

**AN EXPLORATORY STUDY ON THE PERCEPTIONS ABOUT XENOPHOBIC
VIOLENCE IN GIYANI, LIMPOPO PROVINCE**

by

NTWANANO GOODNESS SHIVITI

DISSERTATION submitted in (partial) fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

in

Criminology

in the

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES

(School of Social Sciences)

at the

UNIVERSITY OF LIMPOPO

SUPERVISOR: Prof J. Barkhuizen

CO-SUPERVISOR: Ms O.R. Chabalala

2021

DECLARATION

I declare that the dissertation hereby submitted to the University of Limpopo, for the degree of Master of Arts in Criminology and Criminal Justice has not previously been submitted by me for a degree at this or any other university, and that it is my work in design an in execution, and that all material contained herein has been duly acknowledged.

Ms Shiviti N.G

Date

DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to my daughter (Ntsako) and my mother (Tsakani Rose Shiviti) for their sincere inspiration.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

- Firstly, I would like to thank the Almighty God who gave me the strength and wisdom throughout my study.
- My sincere gratitude to my supervisor Professor J. Barkhuizen and my co-supervisor Ms O.R. Chabalala for the support, encouragement and guidance they have given me.
- A special thanks to my daughter Ntsako for her patience and inspiration.
- A special thank you to the following people:
 - ✓ My parents, Mr Freddy and Mrs Tsakani Rose Shiviti.
 - ✓ Siblings, Chris, Promise and Nkateko Shiviti for their unconditional love, support, encouragement and understanding.
- Last but not least, all Giyani residents who participated in this work.

ABSTRACT

The aim of the present study was to explore Giyani residents' perceptions about xenophobic violence committed by South African citizens. The exploratory design, which is a qualitative paradigm was used to explore residents' perceptions about xenophobic violence in Giyani. Purposive sampling, aligned to non-probability sampling procedure was used to select participants. A sample of twenty-two (22) participants between the ages of eighteen (18) and forty-five (45) years were selected from the residents of Giyani Section A. Semi-structured interviews were used to gather data from the participants. Thematic Content Analysis (TCA) method was used to analyse the data.

The following themes emerged from the study: understanding of xenophobic violence, attitudes of South African citizens towards immigrants, time at which xenophobic violence took place, factors that lead to xenophobic violence, impact of xenophobic violence and measures to curb xenophobic violence. According to the findings of the study, Giyani residents have different attitudes towards immigrants. Most of them seemed to be more tolerant towards foreign nationals. The study findings confirmed that competition over scarce resources; high crime rates and the influence of the media are major factors that lead to xenophobic attacks. Xenophobic violence has been said to have negative impacts on immigrants as well as the host country. During xenophobic attacks most immigrants are reported to lose their lives. The economic growth also gets affected because potential investors and tourists who bring money to the country return to their countries of their origin.

KEYWORDS: Immigrants, Perception, Violence, Xenophobia, Xenophobic attack.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ACA	:	Alien Control Act
ABMP	:	African Basic Movement Party
ANC	:	African National Congress
CPF	:	Community Police Forum
CORMSA	:	Consortium for Refugees and Migrants in South Africa
DA	:	Democratic Alliance
DHA	:	Department of Home Affairs
GDP	:	Gross Domestic Product
HRW	:	Human Rights Watch

HSRC	:	Human Sciences Research Council
LDP	:	Liberal Democratic Party
NHRIs	:	National Human Rights Institutions
OAU	:	Organisation of African Unity
RDP	:	Reconstruction and Development Programme
SADC	:	South African Development Community
SAHO	:	South African History Online
SAHRC	:	South African Human Rights Commission
SAMP	:	Southern African Migration Product
SAPS	:	South African Police Service
TCA	:	Thematic Content Analysis
TREC	:	Turfloop Research Ethics Committee

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Table 5: Factors that lead to xenophobic violence

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Table 7: Measures that can be used to curb xenophobic violence

CHAPTER ONE

GENERAL ORIENTATION OF THE STUDY

1.1 BACKGROUND AND MOTIVATION OF THE STUDY

Xenophobic violence is prevalent throughout the whole of South Africa (Valji, 2003:np). The incidence of xenophobic attacks appears to be an on-going activity that occurs in all areas and regions of South Africa with different degrees of severity. The more current history of xenophobic violence in South Africa is the result of transition from apartheid to democracy (McConnell, 2009:34). Moreover, the afore-mentioned author asserts that after the apartheid era the government promised good service delivery to their people, which it is failing to accomplish and that makes the South African citizens to be furious.

According to the South African Migration Policy (SAMP) 2008, South Africans displayed xenophobic attitudes towards foreign nationals even before 1994 (Crush, 2008:8). It is clear that xenophobic violence is not a new phenomenon, but it was there even before democracy. Nevertheless, these attitudes increased after 1994. Xenophobic violence against refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants occur globally. A study conducted by White Papers of Hate (2013:np) indicates that high levels of xenophobia, ultra-nationalism, anti-Semitism and hate crimes have been directed against religious minorities and immigrants in the European countries. Xenophobia increased between 1994 and 2002 (Crush, 2008:39). Similarly, xenophobic attitudes that have been violently expressed have been evident since the early 1990s with immigrants being attacked, thrown out of trains, having their shops burnt and robbed.

Other acts have been characterised by immigrants becoming easy targets of violent criminal attacks and exploitation, while also being subjected to corruption at the hands of government officials (Everatt, 2010:13). In the context of South Africa, xenophobia is not simply a hatred of or suspicion about strangers, but it is also taken to be open hatred of all immigrants which often goes together with physical violence against those identified as not being South Africans (Davis & Snyman, 2005:293). Furthermore, the above-mentioned scholars argue that the motivation for xenophobic violence is not limited to immigrants coming in large numbers into a country, but is also influenced by public perceptions.

Thus, immigrants from African countries have been the target of attacks, frequently because they are perceived to be in direct competition with South Africans for jobs or public services (Davis & Snyman, 2005:292). The study explored xenophobic violence from the local residents' perspectives of Giyani in the Limpopo Province.

1.2 PROBLEM STATEMENT

Xenophobic violence against immigrants is a challenging issue that South Africa is currently facing. Xenophobia is not an emerging phenomenon in South Africa, it has been there even during apartheid regime (Crush, 2008:16). Immigrants from some African countries have been the target of these attacks, mostly because they are perceived to be in direct competition with South Africans for jobs or public services (Davis & Snyman, 2005:293). Xenophobic violence poses a genuine threat to the lives of the immigrants and to the global reliability of South Africa (Mohamed, 2011:30). Economically, the violence is weakening South African's rand as foreign investors back away from the currency with the fear that the xenophobic attacks could hurt the economy and that they may lose their investments (Ilesanmi, 2008:293).

Despite numerous interventions by the government and other stakeholders to curb the scourge, the citizens' perception of immigrants stealing what belongs to them is still continuing and xenophobic violence seems to be escalating in the major cities, townships and rural communities in the country. Many researches on xenophobia in South Africa focus more on the experiences of immigrant victims. However, this research study focuses on residents' perceptions about xenophobic violence. For example, Harris (2001:np) conducted a study on "*A Foreign Experience: Violence, crime and xenophobia during South Africa's transition*", research that sought to explore the perceptions of local residents of Giyani in the Limpopo Province about xenophobic violence.

1.3. DEFINITION OF KEY CONCEPTS

1.3.1 Perception

A perception is defined as how one views or interprets an issue and the angle from which people view things (Hale, 2007:138).

According to Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English (2016), perception refers to the way you think about something and your idea of what it is like. For the purpose of this study, the term perception will refer to the way in which Giyani residents view the phenomenon of xenophobic violence.

1.3.2 Violence

Violence is viewed as the deliberate and forceful violation of the law (DeKeseredy & Schwartz, 1996:np). It can also be defined as the intended use of physical force or power, threatened against another person or group that either results in or has a high probability of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm and deprivation (Krug, Dahlber, Mercy, Zwi & Lozano, 2003:5). According to the World Health Organization (WHO), violence refers to “the intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person, or against a group or community that either results in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, maldevelopment or deprivation” (WHO, 1996:np). In this study, violence will denote the cause of physical harm, intimidation, destruction of property as well as assault against immigrants.

