 13 people who were involved. However, the police had this to say:

"As the provincial government of Limpopo we do not believe the looting and burning of the shops belonging to foreign nationals were part of xenophobic attacks," said spokesperson Phuti Seloba (News24, 2015:1).

The failure to acknowledge such acts as xenophobic hinders the process of finding the underlying cause of the problem taking place within the community.

Tshishonga (2015) notes that the failure to restore stability engenders lawlessness whereby locals, including the passer-by people, get to be preoccupied with looting of stock and destroying stalls belonging to foreign nationals. Basing on the sequence of events shown by the incidences in South African provinces during the xenophobic attacks, this research can establish that the looting of foreign owned shops cannot be separated from xenophobic acts. The looting of foreign owned shops reveals the extent of xenophobic attacks in South Africa as noted by the effects of such lootings highlighted below:

5.4.2.1 The negative effects of looting foreign owned shops

The looting of the foreign owned shops has the following effects:

(a) Vulnerability of the foreign business owners

The looting of the foreign nationals' business reduced the owners to a situation of impoverishment and rendered South Africa to be unsuitable for the SMEs to flourish. The occurrence and the failure to find lasting solutions raised more questions than answers. One foreign SME owner had this to say.

The government must help us. We have been attacked and left with nothing, said. Our brothers have no food or clothes. If the government does not want us they must tell us. We will go to countries that will accept us. (Mail & Guardian, 2015:1).

The continual looting of foreign owned businesses will eventually result in South Africa losing hundreds of possible business people armed with entrepreneurship business ideas. Hence this migrant SME owner highlighted the need for the government to give assurances over the safety and help to the affected members of the society.

(b) Lack of safety

In business, safety from crime and political violence are the most important aspects one considers before investing. This research can reveal that after the 2008 and 2015 xenophobic attacks most business owners felt very unsafe. One migrant SME owner interviewed by the Mail & the Guardian had this to say:

“They called us Makwerekwere and said we must leave. We do not feel safe anymore”

The respondent makes another observation when he says:

“They had a panga and their attackers were armed with guns. The police arrested them and left the armed attackers” (Mail & Guardian, 2015:1).

This is incredible evidence which reveals the feelings of most migrant SMEs owners in South Africa. This feeling hinders entrepreneurship development in South Africa because the risk is high.

(c) The local community members are affected

The looting of local shops does not affect the migrant SMEs owners only but even the communities which they are based are well affected. One local resident notes that foreign nationals helped pensioners by giving them groceries on credit. “They provide a service for pensioners” (Mail & Guardian, 2015:1). Further, the foreign nationals’ businesses are located within the community, which ensured accessibility and services. Hence, their closure has an aftermath effect on the perpetrators’ lives as well. Cooper (2009) interviewed one learner who had this to say

“We are suffering, there were few shops, so we had to make a line, even if we want to buy some airtime, and we have to make a line (the day after the mass looting).”

This is further evidence that the foreign SMEs business owned entities filled the gap left by the local entrepreneurs in providing different services to the members of the community.

5.4.2.2 The causes of the looting of foreign owned shops

South Africa in the past decade has experienced a sharp increase in the number of African and Asian immigrants who opened SMEs on the periphery of the Central Business District (CBD) or have engaged in various street trading activities in various cities (Tevera, 2013). Their presence has been met with different views from the members of the community. To some poor classes they are welcomed because they offer relatively cheap products to low earning members of the society. However, on the other hand, they have become a source of bitterness to local shop owners who feel that they are being pushed out of business and would like to see the government introduce legislation that restricts the operations of foreign traders in South Africa (Tevera, 2013). This is evidenced by the results from the study conducted by Crush (2008) who states that about 74% of South Africans support deportation of anyone who is not contributing economically to South Africa (Crush, 2008). 61% stated that foreign nationals should not be able to start a small business in this country (Crush, 2008). There is a serious competition between the locals and the foreign SMEs owners. This can be seen by the allegations posed against the foreigner nationals' SMEs owners by the local business owners. The research findings by previous studies reveal that this is not myth but a reality.

Further, a study by Hunter and Skinner (2003) revealed that most African migrants in Durban effectively used the informal sector as the entry point to other entrepreneurial activities in the formal sector. In most cases, immigrants competed with local people for the same customer base in the streets. This often resulted in the creation of direct conflict between foreign nationals and the local migrants in this informal sector (Hunter & Skinner, 2003). The two scholars also revealed that local people did not want it to be easier for foreign nationals to engage in business or obtain South African residence.

Furthermore, a report by a Special Reference Group on Migration and Community Integration in KwaZulu-Natal which was appointed by Premier Senzo Mchunu to research the causes and consequences of the 2015 xenophobic attacks revealed that "many South Africans operating in the tuck shop and spaza sector made allegations that businesses owned by foreign nationals thrive due to unfair advantages, and that

these improprieties directly undermine the viability of locally-owned businesses” (Madlala, 2016:1). The research findings revealed the following factors:

“Such businesses are not registered and do not pay taxes; Foreign nationals sell products at prices below those that local business owners conclude are feasible and are therefore receiving illegal support; Foreign nationals receive unfair privileges from wholesale companies due to shared religious beliefs; Foreign nationals intentionally open spaza shops within close proximity to locally-owned businesses, thereby capturing some of the locals’ markets; Foreign-owned businesses sell fake goods or non-South African products and Foreign businesses owners operate their shops for nearly 24 hours every day and even have workers sleeping there” (Madlala, 2016:1).

Foreign nationals displayed the entrepreneurship skills hence, the prevalence of such accusations from the local SMEs owners. The commissioned study revealed that the foreign SMEs owners did not come into the communities seeking competition. However, they rented space from the locals who close their businesses on their own accord due failure to run them or love for rental money. The following statement exemplifies this:

“Most cases foreigners had in fact taken over existing shops from locals who had either abandoned their businesses altogether or rented them out and earned higher incomes than they did while operating the shops (Madlala, 2016:1).”

The foreign owned businesses flourished because they are run with such expertise and skill which enable the owners to pay rent and strive in business as well. This leads us to a situation noted by Adam & Moodley (2015). The two scholars found out that the very presence of thriving Somali shops insults unsuccessful, impoverished township dwellers. They endure daily exposure as failures. Envy breeds resentment (Adam & Moodley, 2015). This is what makes the local people and the native SMEs business owners feel like engaging in the looting of foreign owned business. Consequently, the looting of goods can only be achieved by reinforcement of violence on foreign nationals and this what is referred by offside observers as xenophobia. Putting an end to xenophobia will also bring the looting of goods to a halt.

The frustration of the local citizen's SMEs owners is summed up by the Minister of Small business and development, Lindiwe Zulu. She was quoted saying:

“Foreigners need to understand that they are here as a courtesy and our priority is to the people of this country first and foremost. A platform is needed for business owners to communicate and share ideas. They cannot barricade themselves in and not share their practices with local business owners.”
(Democratic Alliance, 2015).