1.3.3 Xenophobia

Mohamed (2011:12) states that xenophobia is a Greek term made up of two words: “xeno” meaning immigrants and “phobia” which means fear. This view concurs with Laher’s (2009:4) assertion that xenophobia has to do with the hatred and prejudice against outsiders or immigrants. The South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC, 2015:8) defines xenophobia as the general and irrational dislike of immigrants that is usually based on unfounded myths and stereotypes. For the purpose of this research, the concept xenophobia is used to denote both the negative attitudes about and actions against African immigrants living in South Africa.

1.4. THE PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

1.4.1 Aim of the study

The aim of this study was to explore Giyani residents’ perceptions about xenophobic violence associated with South African citizens.

1.4.2 Objectives of the study

In order to achieve the above-mentioned aim, the following objectives were followed:

- To ascertain the mind set of residents toward immigrants.
- To determine the residents' views about the causal factors that contribute to xenophobic violence.
- To assess the residents' awareness on the collateral effect of xenophobic violence in South Africa.
- To recommend actionable intervention measures intended to minimise xenophobic violence against immigrants.

1.5. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

1.5.1 Research design

The study used exploratory design within the qualitative paradigm to explore residents' perceptions about xenophobic violence in Giyani. de Vos, Strydom, Fouchè and Delport (2005:64) assert that qualitative method is used to reply to questions about compound phenomena with the purpose of describing and understanding the phenomena from the participants' perceptions. The researcher used qualitative research methods to get more understanding about residents' perceptions about xenophobic violence. It is furthermore stated that exploratory approach is appropriate when a researcher examines new interest or when the subject of study itself is quite new. (Babbie & Mouton, 2012:88). Exploratory research design was appropriate to this study as the focus of the researcher was to gain more insight about the residents' views regarding xenophobic violence.

1.5.2 Geographical area of the study

The study was conducted in Giyani section A. Giyani Town is situated in the Mopani District in the Limpopo Province of South Africa. It is a small town with a population of 6553 residents (Republic of South Africa Census, 2011:np). Giyani town is located about 185 kilometres (km) from Polokwane, and 550 km from Pretoria, the capital city of South Africa.

Its eastern section borders on the world-famous Kruger National Park and it covers a geographical area of 2.71 square kilometres, boasting 1892 households comprising 2996 males and 3557 females (Republic of South Africa Census, 2011:np).

1.5.3 Target population

Twenty-two (22) participants were selected for an interview and the target population was the whole group of participants that meet the selected set of criteria (Burns & Grove 2010:243). The participants of this study were selected in terms of gender and age. There were 13 males and 9 females. The target population of this study comprised of residents from Giyani section A.

1.5.4 Sampling

Purposive sampling, a non-probability sampling procedure was used to select participants. The participants in this study were purposively chosen within the community. The criterion of participants to be selected in this study is that they should have witnessed xenophobic violence that took place in their area. Participants were selected because they had knowledge of xenophobic violence that took place in Giyani. A sample of twenty-two (22) participants between the ages of eighteen (18) and forty-five (45) years were selected from the residents of Giyani section A. Non-probability sampling is a common method in qualitative research in which researchers use their decision to select a sample (Given, 2008:562). In purposive sampling, the sample units are chosen based on their particular characteristics that will allow the exploration and understanding of the central themes the researcher wishes to study (Lewis & Ritchie, 2003:78).

1.5.5 Data collection

Semi-structured interviews were used to gather data from the participants. Semi-structured interviews allow the researcher to access wide-ranging information including participants' beliefs and perceptions on a particular topic with flexibility and also allow the researcher to probe questions during the interview (Edwards & Holland, 2013:20). Given (2008:810) states that semi-structured interview is a qualitative data collection plan with which the researcher asks participants a series of pre-determined but open-ended questions.

In this study, questions were asked based on research objectives, literature review and the theoretical framework. The data was collected using transcripts and a digital audio tape recorder was used after consent was granted from the participants. Data was collected in Xitsonga language, which was then translated into English. The researcher intended to collect data from 25 participants, but the data reached the saturation point on participant number 22. Guest, Bunce and Johnson (2006:59) define saturation point as the point at which new information or themes are no longer observed in the data. The researcher reached the conclusion because further participants were giving the same information that was given by previous participants.

1.5.6 Data analysis

The researcher applied Thematic Content Analysis (TCA) to analyse the data since the study was qualitative in nature. The researcher also applied document analysis in which documents were interpreted to give voice and meaning around the topic. Data analysis is an instrument for eliminating and organising data to produce results that require interpretation by the researcher (Burns & Grove, 2010:479). According to Given (2008:867), TCA is a data reduction and analysis process by which qualitative data is segmented, categorised, summarised and reassembled in a way that captures the important concepts within the data sets. The data was analysed using the six steps of TCA presented below:

1.5.6.1 Familiarising with the data

After gathering data, the researcher ensured that she familiarised herself with data by actively re-reading it to become absorbed and closely conversant with the content. The researcher did that in order to search for meanings and patterns. Subsequently, the researcher transcribed the data into a written form (Thomas & Harden, 2008:45).

1.5.6.2 Generating initial codes

This phase began when the researcher had read and familiarised herself with the data and had created an initial list of ideas about what was in the data and what was fascinating about them. The researcher did this by organising the data into meaningful groups to indicate potential patterns (Thomas & Harden, 2008:45).

1.5.6.3 Searching for themes

During this stage, the researcher examined the codes and collated data to identify notable extensive patterns of meaning, which are potential themes. In this stage, the researcher sorted different codes into possible themes and organised all the relevant coded data extracts within the identified themes to work with the data and review the viability of each candidate theme (Thomas & Harden, 2008:45).

1.5.6.4 Reviewing themes

According to Thomas and Harden (2008:45), this phase consists of two levels of revising and refining the themes. In level one, the researcher reviews the coded data extracts. This means that the researcher had read all the organised extracts for each theme and considered whether they appeared to form a clear pattern. In level two, the researcher reviewed themes to expand them by splitting, combining or removing themes that were not relevant.

1.5.6.5 Defining and naming themes

The researcher defined and further refined the themes that were presented for analysis and analysed the data within them (Thomas & Harden, 2008:46).

1.5.6.6 Producing the report

This phase began when the researcher had a set of fully worked-out themes and involved the final analysis and write-up of the report (Judger, 2016:83).

1.5.7 Quality Criteria

The following quality criteria were adhered to in this research: credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability.

1.5.7.1 Credibility

According to Morrow (2005:252), credibility refers to the notion of internal reliability where the main issue is how researchers ensure rigour in the research process and how researchers communicate to other researchers who have done the same work. For purposes of this study, the researcher ensured credibility through prolonged engagement, member checking and peer examination. The researcher stayed in the field until data saturation occurred. For the purpose of member checking, the researcher went to the source of information and checked both the data and interpretation to assess the intentionality of participants and to correct errors as well as to provide volunteer information (Babbie & Mouton, 2012:np).

1.5.7.2 Transferability

Morrow (2005:252) maintains that transferability refers to the level in which the reader is able to generalise the findings of a study to his or her own background and addresses the main issue of how far a researcher may make claims for a general application of their theory. To achieve this, the researcher provided enough information about the research context, processes, participants as well as researcher–participant relationships to allow the reader to decide how the findings may be transferred.

1.5.7.3 Dependability

Morrow (2005:252) points out that dependability deals with the main issue about the way in which a study that has been conducted is reliable across time, researchers and analysis methods. Babbie and Mouton (2012:np) state that to ensure dependability, an analysis must also provide its audience with evidence that if such study were to be repeated with the same respondents in the same context, it would produce the same findings.

In order to maintain dependability, the researcher included the following:

- Dependable audit: the researcher provided a complete description on how data was collected.
- Description of the methodology: the researcher provided the research design, what was planned and implemented during the study.
- The researcher made sure that data is coded in a correct manner.