This statement reveals that the Department of Small Business and Development reckon the source of the looting of goods and xenophobic attacks against the foreign nationals. The foreign immigrants SMEs owners possess the knowledge of how to run businesses successfully. This is something which the local citizens have been found inadequate. However, the statement by the Minister, reveals the shortfalls of the Ministry which is supposed to develop the partnerships between foreign nationals and the local citizens. Further, the statement itself reveals a cry for the need for entrepreneurship skills development skills in South Africa. This can be done in order, to remove the frustration and fear of competition from foreign nationals by local citizens.

Furthermore, the looting of goods was explained by (Crush, Chikanda & Skinner, 2015) when they noted that this act is started by the security enforcement agencies in some cases. For instance, the police in the Limpopo province, launched the 'operation hard stick' this was when the police targeted the informal businesses run by refugees and migrants. An approximately 600 small businesses were closed and the police confiscated the goods (Crush et al, 2015). The police's argument was that the migrant's permits did not allow them to operate business within South Africa. Charman and Piper (2012) state that this is called 'violent entrepreneurship', whereby the local people use violence to intimidate and drive migrant entrepreneurs out of an area.

This explains why the local people were engaging themselves in the looting of goods during the xenophobia violence act. The incidence of police 'operation yardstick' explains why the general public end up taking the matters. In the act of doing their job, this operation helps in creating a sentiment of anti-migrant entrepreneurship and

hence, there proliferation of the same sentiment from the authorities to the general public.

5.4.3 Physical effects of xenophobia

The physical effects of xenophobia are outrageous, most of the foreign nationals who were attacked and survived them suffered permanent injuries to their bodies. Some of the injuries resulted in some serious fatalities which often resulted in death. Further, some resulted in incurring injuries which led to disability. In some cases, where the injuries suffered at the hands of the locals made the injured people not to find assistance from the nearby clinics, this is because some of the personnel available shunned to touch such wounds and neither wanted to be part of xenophobic attacks. Mothibi, Roelofse & Tshivhase (2015:156) note that,

“Violence is understood as an act or situation that harms the health or well-being of oneself or others. It includes both attacks on a person’s physical and psychological integrity, and the destructive acts that do not involve a direct relationship between victims and the institution, person or persons responsible for the harm.”

This clearly reveals the devastating effects of xenophobic attacks on foreign immigrants. Whilst this impact of the violent attacks was clear for the public to see, the government of South Africa took no initiative to compensate the affected families and individuals.

5.4.4 Psychological effects of xenophobia

This discourse can reveal that most of the foreign nationals suffered psychological effects of xenophobic attacks. In one incidence, a foreign national died upon arrival at the hospital because the doctor who was supposed to attend to him was a foreign national. The doctor stayed away at his place because he was afraid of being attacked. Some of the newspaper images reveals images of foreign nationals walking with knives in their hands for fear of their life. Further, the xenophobic attacks revealed in the tables above, shows that most of the attacks happen within the community. This removes the foreign nationals’ power or will of readjustment. This also affects those

people who were displaced and cannot go back to the same communities they were staying in. That is, the effects of the experience can be radical and long lasting. Mothibi et al. (2015:156) note that “traumatising experiences can cast a long shadow over people’s lives, including perpetrators as well as victims. That is, the effects of the experience can be radical and long lasting.” This is terrible or has devastating effect on individuals involved and their families.

5.4.5 Family disintegration

The xenophobic attacks had huge impact on the families of foreign nationals. This is since some foreign nationals had already married local women. In that case, the attackers did not select but the fact that the foreign nationals took the local wives, it made them a target. The disintegration of families, made some women to automatically become single mothers and whilst creating extending family for the families left behind. The Zimbabwean Ambassador to South Africa, Mr Isaac Moyo pointed out that least 10 South African women wanted to travel to Zimbabwe with their husbands but don’t have the right documents. The embassy encountered challenges in cases where undocumented South African women were insisting on travelling to Zimbabwe with their husbands (News24, 2015). This apparently created a difficult time for the women who were married to foreign nationals. In a case where the husband was the sole provider of food and general livelihood, it created further social problems with the South African society.

5.5 The strategies undertaken by the government to end xenophobic attacks: An Overview

The South African government took several steps to end xenophobic attacks. The response of the government to ensure the safety of all the people who resides within South Africa. As we shall see in this section, the various strategies adopted by the South African government are categorised into the following; (i) policy strategies; (ii) humanitarian strategies; (iii) legal and constitutional strategies; (iv) citizenship empowerment and educational strategies; (v) technical and media related strategies, (vi) state-civil society partnership, and (vii) inter-governmental strategies. The researcher noted that most of the government strategies were directed towards areas

where xenophobic attacks were occurring for instance, the provinces of KwaZulu Natal and Gauteng. Hence, the researcher revealed the strategies implemented using the examples of the affected areas since government efforts were mostly concentrated there. However, this research does not discriminate on what other provinces were doing, it also explores records the strategies adopted depending on the availability of such strategies there.

5.5.1 Policy strategies

Xenophobia, given its serious effects on society demands that the government come up with several policy proposals and solutions to counteract xenophobia. In South Africa, though, this process is currently underway and the established of the Inter-Ministerial Committee on Migration by President Jacob Zuma will go a long way in coming up with concrete proposals in how to tackle the problem of xenophobia. In the interim, wide consultations between government departments have been critical in laying the framework for concrete policy measures and decisions. In the absence of a clear policy position, engagement with various stakeholders as will be seen below has been a useful strategy to address the scourge of xenophobia.

5.5.1.1 Engagement with various stakeholders

Stability and calmness came about because of an integrated approach that was followed and closer cooperation between the provincial governments and the local communities. The government engaged with various stakeholders on the best way to deal with the xenophobic attacks. The government realised that the best way to create a good policy framework was through engagement of various stakeholders. These included people like business, sports, trade union movements, arts and sports fraternities, religious leaders, community formations, youth formations, children, disabled person and traditional authorities. President Jacob Zuma, in April 2015 met with these people to discuss the country's migration policy and discuss how various sectors can work with government to promote orderly migration and good relations between citizens and other nationals. Furthermore, the government used its arms to reach out to the public in order to instil the powerful force of citizenship participation. For instance, Mbatha (2015) cites a meeting organised by the Ministry of Agriculture

Forestry and Fisheries. The Honourable Minister of Agriculture Forestry and Fisheries Senzeni Zokwana and the Deputy Minister, General Bheki Cele invited the public to a meeting between the department, Organised Labour and Business Sector stakeholders.

This was done in response to the recent attacks on foreign nationals in various parts of the country to discuss ways of strengthening the existing support for peaceful co-existence in the country. The meeting was held at the Agricultural Research Council in Pretoria (Mbatha, 2015). This was very important meeting, considering that agricultural sector employs many foreign immigrants. Firstly, the organised labour representatives helped the government in finding ways in which the farm workers can be protected. Secondly, the business leaders would also help in highlighting to the public the negative consequences posed by the attacks on foreign nationals. The power of these stakeholders cannot be underestimated since these are the people who engage with different members of the society daily. Hence, this was a powerful strategy implemented by the government of South Africa. It enlightened both the government and the public for instance, for the government, it helped as consultative process for policy formulation and yet for the stakeholders who attended, it enlightened them on how they can help the government efforts to ensure smooth assimilation or integration of foreign immigrants with the society.

5.5.2 Inter-governmental strategies

South Africa as an important player in global political affairs continues to engage with its neighbors within the African continent on matters of political, social and economic concern. This was more pronounced in the way the South African government consulted widely with foreign missions in South Africa in the period between and after 2015 xenophobic attacks. This effort towards “engagement” is elaborated below.

5.5.2.1 Regional engagement

The president of South Africa showed his concern and respect of foreign nationals living in South Africa by taking his time to inform the African leaders on the various efforts which the governments was doing to ensure the safety of the citizens. This

strategy helped in removing both tension and anger among the countries whose citizens were at risk and in so doing South Africa saved its diplomatic ties with the rest of the world. President Zuma speaking to the African leaders in April 2015, he gave the following statement:

“Our law enforcement agencies have acted decisively and those who are involved in acts of violence were arrested and charged and investigations are continuing. We held meetings with organisations representing foreign and African nationals in South Africa and also convened a stakeholder engagement meeting on migration in the quest for solutions.”

He went on:

“These were very informative and constructive meetings and there shall be ongoing discussions in the quest for solutions. Ministers, Deputy Ministers and Premiers held consultative meetings with communities nationwide to hear their concerns and views. We also held a series of consultative meetings with Ambassadors and High Commissioners from African countries accredited to South Africa” (South African Government News Agency, 2015:1).

Furthermore, the next step was to meet with diplomats from other African countries. The Minister of Home Affairs, Malusi Gigaba, met with the representatives of the African countries. This was followed up by Minister of International Relations, Nkoana Maite Mashabane, meeting the members of the African diplomatic community (Williams, 2015). This was done to assure them of the government’s commitment to ensure peaceful co-existence between South African citizens and people from other African nations who live in South Africa. The ministers highlighted that during the apartheid many South Africans fled persecution and death at the hands of the Apartheid government. Africa opened its doors to many South African political leaders and people who fled into exile in neighbouring countries. The Diplomatic Community was assured of the government’s commitment to resolve the tensions and to continue to build our relations with Africa (Williams, 2015). Firstly, the meeting with the African diplomats helped to iron to provide assurance and commitment to different countries whose citizens were affected. This made the government take extra action in trying to fulfil its mandate to protect foreign citizens as well as ending the xenophobic attacks

and looting of foreign shops. This made the government take extra action in trying to fulfil its mandate to protect foreign citizens as well as ending the xenophobic attacks and looting of foreign shops. Secondly, the meeting with the traders and small business operators was of paramount importance for it ensured that the government understand how the foreign nationals feel, what they believed should be done and lastly it helped to repel the fears which the foreign nationals were already holding

5.5.3 Citizenship empowerment and educational strategies

Xenophobia by its own nature calls for the broader South African society to re-visit issues of citizenship and national belonging. As part of such a process, the South African government has introduced a raft of measures that are aimed at attending to citizen concerns that center on the problem of xenophobia. In what follows, I highlight on some of these measures and strategies that were especially introduced in response to the 2015 xenophobic attacks.

5.5.3.1 Engagement with South African communities and working towards re-integration

The South African government engaged with South African communities with the aim of sensitising and educating them the importance of co-existence. In a number of occasions, leading figures in government visited affected communities and made attempts to re-integrate foreign nationals into communities where they lived before xenophobic attacks (Williams, 2016). This approach in some cases has successfully managed to ensure that foreign nationals return to their previous homes or communities and allow them to continue with their work or business activities. Williams (2016) stated that an approximately seventy-seven (77) public engagements were undertaken by the Ministers and Deputy Ministers across South Africa.

This engagement was educative to both sides as the Executive members of the government listened to the various reservations or concerns of the communities and on the other hand they took the opportunity to condemn all the violent acts against the foreign nationals. The government established the inter-ministerial committee on Migration, made up of Police, Home Affairs, Justice and Correctional Services, Small

Business and Development, and Basic Education are part of this committee. The role of the Inter-Ministerial Committee was to give counsel on how to address the problem of xenophobia in South Africa. The knowledge gathered from these Ministerial portfolios was important in ensuring safe integration of immigrants back into the communities.

5.5.4 Technical and media related strategies

Like everywhere else in the world, the use of modern technologies in addressing contemporary problems is increasingly gaining prominence. In South, the government has started a process of using modern technologies to assist in the fight against xenophobia. In the following sub-section, I elaborate on how technology was used or embraced to assist in dealing with the effects of the 2015 xenophobic attacks.

5.5.4.1 Embracing technological advances

Department of Science and Technology (2015), revealed the launching of mobile application to fight xenophobic attacks in South Africa by the Minister of Science and Technology in Pretoria. The mobile application was termed '*We are Africans*'. The Department of Science and Technology (DST) initiated and supported the development of a mobile technology-based application meant to provide an online platform for South Africans to pledge their support for the government's campaign against the xenophobic attacks.

The mobile application increased the outreach and awareness of the anti-xenophobic attacks by the government. The Ministry made the application to be accessible and efficient to the public through several ways for instance: Firstly, the mobile application, is freely downloadable and it primarily enables the users to access two key functions, which are as follows:

- 1. "An Internet-enabled device to pledge support for the "We are Africa" campaign. The app will automatically capture the geographic location of the person, which will allow an analysis of spatially-based sentiments and patterns, thereby supporting decision-making. The app will give users the option of*

providing their demographic details, such as gender, age group, race, etc., without revealing their identity.”

2. *“The user will be able to report any incident or potential incident of violence or incitement. This will be near real time and could enable relevant authorities such as the SAPS or the Metro Police to respond swiftly to prevent the incident from occurring, or to enforce the law where it has already occurred.”* (Department of Science and Technology, 2015:1).

The first version of the application can be accessed through any device capable of Internet connection for instance, PCs, laptops, tablets, cell phones and by visiting the website (www.weareafrica.mobi) (Department of Science and Technology, 2015). Further, the application was made accessible to the devices which uses Android, Apple and Windows stores. The demonstration was made by the Minister, senior management of the DST, as well as representatives of m-Lab, at the launch. In addition, Minister Pandor, together with the staff of the DST and its entities, signed a huge banner which was placed at the foyer of the department (Department of Science & Technology, 2015).