- The supervisor did the peer examination of the study.

1.5.7.4 Confirmability

According to Anney (2014:279), confirmability refers to the level in which the results of an investigation could be confirmed by other scholars. Confirmability is concerned with establishing whether data and interpretation of the findings are not creations of the researcher's imagination but are clearly derived from the data (Anney, 2014:279).

1.6 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

It is hoped that the study will raise awareness among the residents of Giyani and nearby communities about the negative effects that xenophobic violence has on communities as well as on the country as a whole. The study might also contribute to the development of policies that will help to reduce negative attitudes towards immigrants and recommendations of interventions that can be implemented to curb xenophobic violence. In addition, the study is likely to contribute towards the improvement of existing literature on the subject as a leverage upon which future scholars could conduct further studies in the discipline.

1.7 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

In this study, research ethics were taken into consideration to prevent the violation of participants' rights. The researcher requested ethical clearance from Turfloop Research Ethics Committee (TREC) of the University of Limpopo. In this case, the researcher informed participants of the following rights:

1.7.1 Confidentiality and anonymity

In this study, confidentiality and anonymity were taken into consideration. The researcher made sure that any information provided by participants was treated with privacy. To maintain confidentiality, the researcher did not share participants' information with other people except the supervisor. Participants were asked not to provide their names.

The researcher maintained the anonymity of participants by using codes for their identification of data collection tools (Fouka & Mantzorou, 2011:6).

1.7.2 Informed consent and voluntary participation

Consent forms were given to participants to complete before the discussion commenced. Each participant was informed that their participation is voluntary. The researcher explained to participants the purpose, goals and motivation of the study to obtain consent from them if they were interested in participating in the study. The researcher informed the participants that they could withdraw from participating at any time if they felt the need to withdraw (Fouka & Mantzorou, 2011:4).

1.7.3 Emotional and psychological constraint

The researcher ensured that participants are protected from unnecessary interruption, distress, indignity, physical discomfort, personal embarrassment as well as psychological harm. The researcher ensured protection from harm by offering participants an alternative to withdraw from the interview at any stage if they felt uncomfortable. In an instance where a participant showed some signs of being overwhelmed by emotions, the researcher would have stopped the interview and referred the participant for psychological counselling.

1.8 LIMITATION OF THE STUDY

The population for this research was limited to a sample of twenty-two (22) male and female participants between the ages of eighteen (18) and forty-five (45) years from Giyani Section A. Further limitations of this study are that it is simplistic in that it is qualitative in nature and focused only on residents from one section thereby excluding other neighbouring sections.

1.9 OUTLINE OF THE STUDY

The study is structured in the following manner:

Chapter two

Literature review: The aim of this chapter is to review major works done by other researchers in the field of xenophobic violence. It provides the background of xenophobia in other countries, synopsis of migration in South Africa, historical background of xenophobia in a general sense in South Africa, South Africans' attitudes toward immigrants, factors contributing to xenophobic violence, effects of xenophobic violence as well as measures to reduce xenophobic violence in South Africa.

Chapter three

Theoretical Framework: The Scapegoating Theory is used to explain factors that lead to xenophobic violence.

Chapter four

Research methodology: This chapter outlines the methodology of the study, which include research design, geographical area of the study, target population, data collection, data analysis, quality criteria as well as ethical consideration.

Chapter five

Presentation, analysis and interpretation: This chapter presents the findings from semi-structured interviews.

Chapter 6

Summary, conclusion and recommendations: Summary of the findings, recommendations as well as conclusions are presented in this chapter.

1.10 SUMMARY OF THE CHAPTER

The incidence of xenophobic violence seems to be an on-going activity that occurs in all areas and regions of South Africa. McConnell (2009:34) claims that xenophobic violence resulted from the transition of apartheid to democracy.

However, Crush (2008:16) argues that the afore-mentioned scourge has taken place even before 1994. Foreign nationals are facing xenophobic attacks because they are perceived as being immoral. Xenophobic violence has negative effects to both the immigrants, nationals as well as the country as whole. The study sought to explore the perceptions of local residents of Giyani in the Limpopo Province. The next chapter presents the literature review.

CHAPTER TWO

THE PERCEPTIONS OF RESIDENTS ABOUT XENOPHOBIC VIOLENCE

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The previous chapter introduced the problem, the aim and the objectives of the study. The aim of this chapter is to review major works done by other researchers in the field of xenophobic violence. Firstly, it provides the background of xenophobia in other countries, synopsis of migration in South Africa, historical background of xenophobia in a general sense in South Africa, South Africans' attitudes toward immigrants, factors contributing to xenophobic violence, effects of xenophobic violence and measures to reduce xenophobic violence in South Africa.

Xenophobia continues to worsen in South Africa since the year 2008 (King, 2013:1). Davis (2010:8) regards xenophobia as a highly negative perception and practice that discriminate immigrants by their foreign nationality. Furthermore, Shindondola (2003:25) states that "*xenophobia should be better understood as an idea situated within a large range of negative perceptions, attitudes, behaviours, and actions against immigrants*". Nyamnjoh (2006:49) argues that "*xenophobia in South Africa is not generally directed at all people perceived to be immigrants but it is Africanised as Afrophobia with Black African immigrants being the exclusive target for xenophobic attacks and violence*". In addition, Landau (2007:4) states that xenophobia manifests in the forms of discriminatory attitudes towards immigrants.

On the other hand, Mamabolo (2015:144) states that African immigrants from countries such as Nigeria, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Somalia and Egypt have been experiencing xenophobic attacks because they are characterised as the most successful small and micro-business entrepreneurs operating in cities, townships and other localities. The next section includes xenophobic violence in the international context, since xenophobic violence occurs globally. The purpose of this section is to show that indeed xenophobic violence is a global phenomenon. The section includes how xenophobic violence occurs and how other countries deal with it.

2.2 XENOPHOBIC VIOLENCE IN THE INTERNATIONAL CONTEXT

Xenophobic violence does not only happen in South Africa, Dassah (2015:129) states that it is a global occurrence. According to UN refugee chief, “*xenophobia is not specific to South Africa, it is a global problem and we see it also in some developed countries*” (UN News, 2008:np). Countries from different parts of the world are selected to illustrate that xenophobia is a global problem. Dassah (2015:129) emphasises that xenophobic attack against refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants is a global phenomenon. Xenophobic violence in Germany, Japan and Russia will be discussed in this section to show how it occurs in some countries. The main focus of this section is to give the synopsis of how xenophobic violence takes place in some international countries. The reason why the aforesaid countries are included is because they have frequent xenophobic violence reports. The section includes causes of xenophobic violence in international countries as well as how these countries are affected.

2.2.1 Germany

Germany is one of the countries that are experiencing xenophobic violence. Alba, Schmidt and Wasmer (2004:187) claim that in East and West Germany, the link between acts of violence against immigrants have come under inspection since reunion in 1990. In Germany, xenophobia refers to the fear, hatred of, and hostility towards immigrants who are being downgraded by rightists to an inferior position (Braunthal, 2009:9). The aforementioned author further states that xenophobia is closely related to racism, with its corrupt view that regards some people as superior to others based on their skin colour. Moreover, Braunthal (2009:10) further postulates that in Germany, same as in other countries, xenophobia “includes a historic pattern of prejudices and hatred toward strangers and minorities and all that is foreign in developed societies”.

Braunthal (2009:10) argues that this form of prejudice is caused by a forfeiture of bonds to traditional communities, a changing social and cultural setting and a passing way of life. Furthermore, it is also caused by a lack of orientation, viewpoint and confrontation to the relentless modernisation process that is changing society in Germany (Braunthal, 2009:10).

Young right wings extremists (those who are born in Germany) see their status, lifestyles and values threatened, doing poorly in school, holding doubtful jobs and frequently not trained for well-paying ones as well as having to contest with other low-income groups (Braunthal, 2009:10). Consequently, they experience difficulties in coping with economic and social pressures and become intolerant (Braunthal, 2009:10). Hence, they join right-wing extremist groups that give them the vision of a simpler and better society. Braunthal (2009:10) postulates that the right-wing extremists reflect a “pathological condition against society and the established parties”.