The creation and embracing of the technology as a way of fighting xenophobic attacks in 2015 was huge break for the government and people of South Africa in the battle against the xenophobic attacks. This application helped the free and positive South Africans who desire peace to report the incidence of xenophobic attacks as soon as they occur. Moreover, the security agency would respond earlier, when such report has been given, hence, preventing the loss of property and life of foreign nationals.

5.5.5 State- civil society strategies

In South Africa, xenophobia is being addressed through the way the government is fostering relationships with the broader civil society. Such relationships have seen xenophobia being addressed in a number of ways. As will be discussed in the following sub-sections, protest marches organized by both government and civil society groups remain useful in tackling the problem of xenophobia. Also, the religious community has also been instrumental in the fight against xenophobia.

5.5.5.1 Protest marches against xenophobia

To increase awareness, the Kwazulu-Natal office of the Premier (2015) for example organised peace march across the province. The Peace March was organised under the theme of “Africa Unite”. Thousands of peace loving people joined to say “No to Xenophobia”. It can be noted that many South Africans of goodwill stepped in to assist all those who were displaced by this violence. Phumla (2015) noted that different Ministers also participated in the peace march led by Premier Senzo Mchunu where thousands of people marched to demonstrate their opposition to the violence. Engagements were made with religious leaders, cultural organisations as well as civic structures to build a society-wide front against the violence.

The leaders made it clear that South Africans should not allow the country to be portrayed as murderous and violent. This has far reaching implications on the country’s relations with the global community as well as on building viable economic relations with other nations of the world. The protection of the country’s image was emphasised to the public, so that the country will not be termed xenophobic and inhabitable by foreign nationals.

5.5.5.2 Religious approach

The government of South Africa engaged religious leaders as part of an all-round strategy to end xenophobic attacks in South Africa. Zola (2015) cites a call by the Free State Provincial Government which hosted an anti-xenophobia prayer service on Wednesday 29 April 2015. The Free State Provincial Government identified the need to show solidarity with the victims, and show the rest of the world that acts like these are not only unacceptable, but will not be tolerated by the South African community. The event was dubbed ‘Black Wednesday’, people who attended the service were encouraged to wear black.

The Free State Provincial Government declared a: “No to Xenophobic Attacks against Foreign Nationals!!!” and the following statements were declared:

“Attacks on foreign nationals are a criminal offence and will not be tolerated.”

“We must not forget the hospitality and support we received from fellow Africans.”

“Government condemns all forms of violence.”

“South Africa is a constitutional democracy governed by laws.”

“South Africa is signatory to various international obligations that protect foreign nationals and refugees.”

“Negative perceptions that foreign nationals are using resources meant for South Africans are invalid.”

“We all have a responsibility to ensure peaceful co-existence in communities.” (Zola, 2015:1).

The Prayer service was attended by approximately five thousand (5000) people, the Premier of Free State province, Mr Ace Magashule, MEC for Sport, Arts, Culture and Recreation (Zola, 2015). The event was essential and strategic for a number of reasons: Firstly, South Africa is a spiritual nation, this serves as a reminder to the rest of the community to join in the condemnation of xenophobic attacks. Secondly, religion has a unifying force, the principles of religion includes loving one another. Hence, the impact of holding such an event within the community was very profound.

5.5.6 Legal and constitutional Strategies

In its response to xenophobia, the South African government introduced some legal and constitutional measures which are discussed below:

5.5.6.1 Constitutional awareness

The Judiciary is one of the three arms of the government, they also joined in the fight against xenophobic attacks by providing constitutional awareness to the general public. Office of the Chief Justice (2015) published a statement made by Chief Justice Mogoeng Mogoeng in which he highlighted the need to promote human rights and abide to the constitution. Enshrined in the South African constitution are the right to dignity and bodily integrity, the right to life, the right to equality and the right to freedom of movement and association for everyone. He stated that both foreign nationals and locals have the responsibility to uphold these fundamental human rights and not to take the law into their own hands so as not to threaten, hurt or take other people's lives. Additionally, everyone has a duty to respect every person, accept and coexist

peacefully with them irrespective of their place of origin (Office of the Chief Justice, 2015). People should treat others as much as they would like them treat them in their own country of origin when circumstances beyond our control have forced us to be there.

The Chief Justice articulated that when interests and rights are in conflict with those of others and result in a dispute, the justice system provides a legal mechanism to resolve disputes in a manner that is consistent with the Constitution. Moreover, it is to these mechanisms that people must turn to for the resolution of these disputes whenever they arise (Office of the Chief Justice, 2015). It is imperative for all South Africans to promote and uphold human rights to prevent a recurrence of xenophobic attacks. Firstly, the remarks by the Chief Justice clearly reveal that engaging in xenophobic attacks is an act of crime. In an instance, where people have queries regarding the issue of foreign nationals, they can raise them with the justice system which can resolve the issues amicably. Secondly, the Chief Justice pointed a very critical point that everyone should learn to live in peace with respect and care for people of different cultures, languages and religions.

Chief Justice Mogoeng Mogoeng quoted the constitution which state that “*We, the people of South Africa, believe that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, united in our diversity*” (Office of the Chief Justice, 2015). It is therefore required of everyone within South Africa to appreciate diversity and be tolerant of other people. This is in line with the total rejection of violence which culminated during the apartheid era and the xenophobic attacks which resulted in the unlawful displacement and loss of life.

5.5.6.2 Deployment of Security Agencies

The President of South Africa, Mr Jacob Zuma noted that critical interventions were needed to be put in place in order to deal with outbreak of the violence. This led to the creation of the National Joint Operational centre (NATJOC) to coordinate the government-wide response to the situation (Williams, 2015). Further, an Inter-Ministerial Committee (IMC) was established to deal with all relevant issues including immigration, social issues, law enforcement and humanitarian support. This committee continues its work of coordinating government’s response. The NATJOC operated on a 24-hour basis to coordinate the government-wide response to this

situation (Williams, 2015). Provincial Joint Operational Structures (PROVJOCS) were also activated to monitor and curb any potential threats across the 9 provinces of the country.

The government through this platform continued to constantly review security arrangements, assess the environment and determine the additional measures to be introduced. Firstly, the inducing of NATJOC ensured that the incidences of xenophobic attacks are monitored closely. This was a great strategic action in both monitoring the current attacks and future attacks which may occur again in South Africa.

5.5.6.3 Perpetrators were arrested, charged and prosecuted

The arresting and prosecution of the perpetrators of xenophobic attacks is one of the most important strategy employed by the government arms of law enforcement. The members of the law enforcement agencies acted decisively to prevent bloodshed between two aggressive groupings at the Durban Central Business District (Williams, 2015). The commitment to duty which was shown by these law enforcement agencies prevented injuries and even deaths that could have happened if they security forces had not acted. The law enforcement officers on the ground worked very hard to ensure that those who are involved in acts of violence were arrested, charged and convicted. An approximately, 307 suspects were arrested in connections with attacks on foreign nationals and public violence across the country (Williams, 2015). This action was important in restraining people from participating in the acts of xenophobic attacks. Consequently, making the foreign nationals to be safe in South Africa due to the increased law enforcement.

5.5.6.4 Stern warning to instigators and participants

The government made a stern warning to instigators and those who participate in xenophobic attacks. This strategy was accompanied by working closely with the public in ensuring that xenophobic attacks are stopped. The law enforcement agents made it clear that, anyone who will be found perpetrating the acts of xenophobic attacks on foreign nationals will meet the full might of the law. The individual will be arrested and sentenced accordingly (Williams, 2015). Moreover, a warning was issued especially to young people that having a criminal record can disrupt their lives. The government

provided the public with phone numbers to report an information on plans to cause violence or those who have witnessed acts of violence, to contact one of the operational centres, either in the relevant province or at national level. The table below shows the numbers used in each province

Table 11: Emergency call numbers

PROVINCE	Contact
North West	018 497 7458
Northern Cape	053 8384419/375/303
Free State	051 4126652/56
KwaZulu-Natal	031 325 4720
Western Cape	021 466 0014
Eastern Cape	040 6087401/2/3/4
Limpopo	015 285 7600/651/615

Mpumalanga	013 762 7071/75
NATJOC	012 6409000/2/5

Source: (Williams, 2015).

5.5.6.5 Condemnation of fear mongering

Williams (2015) cites a statement issued by the department of Government Communication and Information System (GCIS), the government noted a new phenomenon of people who make use of social media to instil fear in different parts of the country. They sent out fictitious SMS and WhatsApp messages with fictitious and photo-shopped images warning people of eminent attacks.

These messages appeared to be written by elements bent on taking advantage of the restlessness in communities and instilled fear amongst foreign immigrants. Government reiterated its resolve to stamp all acts that sought to cause panic in different communities. The misinformation was perpetrated on media and the government expressed that all South Africans should condemn such in order to have peace with the country (Williams, 2015). Government called on those who were involved in such acts to stop them. Everyone should exercise their right to enjoy their normal, everyday freedoms. The report further stated that the government, will remain alert. Moreover, any credible information that suggests an eminent threat against any community, South Africans will be officially advised by the relevant authorities. The government also highlighted that it will never communicate through WhatsApp messages and anonymous SMSs (Williams, 2015).

5.5.6.5 'Operation Fiela', Xenophobia, Criminality and the Law

One aspect of the way the South African government responds to the problem of xenophobia relates to the manner in which xenophobia is interfaced with criminality or the breakdown of the law. 'Operation Fiela' which was introduced by the government in the aftermath of the 2015 attacks could be seen in one way or the other as a

mechanism on the part of the government to respond to the popular sentiment linking xenophobia to criminality. Despite receiving widespread condemnation from some sections of the South African society, the government insisted that the target of the operation was not only foreign nationals but also South African citizens involved in criminal activities. It remains unforeseen whether the timing of '*Operation Fiela*' coincided with the various attempts that the government was rolling-out to respond to the 2015 xenophobic attacks or it was part of the government's grand plan of addressing xenophobia.

5.5.7 Humanitarian strategies

The effects of xenophobia are severe on those affected as was seen in South African especially in 2008 and 2015. In an effort to mitigate some of the effects, the South African government introduced a number of measures which included the provision of shelter and other humanitarian forms of assistance. In the following sub-sections, I elaborate on how these programmes were useful to those affected by xenophobia especially in the aftermath of the 2015 attacks.

5.5.7.1 Shelters

The government moved in to set shelters to accommodate people who were displaced by the xenophobic attacks. The President said interventions employed comprised of shelters that were set-up to accommodate displaced foreign and African nationals and basic amenities such as water, sanitation, and healthcare were provided. Some of these shelters were set in places like Isipingo, Chatsworth and Greenwood Park (Williams, 2015). The shelters accommodated an approximately seven thousand (7000) people in Durban's three camps. The Chatsworth camp, south of the coastal city of Durban, housed 520 foreign nationals, mostly refugees and asylum seekers from Burundi and the Democratic Republic of Congo. The Malawians had a population of about 3000 people in the camps excluding the Zimbabwean and Mozambicans repatriated to their country. This was a very important strategy for it ensured that the health of the immigrant was protected. Further, the creation of shelters reduced the vulnerability of the foreign nationals within South African communities by providing a safe hide out area.

5.5.7.1 Provision of psycho-social services

In addition to the setting up of shelters, the government offered psycho-social services at the camps. Williams (2015) notes that government worked closely with civil society to provide all possible support to the displaced as they await reintegration back into their communities. The humanitarian groups such as Social Development, Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs (COGTA) and Community Safety helped in conducting community dialogues in areas such as Umlazi and Chatsworth to ensure a smooth reintegration process. Moreover, the government worked closely with the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, UNICEF as well as non-governmental organisations to provide food, psycho-social and other support to those affected (Department of International Relations and Cooperation, 2015).

Further, the Department of Social Development provided food, shelter and other necessities to approximately 1026 displaced persons in shelters in both Gauteng and KZN (Department of International Relations and Cooperation, 2015). Furthermore, trauma counselling and debriefing services were also provided to individuals on site at the shelters. Specialised services to children in need of care and protection, including Early Childhood Development Programmes were being provided in Isipingo and Chatsworth (Department of International Relations and Cooperation, 2015). Government worked closely with civil society to provide all possible support to the displaced as they await reintegration back into their communities. The setting of shelters helped the affected people to repeal some of the effects of xenophobic attacks. For instance, offering both social and psychological services helped the migrants to see the efforts of the government, which would in turn help them in the process of reintegration in the community.

5.6 Xenophobia in South Africa: Indices of Measuring the Efficiency of Strategies adopted by the South African Government

This dissertation is about the efficiency of strategies adopted by the South African government to curb the scourge of xenophobia. As such, it raises questions on the problem of “measurement”; which indices are necessary and critical in determining

whether the various mechanisms (strategies) of responding to xenophobia in South Africa are 'efficient' or not? In the attempt to examine and measure the efficiency of the strategies used in South Africa to respond to xenophobia, in this dissertation, I develop or make use of the following key indices of measurement:

- **Durability:** Durability as an index of measurement in the context of this study is taken to refer to the way a particular strategy is able to attend to xenophobic incidences in the short and long term. 'Durability' in other words refers to the way a particular method or intervention can be considered sustainable in the attempt to deal with existing and future cases of xenophobia within South African communities.
- **Immediacy:** Immediacy is taken to refer to the way in which a particular governmental strategy (or response) is able to deal with cases of xenophobia especially in the times in which they occur. It looks at how rapid responses to xenophobia are successful in putting to a halt any form of xenophobic attacks or violence. It is on the basis on the immediacy effect that a strategy is judged as efficient or not in attending to existing incidences of xenophobia.
- **Repelling effect:** By 'repelling effect', I refer to the way a strategy is able to repel any future xenophobic attacks or violence following its introduction, adoption or inception.