They join the positions of millions of poor Germans who constitute the bottom one-third of society (Braunthal, 2009:10). Therefore, they cast off traditional politics and the established parties and also lash out aggressively at scapegoats who are immigrants with dark skin, leftists, gays as well as the homeless rather than the upper rich divisions of society (Braunthal, 2009:10). Moreover, “the right-wing extremists hate these immigrants and other blamed groups who often are no better off than they are for psychological and political reasons” (Braunthal, 2009:10). The afore-mentioned author further states that groups like the Gypsy Sinti and Roma have a diverse lifestyle that intimidates the established German lifestyle of order and hygiene. Right-wing German youth, who grew up believing in the right-wing extremist, become antagonistic toward the Sinti, the Roma as well as others who apparently contest with them to get jobs, inexpensive apartments and welfare payments (Braunthal, 2009:10).

2.2.1.1 The effect of xenophobia in Germany

Similar to South Africa, the German Right-wing extremism, xenophobia is said to be damaging the country's image abroad and could have an impact on the volume of incoming travel to the country that would then affect its tourism economy.

2.2.1.2 Measures to combat xenophobia in Germany

According to Solomon and Kosaka (2014:17), Germany established some measures to combat xenophobic violence. Below are some of the measures which have been established by the government of Germany:

- Development of the number of police and prosecutors that have been trained to investigate and take legal action on cases of xenophobia.
- The government has also delimited the right to refuge, thereby taking a major aspect of the far right's temporary political podium and police reaction to attacks against immigrants that seem to have improved significantly.
- Monitoring and reporting of the types of verdicts enforced on those condemned of committing crimes against immigrants.
- Investigations of the forms of police viciousness against immigrants that come to the attention of the state authorities.
- Broadcasting the outcomes of the investigations, including any officers guilty of brutality, the punitive methods suggested, the disciplinary measures enacted and the changes in procedures recommended in preventing related brutality in the future.
- Prosecution to the fullest level of the law of all parties to crimes against immigrants, including partners and those who provoke violent action, but not those who simply support intolerable sentiments.
- Strengthening of efforts to recruit police officials from different racial and national backgrounds.

2.2.1.3 The Domestic Legal Framework in Germany

The German government has regulated its own legal framework to ensure the rights of all people within its state including immigrants (Peucker, 2007:4). The discussion that follows will be about these legal frameworks.

- **The Constitution (Basic Law)**

The most significant equivalence delivery in German legislation is the constitutional principle of equivalent treatment. Article 3 of the German Constitution states that: *“No one must be treated in a disadvantaged or privileged manner due to sex, descent, race, language, origin, faith or religious or political opinion or disability”* (Peucker, 2007:4).

This is similar to section 9 of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa which states that “*No person may unfairly discriminate directly or indirectly against anyone on one or more grounds [including race, gender, sex, pregnancy, marital status, ethnic or social origin, colour, sexual orientation, age, disability, religion, conscience, belief, culture, language and birth].*” The above-mentioned article signifies the constitutional assurance of equal treatment with regard to the relationship between the state, its authorities and its citizens. In this context, the term citizens include German as well as non-German citizens (Peucker, 2007:4).

2.2.2 Japan

According to Pollmann (2015:np), xenophobia is predominant in Japan. Xenophobia in Japan manifests in the form of racism and is one of Japan’s serious social problems (Park, 2017:65). For example, xenophobic groups have attacked an overstaying Filipino family, a Thai pupil as well as Korean schools. These racist groups want the Koreans with residential rights to be removed from Japan. The foremost group articulating xenophobia in Japan is the “Zaitokukai” meaning the citizens against the privilege of Koreans in Japan. Their targets start from Korean ethnic minorities to freshly arrived labour immigrants and women’s groups. “Zainichi Koreans are the Zaitokukai’s main victims”.

In December 2009, A Korean elementary school in Kyoto Region was attacked by the Zaitokukai. Their reason for protest against the school is because the school used a local park for recess (Park, 2017:68). In 2009, the Zaitokukai and similar groups initiated meetings, first in Tokyo, then in Osaka, followed by other major cities in Japan. They spread resentment to Koreans, using mottos such as, “*Hello, cockroaches in Shin Okubo*”. Japan’s leading Liberal Democratic Party (LDP), ministers and local governors support such actions by the Zaitokukai. Furthermore, “the black market and criminal activity were associated both with returning immigrants from Korea and Koreans residing in Japan”. Discrimination towards Koreans legitimised a perception that saw both groups of Koreans as a threat to Japanese society (Park, 2017:66). The immigration policy began by barring Koreans from immigrating to Japan, which was encouraged by racism that stemmed from a broadly apprehended view that saw Koreans as dangerous. Japan’s immigration control system was racist at its origins.

It considered ethnic subgroups living in the country as strangers, denied them the freedom to enter their country of nationality and categorised them as exiled (Park, 2017:68). The general social survey conducted in 2006 found that xenophobia has been intensified by an acutely split labour market (Park, 2017:69).

2.2.2.1 Legal Rights for immigrants in Japan

Like in other countries, Japan also has its own legal rights for the people living within its nationality such as its constitution that includes human rights for immigrants.

- **The Constitution of Japan (Human Rights of immigrants)**

The Constitution of Japan assures essential human rights to immigrants residing in Japan excluding the rights, which, due to their nature are interpreted to be applicable to Japanese nationals only (Debito, 2003:np). For example, social rights are rights to be granted the minimum standards of living in a society. These include the right to an education, the right to be offered an opportunity to work, and the right to receive social security and the right around government and politics (Live Japan Perfect Guide, 2017:np). Fundamental rights are the rights that apply to both the Japan born nationals and foreign nationals. These fundamental rights include; “civil liberties such as the right to liberty, the right to freedom of expression, thought, conscience and religion” (Live Japan Perfect Guide, 2017:np).

Therefore, the government actively pursues the following goals:

- Ensure equivalent rights and opportunities for immigrants.
- Respect immigrants' own cultures and values.
- Promote common understanding to realise a society in which Japanese and immigrants can live together contentedly.

With regard to education, Japan government assures equivalent privileges to education and equivalent treatment for the children of immigrants who wish to study at public schools for mandatory education (Debito, 2003:np).

The afore-mentioned author asserts that the government also ensures the provision of employment exchange service to everyone with no racial or ethnic discrimination. Furthermore, unfair treatment in relation to labour conditions based on ethnic group is forbidden and punishable by law (Debito, 2003:np). In addition, the government makes provision of public housing to immigrants as well as Japanese nationals as long as they have registered their residence and identity with the municipalities where they reside (Debito, 2003:np). Social security is also granted based on the principle of equality regardless of nationality (Debito, 2003:np).

2.2.3 Russia

Russia is also one of the international countries experiencing xenophobia. According to Herrera (2011:12), xenophobic attitudes are very widespread in Russia. In Russia, xenophobia is the anti-immigrant feeling displayed by host societies to immigrants from other cultural, ethnic, and religious backgrounds (Kingsbury, 2017:179). Furthermore, xenophobic attitudes became prevalent in the 2000s (Mukomel, 2015:37). However, Salon newspaper reports that the violent attacks against non-white immigrants rose in 2007 (Narizhnaya, 2012:np). Nyamnjoh (2006:7) postulates that the attacks of African immigrants are on the increase in Russia.

For example, Nyamnjoh (2006:7) reports that a group of young men attacked a former South African ambassador, as well as the wife of another ambassador from another country and the minister's wife. Xenophobic violence in Russia manifests itself in the form of assaults and verbal abuse (Nyamnjoh, 2006:7). For example, Salon news reports that a Congolese man was knifed in Moscow and a Muslim girl was beaten up by a group of boys and also told to get out of the city (Narizhnaya, 2012:np). Just like in South Africa, these attacks occur because Russian citizens blame immigrants for the poor health care system and high levels of crime (Kuznetsova, 2017:149). Sevortian (2009:22) postulates that labour immigrants are accused of stealing jobs that were meant for locals.

Moreover, Sevortian (2009:21) claims that xenophobia took place because of the difficulties that the country has encountered at the economic, political and security levels. Furthermore, other reasons that have caused the xenophobic sentiment in Russia are the economic difficulties of 1990s, the growing economic divide, fragmentation, tensions and geopolitical reconfiguration on post-Soviet territory (Sevortian, 2009:21).

According to Herrera (2011:12), a study conducted by Laruelle indicates that surveys that were conducted between 2003 and 2004 show that the majority of Russian population display some kind of ethnic phobia. Sevortian (2009:19) claims that immigrants who were seen different or non-Slavic were the target of xenophobic attacks. The attacks were targeted to immigrants from Central Asia, China and Caucasus (Sevortian, 2009:20). The afore-mentioned scholar states that xenophobia in Russia is linked to the difficulties of economic transition and nationalism (Sevortian, 2009:21).

2.2.3.1 Domestic legislation

- **The Constitution of Russia**

The 1993 Russian *Constitution assures equality in Article 19*. The above-mentioned article states that: *“All people shall be equal before the law and court. The State guarantees the equality of human and civil rights and freedoms regardless of sex, race, nationality, language, origin, material and official status, place of residence, attitude to religion, convictions, membership of public associations, or of other circumstances. All forms of limitations of human rights on social, racial, national, language or religious grounds shall be prohibited”*. Article 136 of the Russian Criminal Code includes additional necessities on equality. Article 282 of the Criminal Code prohibits provocation of national, racial and religious resentment. Article 29(2) provides: *“Propaganda or agitation, which arouses social, racial, national or religious hatred and hostility shall be prohibited. Propaganda of social, racial, national, religious or linguistic supremacy shall also be prohibited”*. The Constitution of the Russian Federation protects every person within its state regardless of nationality of that person. Moreover, it is also against the victimisation of immigrants. It states that any form of hostility against any person based on nationality is prohibited.

2.3 XENOPHOBIC VIOLENCE IN THE AFRICAN CONTEXT

This section comprises of xenophobic violence in the following countries: Botswana, Kenya, Lesotho and Libya. The purpose of this section is to show that xenophobic violence is indeed not occurring only in South Africa, it also occurs in other African countries. This section will also indicate how the violence takes place in African countries.

2.3.1 Botswana

Lesetedi and Modie-Moroka (2007:7) claim that the government of Botswana implemented an open approach to migration policy in order to make it possible for unlimited entry of immigrants in Botswana due to shortage of workers. The above-mentioned authors further state that these immigrants include visitors, tourists and job seekers. Consequently, the open door policy encouraged an influx of immigrants and that has resulted in the change of the policy to become stricter to immigrants (Lesetedi & Modie-Moroka, 2007:7). In the past period, Botswana has experienced large numbers of immigrants entering the country and most of them were illegal. Just like South Africa, Botswana is also considered a prosperous country (Nyamnjoh, 2006:18). In the 1980s, Botswana's economy did not fall while most of the sub-Saharan African countries' economy collapsed (Campbell, 2003:81).

Botswana, like its neighbouring countries in the South African Development Community (SADC) region, is faced with an invasion of immigrants from Zimbabwe due to the economic and political situation in their country (Lesetedi & Modie-Moroka, 2007:3). In Botswana, xenophobia has been largely shown through the wide-ranging dislike of Black immigrants (Lesetedi & Modie-Moroka, 2007:3). The xenophobic attitude of Botswana especially to Zimbabweans has become more prevalent (Lesetedi & Modie-Moroka, 2007:9). According to Morapedi (2007:4), Zimbabwean immigrants have been the first suspects of every crime in Botswana. Furthermore, Lesetedi and Modie-Moroka (2007:9) indicate that Botswana people have blamed Zimbabweans for taking the jobs meant for locals and contributing to the lowering of wages since they accept low wages.

Some of Botswana have blamed Zimbabweans for intensifying crimes (Lesetedi & Modie-Moroka, 2007:3). Similar to South Africa, Botswana citizens call black African immigrants with insulting names such as "*Makwerekwere*" (Nyamnjoh, 2006:19). A study by Lesetedi and Modie-Moroka found that Botswana people have negative attitudes toward Zimbabwean immigrants. Some of the Zimbabwean participants revealed that they have been stigmatised and discriminated once they tried to access services, particularly health care (Lesetedi & Modie-Moroka, 2007:15). A study by the above-mentioned scholars also found that most immigrants felt that they were left out in accessing healthcare. For them to be treated, they were asked to pay more than Botswana citizens (Lesetedi & Modie-Moroka, 2007:19). This clearly indicates that in Botswana, immigrants are not only discriminated by ordinary citizens but also by government officials.

2.3.2 Kenya

In Kenya, xenophobic discrimination and related human rights abuse are directed to Somali immigrants and national Somalis born in the North-Eastern region of Kenya. Xenophobia against national Somalis is a growing phenomenon in the country. The country contends with intimidations posed by the Al-shabaab terrorist group that is based in Somalia (Al-Jazeera International, 2012:np). The Kenyan police and the public in general frequently suspect Somali refugees and Kenyan nationals of Somali ethnic of being terrorists or protecting terrorists and treat them accordingly (Al-Jazeera International, 2012:np). In October 2012, “heavy clashes between Kenyan and ethnic Somalis were reported in the suburb of Eastleigh following a terrorist grenade attack in Nairobi” (Al-Jazeera International, 2012:np).

The Eastleigh suburb Somali was attacked and assaulted physically by the Kenyan public (Al-Jazeera International, 2012:np). In September 2013, the Al-Shabaab armed terrorists in the Westgate shopping mall in Nairobi killed 67 people. Mhlanga, Theimann, Jennings and Young (2014:52) state that immediately after the outbreak, Kenyan Muslims and ethnic Somalis renounced the attacks, called for tolerance and showed cohesion with other Kenyans by offering food and money to the victims. According to Mhlanga *et al.* (2014:52), Kenyan government responded to the attacks by tightening campsite policies for refugees and asylum seekers. The Kenyan authorities ordered all refugees and asylum seekers living in urban areas to relocate to the congested Dadaab and Kenyan refugee camps (Mhlanga *et al.*, 2014:53). It is stated that reports of ethnic Somalis and Muslims being targeted exposed to extreme security screening and harassed by the police and the public intensified after the Westgate mall attack (Mhlanga *et al.*, 2014:53).

Human Rights Watch (HRW, 2014:np) states that there were many recognised cases of physical abuse of ethnic Somalis by the police in places outside the capital during the first half of 2014. Ethnic Somalis are said to be frequently verbally abused, by being called with hurtful names (HRW, 2014:np). The Muslims priests originally from Somali-Arab have also been targeted and killed on suspicion of being associated with terrorism and activism (New York Times, 2013:np). The Star Kenya (2014:np) reports the arrests of targeted Somalis in 2014.

According to the above-mentioned news report, thousands of ethnic Somalis as well as Kenyan nationals of Somali ethnicity were detained in an incriminate manner and held for several months in a meditation camp by Kenyan police who engaged in security swoops all over Nairobi (The Star Kenya, 2014:np).

2.3.3 Lesotho

Another African country that has witnessed xenophobic violence is Lesotho. Lesetedi and Modie-Moroka (2007:6) claim that immigrants are accountable for the occurrence of crime. In addition, they state that many crimes have involved immigrants, particularly criminal activities such as money laundering, drug trafficking and the possession of fake documents (Lesetedi & Modie-Moroka, 2007:6). The Basotho people perceive Nigerians to be capable of drug peddling, fraudulent deals and scheming business dealings (Lesetedi & Modie-Moroka, 2007:6). Supporting the statement above, it is evident that immigrants in Lesotho are being attacked because they are seen as dangerous criminals who are in the country to destroy the lives of born nationals (Lesetedi & Modie-Moroka, 2007:6). Similarly, a study that was done in South Africa by Mohamed (2011:64) found that Nelson Mandela Bay residents claim that immigrants are worsening crime and criminal activities such as drug dealing.