As can be seen from the above, the 'durability effect', the 'immediacy effect', and the 'repelling effect' are the most critical indicators or indices that will be used in this research to establish whether existing strategies of attending to xenophobia in South Africa are efficient or not. It is important to state that the three (3) indicators (durability effect, the immediacy effect, and the repelling effect) are measured in qualitative terms. Through an examination of existing literature or prevailing discourse circulating in the mainstream media, the researcher will be able to make a determination on the efficiency of the strategies adopted by the South African government in its effort to attend to the problem of xenophobia. This also entails assessing each strategy of addressing xenophobia basing on the indices mentioned above. Using the above indices, in the following section, I examine the efficiency of the strategies highlighted earlier and evaluate whether such strategies have been able to meet their desired outcomes.

5.6.1 Xenophobia and the State interventions: On why government policy often fail?

5.6.1.1 Lack of sustainability of the strategies implemented

The government implemented strategies to stop the xenophobic attacks from spreading. It can be noted that the South African government did the following, political commitment, Engagement with public, organised protest, embraced technology, constitutional awareness, religious approach, setting police and army to the task, creation of shelters, condemnation of fear mongers, arresting and prosecution of perpetrators and they also made a stern warning to the instigators of violence and those who participate in it. These are strategic responses which are effective in ending the scourge and spread of xenophobic attacks but does not address or prevention of such attacks in future.

Misago, Freemantle and Landau (2015) agree with the argument above when they stated that the response by the government in post May 2008 violence were highly ineffective. The government called on specialised units, created ad hoc committees and assigned teams in parliament, ministries, provincial and local governments and the police. The scholars also noted that the problem emanate from the fact that after the acute problem has ceased the government cease to do anything. These are nearly the same strategies implemented to counter the 2015 xenophobic attacks. Hence, the likelihood of having another repeat of the xenophobic attacks in future.

Furthermore, there was no coherence in the implementation of the strategies, one can note that each province took a different approach in countering the xenophobic attacks. The government seemed to lack a strategy in place which can be implemented by all provinces. Hence, it renders the strategies implemented to be more unsustainable. There is a higher probable chance that in the provinces where strong measures were undertaken xenophobic attacks are likely to be rare in the future than in provinces where weaker approach was undertaken. For instance, the use of soldiers and police in Western Cape in 2010 resulted in peace, there was no incidences reported in this province after the occurrence of the seven incidences highlighted in table 9. Furthermore, Free State held prayer sessions attended by many people, it brought some solidarity or belonging which provokes the oneness in people. It my

thought that if all other provinces adopted a similar approach it would have made the strategies implemented to have a lasting effect.

5.6.1.2 Addressing the root cause

Further, it can be noted that whilst Premier Senzo Mchunu in KwaZulu-Natal acknowledged that xenophobic attacks are grossly embedded in the high poverty levels, lack of economic development and the need for social security among the vulnerable groups in South Africa. The government of South Africa's efforts to meet or fill the poverty gap has not been entirely successful with majority of the recipients still showing aggression, social discontent and frustration expressed. The strategies mentioned above are largely reactive to the problem at hand yet there is still need to focus on meeting the demands of local community members through various empowerment programmes.

5.6.1.3 Denialism of the existence of the gross existence of xenophobia

Denialism stands out as a limitation which has been impeding the implementation of necessary strategies to deal with xenophobic attacks in South Africa. Since the occurrence of the xenophobic attacks in 2008, the xenophobic attacks did not end as revealed by this study. The national government, the provincial local governments and the police have remained silent on the occurrence of xenophobic attacks leading to the April 2015 violence. The lack of recognising the attacks in times where they are a rare occurrence, risk the government's lack of preparedness or quick response in terminating any sign of xenophobia. The trend of violence increased over time until they hit a nation-wide attack on foreign nationals. However, the incidences cited in this study reveal that the number of deaths, looted shops and attacks on foreign nationals continued. Further, when such incidences occurred, they were labelled under the act of crime. This is what impeded the South African government from formulating sustainable strategies which address the root cause of xenophobic attacks in South Africa. As Crush, *et al.* (2009:19) note:

Despite the overwhelming research evidence of a powder-keg of xenophobic sentiment, the issue was largely ignored in public political discourse, until it was too late. Even then, the response of those in government to May 2008

was largely denialist in character. Several prominent politicians initially voiced surprise and concern and acknowledged that xenophobia was a significant problem. They were quickly silenced by an official 'party line' from the President 's office. The attacks were criminal, not xenophobically motivated, said President Mbeki at an official day of mourning for the victims. South Africans were not xenophobic and anyone who said so was themselves being xenophobic.

Furthermore, the former South African president Mr Mbeki's was more in denial of the existence of xenophobia in South Africa both in the pre-2008 xenophobic attacks and the post 2008 xenophobic attacks. This is evidenced by his utterances when he said:

What happened during those days was not inspired by possessed nationalism, or extreme chauvinism, resulting in our communities violently expressing the hitherto unknown sentiments of mass and mindless hatred of foreigners—xenophobia...I heard it said insistently that my people have turned or become xenophobic...I wondered what the accusers knew about my people which I did not know. And this I must also say—none in our society has any right to encourage or incite xenophobia by trying to explain naked criminal activity by cloaking it in the garb of xenophobia.” (Dodson, 2010: 7).

This sentiment does not seem to have changed even in the wake of reported cases of xenophobic attacks during President Jacob Zuma's Presidency. Moreover, President Zuma is considered as not exhibiting strong sentiments of denialism as Mr Mbeki, however, he uttered some statements with some xenophobic undertones which seemed to reinforce the xenophobia in South Africa. According to Tella (2016), Mr Zuma uttered the following statement at the launch of an e-toll system in October 2013, he said *'we cannot think like Africans in Africa. This is Johannesburg. It is not some national road in Malawi'*. This is an example where the South African president reveal that South Africa is different from the rest of Africa, for it does not show the same characteristics with them.

The Limpopo Provincial government denied to acknowledge any incidences where an act of xenophobia occurred and put it as criminal act. Hence, strengthening the argument that despite the occurrence of xenophobic attacks some authorities still fail

to acknowledge xenophobic violence as such. The analysis above reveals that it is such denialism by both the government and the law enforcement agencies which strengthens and delete or render the strategies put forward during the attacks to be quickly forgotten and not enforced.