2.3.4 Libya

Libya is also considered an African country where xenophobic violence has taken place. According to Lewis (2008:90), in September 2000, a burning attack against immigrants erupted in Zayiwa, where many immigrants died as a result. The outbreak of the said violence was described as a reaction, by Libyan youths to the surge of legal and illegal immigrants from the neighbouring countries that have been in Libya for work purposes (Bald, 2000:np). The youth started the assault against the immigrants after Libya's top legislative and executive body ordered a curb on employing immigrants (Bald, 2000:np). During September and October 2000, ruthless and impulsive violence between Libyan citizens and immigrants from sub-Saharan Africa exploded (Pargeter, 2013:89). During the eruption of this violence, many people died and some were injured; this violence has resulted in subsequent deportation of many sub-Saharan African immigrants to their countries of origin (Pargeter, 2013:89).

The conflict started after the Libyan leader, Colonel Gaddafi's idea of the Pan-African policy that he was emphasising since the late 1990s (Pargeter, 2013:89). More importantly was a consideration of the growing frustration felt by Libyan population with the government and its failure to meet their socio-economic requirements (Pargeter, 2013:89). Gaddafi's Pan-African policy has brought a huge inflow of immigrants from an extensive range of African states to live in Libya. Libyan citizens accuse immigrants of bringing crime, drugs, prostitution and disease into their country (Pargeter, 2013:91).

Moreover, Libyan citizens who have no other means of directing their frustration have vented their anger on the relatively easy target of sub-Saharan African immigrants. *"Gaddafi's policy of providing development aid to African states in order to gain political influence in the continent, whilst economic conditions are declining at home has frustrated many Libyan citizens"* (Pargeter, 2013:92). The next section discusses xenophobic violence in South Africa, which includes the historical overview of xenophobic violence and xenophobia in contemporary South Africa. The purpose of this section is to display how xenophobic violence took place during the apartheid era to date. Moreover, this section will help the reader to understand the root causes of the current attacks.

2.4 XENOPHOBIC VIOLENCE IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN CONTEXT

South Africa is known as a peaceful and wealthy country around the world. Monkhe, (2015:14) asserts that *"South Africa is seen as a country with economic opportunities and promise, therefore it has attracted millions of immigrants from Africa, some came to achieve better education, skills and knowledge at various universities around the country"*. South Africa's transition to democracy has attracted many immigrants from African countries. Furthermore, African immigrants hope to find jobs and enjoy the prosperity of South Africa (Zondi, 2008:27). This section comprises of the historical overview of immigration and xenophobia in South Africa as well as xenophobic violence in contemporary South Africa.

2.4.1 Immigration in South Africa

Before discussing historical overview of xenophobia within the South African context, it is very important to briefly discuss immigration history of South Africa. This section reflects an overview of South African immigration history.

2.4.1.1 Historical overview of immigration in South Africa

Migration is the vital measure in which labourers can develop their productivity and increase their families' well-being (Friebel, Gallego & Mendola, 2010:2). The above-mentioned scholars claim that immigration was there a long time ago and its effects seem to be advantageous to the country of the host, while at the same time have a negative effect on workers of the host country who believe that immigrants compete with them for resources (Friebel *et al.*, 2010:2). "South Africa has a long history of immigration" (Milazi, 2001:78). Isike and Isike (2012:93) view immigration as an international phenomenon which had occurred in the past and is still prevalent. Historically, South Africa has always fascinated immigrants from different parts of Southern African Development Community (SADC) to come to the country. Onah (2008:272) argues that South Africa has witnessed a high level of immigration in the years of democracy.

Onah further indicates that many African immigrants came in South Africa because their countries' economy was collapsing (Onah, 2008:272). Moreover, these immigrants were from neighbouring countries of SADC such as Mozambique, Zambia, Kenya and Malawi and even from far-flung countries as Nigeria, Ghana and other sub-Saharan African countries (Onah, 2008:272). According to the White Paper of the Department of Home Affairs (2017:8), the South African Development Community (SADC) was linked through an immigrant labour system in the colonial era. During the 20th century, immigration was possibly the particular most important aspect fastening together all of the various colonies and countries of the sub-continent into a single regional labour market (White Paper of the Department of Home Affairs- DHA, 2017:8). South Africa has been the main starting point for immigrant labour in the world since the 19th century, following the discovery of the region's natural resources. The Chamber of Mines recruited from nearby settlements and through southern Africa because the supply of indigenous labour within South Africa was inadequate to meet the growing demand of the mines (White Paper of the DHA, 2017:8).

The White Paper of the DHA (2017:8) ascertains that international immigration policy in South Africa was on the basis of racial discrimination, even before the apartheid era. During the late 19th and early 20th centuries, much of the international immigration policy paradigm in South Africa was conquered by the dialogue of recruiting desired whites and rejecting immigrants from Asia and India (White Paper of the DHA, 2017:8). The citizenship during the apartheid regime was essentially given to whites only. The main concern of apartheid and pre-1948 South African governments was to ensure colonial supremacy and a plentiful supply of cheap immigrant labour (White Paper of the DHA, 2017:8). Moreover, the Immigrants Regulation Act of 1913 was the first national immigration legislation passed in South Africa. The major aim of the above-mentioned act was to reject Indian immigrants who had followed Indians who came to South Africa after 1860 as indentured workers to work in the sugar cane farms (White Paper of the DHA, 2017:9).

The influx of Indian people was regarded as a major threat to the philosophy of white authority. South Africa was the endpoint for a quickly increasing number of European immigrants from Eastern Europe at the end of the First World War (White Paper of the DHA, 2017:9). The White Paper of the DHA (2017:9) states that various immigrants were Jewish or Catholic and poor and their features considered unwanted on political and racial grounds. The Immigration Quota Act of 1930 was designed to eliminate such unwanted immigrants (White Paper of the DHA, 2017:9). The Act also established the concept of discriminating between immigrants who were wanted and unwanted (White Paper of the DHA, 2017:9).

Furthermore, Onah (2008:272) notes that during post-apartheid period, immigration into South Africa was driven by the excitement that Black South Africans have after defeating the white government. During apartheid regime, many African countries supported the long struggle that Black South Africans went through with huge resources and the provision of refuge and bases for the then rebel groups and their leaders (Onah, 2008:272). These rebel groups and their leaders are the ones who fought for victory in the South African struggle and assumed the layer of leadership (Onah, 2008:272). It was clear that many of the immigrants from African countries who supported South Africa during the hard time would come in large numbers, to enjoy the freedom and search for greener pastures (Onah, 2008:272).

In the beginning, South Africa welcomed these immigrants and even prided itself as the country of “*Ubuntu*” (Zulu- for hospitality to strangers) (Onah, 2008:272). During the apartheid regime, the then government initiated the Aliens Control Act of 1963 in order to control immigration into South Africa and it was effectively used to control the entry of immigrants into the country, particularly Africans (Isike & Isike, 2012:102). For example, Section 4 (1) of the Aliens Control Act states that, “*a person could only immigrate to South Africa if that person’s habits of life are suited to the requirements of South Africa*” (Republic of South Africa Aliens Control Act 96 of 1991). Isike and Isike (2012:93) state that since the arrival of a democratic South Africa in 1994, the country has become a new terminus for African immigrants.

African immigration to South Africa has increased through the regular immigration of skilled professionals and other economic immigrants and also through immigrants escaping from war areas such as Angola, Burundi, Democratic Republic of Congo, Rwanda, Somalia, Sudan and Zimbabwe (Isike & Isike, 2012:93). According to Tlabela and Wentzel (2006:71), the number of immigrants coming to South Africa have increased since the early 1990s and increased more after 1994, especially African immigrants. “*The post-apartheid political, social and economic changes of the 1990s have brought some changes in South Africa’s internal immigration patterns*” (Tlabela & Wentzel, 2006:71). According to Palmary (2002:np), immigration into South Africa is an issue that has received prevalent media consideration.