5.6.1.4 Lack of policy or programmes to counter xenophobic attacks in South Africa

This study has revealed various interventions used by the government to counter xenophobic attacks but however, there is no clear policy set in place for the protection of foreign nationals both in the time of peace. These sentiments are also share by (Lombard, 2015) who noted in her study of Cape Town City's Metro Police. She noted that "there are no policies in this department that speak directly to the protection of foreign nationals and no clear programmes to address the safety challenges faced by black foreign nationals, even after the 2008 xenophobic attack". This a challenge when countering xenophobia because every province has to come up with some method of preventing xenophobia. Hence, in most cases the government is caught unaware when the attacks occur in the country.

Consequently, this study can reveal that lack of policy or programmes in place results in policy incoherence between national and provincial strategies for the prevention of xenophobic attacks. This because each province had to come up with its own strategy. This means in a province where the voice against xenophobia was loud and clear, people are more likely to take hid of the call. For instance, other provinces involved religious leaders, traditional leaders, hosted a prayer day and some hosted protest marches. These are strategies where if they are applied in all provinces, the message will be made clear to all South Africans. The awareness programmes and prevention policy have to be uniform in all provinces in order for the government to be able to counter the recurring of xenophobic attacks in South Africa.

5.7 Summary of the chapter

In summary, this chapter, it started by revealing the extent of xenophobic attacks by articulating the incidences as they occur in different provinces. The researcher described the incidences and analysed the meaning of such incidences. This helped

in showing the picture of xenophobic attacks in South Africa. Hence, revealing the extent of xenophobic violence in South Africa. The second part of this chapter addressed the strategies or mechanisms used by the South African government in addressing the attacks, these include: the following: policy strategies, intergovernmental strategies, citizenship empowerment and educational strategies, state-civil society engagement, technical and media related strategies, legal and constitutional strategies and humanitarian strategies. The last part of this research reveals the limitations of the strategies implemented.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 Conclusion

Chapter 1: Introduction and background

This chapter presents introduction and background of the study. It provides literature to support the causes and incidences of xenophobia in global context. Based on the frameworks and theories the nature of the experiences by the foreign immigrants and the strategies employed by the South African government were analysed. This was done with the aim of examining the efficiency of strategies for the prevention of xenophobia in post-apartheid South Africa.

Chapter 2: Explaining the manifestation of xenophobic attacks in South Africa

The chapter provides a literature analysis on the cause of xenophobic attacks in South Africa. Firstly, the researcher gave the reasons why foreign nationals find themselves within South Africa. The causes of immigrants range from social, economic and political causes in their country of residence. Further, there are theoretical underpinnings given to explain such movements. The inclusion of the causes of migration by foreign nationals was done to explain why they find themselves within the borders of South Africa. Furthermore, the literature analysis went on to provide a global picture of xenophobic attacks. It starts from the developed countries and then it also reflects the manifestation of xenophobia in African countries and South Africa itself. This narrative helped the research to provide a clear picture into the dynamics which shape this phenomenon in South Africa.

Chapter 3: Theoretical explanation of the underlying causes of xenophobic attacks

This chapter is an extension of the literature on the underlying causes of xenophobic attacks in South Africa. The theories such as institutional xenophobia, social identity

theory, sociobiological hypothesis and isolation theory are discussed in detail. Lastly the researcher also provides the scapegoat theory as the main theory on which this study is built. The inclusion of these theories helps in bringing out the nature of xenophobic attacks in South Africa hence, they helped the researcher in achieving the objectives of the study.

Chapter 4: Research methodology

This chapter discusses the research methodology used in relation to the procedure followed and methods that were used in the implementation of the research project. This includes aspects such as the research design, the researcher used descriptive research design, purposive sampling was adopted and snowballing was used as a complimentary method; data was collected from newspaper articles, scholarly articles and published statements or addresses from government officials. The use of secondary data information presented the researcher with many advantages than originally anticipated. Creswell (2009:180) states that documents “can be accessed at any time convenient to the researcher, and is an unconstructive source of information”. In this case the researcher does not rely on people to tell him or her the information. As a result, the researcher managed to access the information whenever wanted to make referral to the data which was collected. Moreover, secondary information exists in written form, hence there is no need for transcribing which reduces the time and expenses. Furthermore, Merriam (2002:13) noted another strength of documents as data source when she points out that documents “already exist in the situation, they do not intrude upon or alter the setting in ways that the presence of the investigator might”. These are some of the advantages I considered before I chose the data collection method.

Furthermore, data analysis was conducted using discourse analysis. The analysis was based on the work of (Fairclough, 1989; Janks, 1997)’s models of conducting discourse analyses. Firstly, Fairclough states that discourse can be analysed on three levels namely text (description), process analysis (interpretation) and social context analysis (explanation). The researcher provided the incidences of xenophobic attacks in each province, the second stage was the interpretation of the incidences revealing the impact of the violence. Concurrently, through the presentation, the researcher

discussed the social context through the analysis of each impact giving the scholarly review. The same process was repeated in the analysis of the strategies implemented by the government to stop the xenophobic attacks in South Africa.

Chapter 5: Summary of the results.

This chapter presents the results and discussion. The first objective of the study was to describe the nature of xenophobic attacks in South Africa. Firstly, the study results revealed the incidences of xenophobic attacks in each of the provinces from 2010 to 2015. The study discovered that xenophobic attacks did not stop after the May 2008 violence against the foreign nationals. There were a continuous series of incidences which only but escalated over time. The difference between the May 2008 xenophobic attacks, April 2015 and other incidences is the rate of the outbreak. In other years, the incidences were spaced and are often categorised as crime or violence in general.

Reports on incidences of xenophobia reveal that xenophobic attacks result in the gross loss of life, looting of foreign owned shops; physical effect for instance, injuries to the body which bears a significant lifetime or results in fatality in extreme cases. Further, the researcher also found out that xenophobic attacks have serious psychological effects on the victim, for example the media reveals images of foreign nationals carrying knives; another shop owner firing gun bullets at a group which gathered outside his shop. These are examples which reveal that xenophobic attacks instil fear into the victims which will make them to be on the defensive. The family as an institution of the society is also affected, the study results have revealed that many South African women were married to foreign nationals and when the xenophobic attacks erupted their husbands were forced to relocate to home countries leaving their wives and children behind. This has serious implication on family as an institution in our society, for instance, the remaining women will add to growing number of single parent caused by absent fathers, broken families; it disturbs the economic function of the family which may result in destitution or increase in poverty within South African communities.

In an attempt to accurately reveal the nature of xenophobic attacks the study has managed to reveal the true nature of xenophobic attacks in South Africa. Looking at the theoretical implication of the study, the scapegoat theory illuminated on the interplay between frustration and aggression as it played out in the looting of spaza shops as well as the various acts of violence. The second objective of the study was to describe the current strategies adopted to prevent or stop xenophobic attacks in South Africa. The results of this study reveal about eight strategies implemented by the South African government. The research achieved this objective by describing and discussing the strength of all the strategies implemented to stem out violence. The strategies implemented include the following: Policy strategies, intergovernmental strategies, citizenship empowerment and educational strategies, state-civil society engagement, technical and media related strategies, legal and constitutional strategies and humanitarian strategies.

The government's approach was very effective since it adopted an open approach to the problem of xenophobic attacks. It is unlike the May 2008 attacks in which the government had to let the civil society to take a lead in the squashing of xenophobic attacks. The government was at the centre of spearheading a movement against these attacks. Hence, it involved all the stakeholders for instance, religious leaders and community leaders. These are two institutions of society which helped to bring back awareness on the importance of co-existence. The most important message which came out was the call to accept foreign nationals, respect the freedom of democratic era together in peace as well as maintaining co-existence.

The last objective of this research was to assess the relevance of the current intervention strategies against xenophobia. The section was fulfilled through the researcher providing a discussion on the strategies implemented in the study. The current strategies were effective in stemming out xenophobic attacks. However, to a lesser extent they could prevent the violent attacks from recurring in future as revealed by the following limitations of the strategies employed: lack of sustainability, a failure to attend to the root cause and denialism on the existence of xenophobia. Overall, the research results showed that xenophobic attacks never ceased since 2010 but they only declined in intensity.

Hence, the researchers argue that the current strategies lack sustainability. They helped to stop xenophobia but cannot prevent it from recurring. There is a need to prevent xenophobic attacks not from its effects but from its causes. Secondly, the research results revealed that the root cause of xenophobic attacks is grossly embedded in the unmet economic and social needs of the people. In light of that, the study shows that none of the government strategies was addressing such root causes. Thirdly, the research has revealed that denialism is a cause of concern as most law enforcement agencies fail to acknowledge the occurrence of spaced xenophobic attacks on foreign nationals as xenophobic acts. The will by the authorities to term xenophobic attacks as a criminal act other than xenophobic attacks could have limited the governments' efforts to prevent the occurrence of large scale xenophobic attacks in future. Hence, it limits the view of the government and its ability to create strategies which can prevent or address xenophobic violence forever.

The Scapegoat theoretical framework used in this research was more useful in explaining the looting of foreign owned shops. This research revealed the frustrations, anger and aggression of the local people against the foreign nationals who own the spaza shops in the local communities. Their anger is revealed by their inability to compete with the foreign nationals in terms of their entrepreneurship business acumen. The locals had hoped to control the local economy which includes the SMEs but lack of skills made their adventures to be unsustainable and unsuccessful. This resulted in most of these business being taken by the foreign nationals resulting in the anger, frustration and aggression as stipulated by the scapegoat theory. A host of allegations against the foreign SMEs owners emerge from the inability of the local people to compete with the foreign nationals. Further, the location of the successful foreign business owners in a society where people are languishing in poverty made the feeling of jealousy and anger of the locals to rise. Foreign nationals were blamed for the misfortunes of the local people in business and success in general. Hence, a foreign national became the scapegoat of the people's frustrations.

6.2 Recommendations

The researcher made the following recommendations:

6.2.1 Education

The South African educational curriculum system needs to be revisited. African history needs to be taught from early grades as a compulsory subject. This ensures that the new generation is taught about the history of where black people are coming as well as the history of the struggle. This curriculum will help the new generation to embrace the foreign nationals as they come to live within their country. Subjects such as geography, where students learn about the migration trends and the benefits of migration should be made mandatory for the high school students. Further, cultural studies should be integrated within the curriculum. This can be done through the creation of cultural music and drama competition in which the parents and the community members are encouraged to come and support. These activities help to encourage the culture of Ubuntu, togetherness within the South African community.

6.2.2 Developing business entrepreneurship skills

The xenophobic attacks have been characterised with the looting of foreign owned *spazas* or businesses operating within the communities. This was largely since most of the strategic businesses which earn money are owned by the foreign nationals. The businesses which are owned by foreign nationals do a lot better than those run by the local people due to better business practices and knowledge. The government needs to create projects aimed at training the local people in entrepreneurship skills. Successful foreign business owners should be encouraged to join local business community forums as a way of offering expertise and guidance. Consequently, this will result in business partnerships and excellence on the part of the local business people. Further, the foreign business owners won't be regarded as the outside 'other' rather they will be well integrated within the South African community. Hence, encouraging social acceptance and peaceful living or the culture of co-existing.

6.2.3 The role of policing

In the quest to remove or prevent the recurring of xenophobic attacks in South Africa. This study has revealed that xenophobic attacks never stopped since 2008 rather they were isolated events. There is need for police to uphold the rule of law whenever such

incidences occur, the culprits need to be arrested and brought to justice immediately. The xenophobic acts need to be categorised as such and not as criminal acts in general. This helps in treating the cases with seriousness and the resulting penalty should be judged on such basis. Moreover, the judges and the judiciary system needs to ensure timely and decisive conviction. Furthermore, the penalty years of those convicted should be increased to discourage those who wish to engage in xenophobic attacks.

6.2.4 The role of the media

The South African media has a bigger role to play in the process of countering xenophobic attacks. The media needs to educate people on the importance of co-existing with the foreign nationals. This can be done through putting educative adverts which discourage xenophobia as well as creating space where some of the interesting programs are co-hosted by foreign nationals and local people. Further, giving accurate accounts about the state of the neighbouring countries will make the nation to be more aware of the challenges facing other African states.

6.2.5 Addressing the lack of service delivery in municipalities

There is need to establish the reasons for the lack of service delivery by the local government. The government can achieve this by working in collaboration with research institutions both independent and the ones based in institutions of higher learning. Most of the xenophobic attacks are emanating from frustration in the community due to lack of service delivery hence, improving the rate at which the community needs are met will help in reducing conflict situations.

6.2.6 Community forums

The government need to establish community forums with the people. This can be a program which seeks to engage with the people in different communities to hear their problems. This programme can be spearheaded by the local municipalities or the local government working in conjunction with the community leaders. The essence of the community forums is to establish a communication channel between the members of the community and the government. These can be done quarterly each year with most pressing issues being raised quickly without waiting for the day of engagement. These will help in ensuring that people won't engage in protest, collective violence or in an

incidence where foreign nationals are used as a scapegoat to attract the attention of the government.

6.3 Summary of the chapter

The final chapter (chapter 6) handled the conclusion and the recommendation part of the research. The researcher gave a conclusive summary of each chapter attended to in the research. Furthermore, the recommendations touched on aspects such as education, developing business entrepreneurship skills, the role of policing, the role of the media, addressing the lack of service delivery in municipalities and community forums. These are the recommendations which are of paramount importance in the quest to finding the harmony or co-existence with each other within the South African society. The discourse analysis allowed the researcher to conclude the chapter by providing the theoretical explanations of the research findings and summary.

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