2.4.1.2 Immigration policy during apartheid

The White Paper of the Department of Home Affairs (2017:9) states that “*immigration control during apartheid period manifested primarily in tight border security and restrictions on Africans who were regarded as politically undesirable and others who enter the country as well as Africans travelling abroad*”. Harbours of entrance were under the control of police directed by an intelligence unit up until 1992 when immigration officers were introduced (White Paper of the DHA, 2017:9). The disjointed departments of Home Affairs were liable both for general control through the pass laws as well as supplying modern services mostly to whites. The apartheid government encouraged or turned a blind eye on secret immigration in order to ensure a plentiful supply of cheap labour, but was opposed to Black immigrants applying for citizenship (White Paper of the DHA, 2017:9).

The Aliens Control Act of 1991 was established on a 1913 Act that left out blacks and was revised in 1930 and 1937 to eliminate Jews (White Paper of the DHA, 2017:9). *“The xenophobic orientation of South African immigration policy became very apparent when the government welcomed whites from neighbouring states in Southern Africa who felt threatened by the Black majority rule”* (White Paper of the DHA, 2017:9). The above-mentioned paper states that skilled and semi-skilled white immigrants from Zambia, Kenya and Zimbabwe were given citizenship to enrich the local white population in the middle of 1960 and 1980. In the middle of 1913 and 1986, Black people could enter South Africa unlawfully only as contract workers because they were not allowed to apply for temporary nor permanent residence permits (White Paper of the DHA, 2017:10).

2.4.1.3 Immigration policy after apartheid

According to the White Paper of the Department of Home Affairs (2017:10), *“from 1994 the vision of South Africa’s first democratic government was to oppose racially-based and unfair laws, and integrate South Africa into the SADC region, the African continent and the world”*. The transition to democracy has allowed South Africa to play a full and active role in the family of nations. Since 1994, South Africa has experienced a prolonged process of emerging policy and regulation on migration and refugees (White Paper of the DHA, 2017:10). This process includes the conscripting of a Green Paper on International Migration in 1997, a White Paper on International Migration accompanied by a Draft Immigration Bill and the adoption of the first complete Immigration Act in 2002 that has successively been amended (White Paper of the DHA, 2017:10).

2.4.1.4 GOVERNMENT MEASURES TO CONTROL IMMIGRATION TO THE CITIES

A. The enforcement on influx control

Thousands of African immigrants were involved in labour migration but most of them remained migrant labourers, instead of settling in towns permanently. The state established numerous legal measures to control the movement of Africans and to make sure that they remained provisional residents in towns (Tlabela & Wentzel, 2006:84). Tlabela and Wentzel (2006:84) claim that the central government tried to limit the flow of Africans into towns by controlling people who were allowed in the urban areas.

They achieved this by using passes. Tlabela and Wentzel (2006:84) further postulate that every African people had to carry a pass, which gave them permission to be in an urban area.

B. The Natives (Urban Areas) Act of 1923

The Natives (Urban Areas) Act established segregated locations where Africans had to live. This Act separated Black people from whites. Saunders (2003:28) states that the Native (Urban Areas) Act of 1923 provides an extensive regulation to control the existence of Black people in the Urban Areas. Further, the Natives Act gave local authorities the power to demarcate and establish African locations on the outskirts of white urban industrial areas and to determine access to and funding of these areas (Saunders, 2003:28). Moreover, local ruling classes were expected to distribute housing to Black people or to call for employers to arrange for housing for those workers who did not live in the locations. Black people living in white areas were forced to move to the segregated locations (Saunders, 2003:28). The objectives of this act were to improve the living conditions of natives in or near urban areas and to administrate native affairs in such areas; to register and better control the service contracts of natives in certain circles and to regulate the entry of natives to such circles and their residence therein (Olivier, 1984:84).

This Act transmitted the final control and purpose of policy to the central government (Olivier, 1984:84). The above-mentioned act instituted the constitutional control of the movement and influx of Black men regarding the demand and supply of labour opportunities (Olivier, 1984:84). The influx of Black immigrants was not affected by this (Olivier, 1984:84). Parnell (2002:262) claims that the Native Urban Area Act itself had twin but opposite goals. The law was intended to facilitate the reform of urban conditions of the African working class through the provision of public housing as an alternative to slums, but it was also a brutal instrument for effecting the forced removal of Africans which was required to achieve racial segregation (Parnell, 2002:262).

C. The Native Law Amendment Act (Influx Control) No. 46 of 1937

The Native Law Amendment Act (Influx Control) No. 46 of 1937 forbids gaining of land in urban areas by Black people from non-blacks except with the Governor-General's consent.

The Eradication of Influx Control Act No. 68 of 1986 and the Eradication of Racially Based Land Measures Act No. 108 of 1991 revoked the act (Glücksmann, 2010:np).

D. The Group Areas Act No. 41 of 1950

The Group Areas Act 41 of 1950 created different residential areas for different races, which has forced physical separation between races (Glücksmann, 2010:np). The Act led to people living in wrong areas being removed forcibly. For instance, coloureds living in District Six in Cape Town (Glücksmann, 2010:np). However, this Act has possibly extended compulsory general segregation to Coloureds and centralised control over racial segregation. The Act was succeeded by the Group Areas Acts No. 77 of 1957 and No. 36 of 1966 and revoked by the Abolition of Racially Based Land Measures Act No. 108 of 1991 (Glücksmann, 2010:np). The afore-mentioned Act separated blacks from other blacks, which created the hatred between them.

2.4.2 Categories of immigrants in South Africa

Immigrants can be grouped into two categories; legal and illegal immigrants.

2.4.2.1 Legal immigrants

Legal immigrants refer to individuals who enter the country complying with proper legal requirements (Crush, 2008:8). However, legal immigrants can become illegal immigrants if they overstay in the country by failing to renew their documents.

2.4.2.2 Illegal immigrants

Illegal immigrants refer to individuals who cross borders without legal papers or with fake documents and those who overstay their permits (Crush & Williams, 2002:10). Many illegal immigrants take chances of entering the country without proper papers because they could not afford to pay for visas. Illegal immigrants are a group of people to which most immigrants belong until their immigrant status is legalised upon arrival in the host country. For instance, any person who goes into the area of another country without permission from the immigration authorities demonstrable by way of a visa or immigration permit is an illegal immigrant (University of Pretoria Centre for Human Rights, 2009:38).

2.4.3 Historical overview of xenophobic violence in South Africa

The attack against immigrants is not a new phenomenon in South Africa; it dates back to during the apartheid regime. Similarly, Tirivangasi and Rankoana (2015:1) claim that xenophobia in South Africa was discovered long time back during the colonial era. In addition, Mohamed (2011:16) asserts that “*xenophobia in South Africa dates back to late 19th Century when gold was discovered in Witwatersrand in the 1880s*”. Vandeyar and Vandeyar (2017:4) postulate that Black immigrants were denied access to the country while White immigrants were granted. Apartheid segregated the races in South Africa and meant that political, social and economic opportunities thrived for the whites while blacks got nothing (South African History Online, SAHO: 2015:np). The Whites applied these policies of segregation strictly and as time went by, Blacks were increasingly driven into violence as a means of gaining the socio-political and economic concessions they commanded. From the foregoing, it is clear that violence and racial strains have always been tortuously linked in the history of South Africa.

The push of the Whites to gain control of the territory of South Africa brought about violence from the Blacks who opposed them (Onah, 2008:268). When this control was transformed into apartheid, even more violence resulted from Black struggles for concessions and majority rule. Majority rule was eventually achieved in 1994 amid euphoria and high hopes for economic well-being for all the citizens of South Africa (Onah, 2008:268). However, despite majority rule, South Africa has remained racially unfair, perhaps as a legacy of more than 350 years of colonial domination and over 50 years of apartheid (Onah, 2008:269). Early forms of violence after 1948 started at the mines in Johannesburg during the 1920s (SAHO, 2015:np). Because of the continued large numbers of African immigrant labourers entering the country, violence in that region increased to an extraordinary level. The severe discriminatory laws created by the apartheid government simply intensified and perpetuated the violence (Abrahams, 2010:497).

Furthermore, Monkhe (2015:14) claims that South Africa has always shown traces of xenophobia from as early as 1910 and as time went on, it had established segregation laws such as the Urban Areas Act of 1923 which introduced residential segregation that was aimed at discriminating against people based on national origin, class, gender and race.

By that time, White people were the leaders while the Blacks were governed; the Whites were the owners of productive enterprises while the Blacks were the workers (Onah, 2008:268). The Urban Areas Act 21 of 1923 was established to control the presence of Africans in urban areas (SAHO, 2016:np). Peberdy (2009:56) argues that the first group of people to become victims of these limiting immigration policies of the South African government were the Indians. The government forbade immigrants from entering the country due to the large number of Indians escalating in the country during the 1910s. Many of the Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe and Germany started coming into the country during the 1920s and 1930s, which caused the government to panic and be fearful. During this period of apartheid, the South African government started to pass many restraining policies trying to confine the people who they believed to be intimidating their ideology, religion and lifestyle (Neocosmos, 2010:587). During the apartheid era, people were grouped according to their race or ethnicity.

Black people were not allowed in some places and this has caused the South African citizens to isolate themselves from their fellow Africans. Maylam (1990:61) asserts that in Cape Town, residential segregation began because of the arrival of Africans in large numbers. Whites believed that Africans brought some kind of diseases in the area and they decided to build locations for Africans so that they could not spread their disease to them (Maylam, 1990:61). According to Edwards and Nuttall (1990:1), in January 1949, public violence took place in which many people died, and some got injured. The event took place in Durban, where a group of Africans attacked Indians and demolished their properties (Edwards & Nuttall, 1990:1).

Karis and Carter (1973:86) claim that the riots were caused by the socio-economic conditions in which Black people lived and by the racially discriminatory policies of the state. Before 1994, Black South Africans were not considered as South African citizens (Adjai, 2010:19). Peberdy and Crush (1998:30) claim that the Immigration Act of 1913 limited the movement of Black South Africans between provinces. This Act defined Black South Africans as “non-citizens” (Peberdy & Crush, 1998:30). According to Hendrickse (2009:1), prior to 1994, many immigrants within Africa faced several discriminatory and violent attacks in South Africa, which originated from institutionalised racism that was prevalent from apartheid time.

Similarly, Neocosmos (2010:1) states that the South African society has experienced a huge problem of xenophobia since its freedom in 1994, a problem that is mainly shocking given the huge global support for the struggle against apartheid during the 1980s. In addition, before 1994, the xenophobic attacks were not only directed to immigrants, but to some other South Africans who were unable to speak the language of the majority group in the main cities. *“When xenophobic violence in South Africa occurred, the victims were not only immigrants in the sense of a different nationality are attacked but in fact, everybody not belonging to the dominant ethnic groups in the main cities, Zulu or Xhosa, was attacked”* (SAHO, 2015:np). SAHO (2015:np) further emphasises that during that time associates of smaller tribal groups in South Africa were also regarded as immigrants by fellow South Africans. White folks were not regarded as immigrants in the circumstance of xenophobic violence. South Africans who regarded as foreigners were attacked because they were too dark compared to other South Africans (SAHO, 2015:np).

Based on the statement above, it is evident that before 1994 xenophobic violence experienced by everyone who seemed to be an immigrant regardless of his or her nationality. Steenkamp (2009:442) postulates that during apartheid era the White minority dispirited Black migration. Many African immigrants from neighbouring countries came to the country as contract labours to offer low-cost labour to the mining and farming industries (Steenkamp, 2009:442). During the colonial government, African immigrants were allowed because White people wanted to use them for their own benefits. In addition, Meda (2014:72) states that a dislike of immigrants in South Africa started from the 1990s and increased in May 2008. Moreover, Durokifa and Ijeoma (2017:3293) assert that South Africa has countersigned xenophobic violence since the end of apartheid in 1994.

The above-mentioned authors further emphasise that foreign nationals have been offered rejection and denial acceptance mostly because of their citizenships since 1994. In addition, South Africa has seen increasing levels of xenophobic attacks on foreigners since 1994. The media have been broadcasting these cases and also actively engage with other stakeholders to promote messages to stop xenophobia (Mkandawire, 2015:198). *“In 1994, armed residents of Alexandra engaged in ‘Operation Buyelekhaya’ (Go back home) which entails evicting people whom they perceived to be illegal living within the township”* (Durokifa & Ijeoma, 2017:3298). Foreign nationals were blamed for the increase in crime rate. Xenophobia occurred in many modern societies but its targets differ across countries and nations (Shindondola, 2003:3).

Crush (2008:11) states that “*The hatred of immigrants in South Africa did not spring out of nowhere*”. The country has a complex racial intolerant past, which to a point contributed to the division and increase of xenophobic attacks (Meda, 2014:72). Meda (2014:72) further states that racial discrimination that existed during apartheid influenced some citizens to dislike foreign nationals and resulted in brutal xenophobic attacks. Neocosmos (2010:1) claims that these xenophobic attacks are directed overwhelmingly at Africans from all over the continent, while some nationalities, for instance, Nigerians and Mozambicans are depicted, more especially in the press, as being associated with criminal activities. The statement above shows that white immigrants who overstayed in the country are not affected by the attacks because of their skin colour. Mamabolo (2015:144) states that African immigrants from countries such as Nigeria, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Somalia and Egypt have been endless victims of xenophobic attacks because they were reported to be the most prosperous small and micro-business entrepreneurs functioning in the country.

In addition, “*an increase in xenophobic hostility directed at those who are deemed to be non-citizens’ amounts to a denial of rights and entitlements, expressed through prejudice and stereotypes*” (Neocosmos, 2010:1). Violence against foreign citizens especially refugees, asylum seekers and illegal immigrants from African countries is quite common (Msimang, 2019:np). Xenophobic violence manifests itself through provocation to and actions of segregation, aggression and violence against people just because of what is believed to be in the specific context, their foreign status (Neocosmos, 2010:1). South Africans dislike and associate Black African immigrants with all sorts of ills though most of them do not have any relationships with them (Danso & McDonald, 2001:115). During apartheid era, the government established strict immigration policies which were aimed at restricting African people from African continents from entering South Africa (Mbetga, 2014:15).

In August 1997, South Africans who had businesses on the streets attacked vendors from foreign countries. Local hawkers in central Johannesburg attacked foreign hawkers, scattering and looting as well as beating them (Durokifa & Ijeoma, 2017:3298). Another incident broke out in 1998 when Mozambicans and two Congolese were thrown out of a moving train. The incident occurred because South Africans were blaming immigrants for unemployment, crime and the spread of diseases (Adjai & Lazaridis, 2013:246).

In 2000, seven immigrants were killed in Cape Flats over what police considered as xenophobic murder, possibly motivated by fear of immigrants' claims of properties that belong to the nationals (IOLNews, 2000:np). In another incident, a group of armed men in Pretoria also threw a Sudanese refugee from a train (Lefko-Everett, 2008:30). In the year 2001, another attack took place between the locals and the Zimbabweans because of the failure of the Zimbabweans to leave the area as directed by the locals (SAHO, 2015:np).

2.4.4 Xenophobic violence in contemporary South Africa

Xenophobic attacks in South Africa could be seen as a new form of worldwide terrorism, as it reflects a communication, dialogue based on a more peaceful norms and beliefs among South Africans in respect of the immigrants, whom they are accusing of taking their jobs and houses (Ilesanmi, 2008:292). According to Kang'ethe and Duma (2013:157), in 1994 many countries celebrated South Africa's independence achievement. After the apartheid regime, South Africa has received a large number of immigrants from different African countries (Morris, 1998:1123, Valji, 2003:np). Yawlui (2013:2) states that after the end of apartheid, South Africa attracted many skilled and unskilled Africans who were seeking employment. Similarly, Mothibi, Roelofse and Tshivhase (2015:151) assert that South Africa became a destination for immigration after 1994. Immigrants came to South Africa because they were attracted by the economic development and standards of living as well as the political freedom (Steenkamp, 2009:442). Steenkamp (2009:439) further postulates that the increased number of immigrants has frustrated South African citizens and they have become intolerant of them. The intolerance of South Africans towards African immigrants has resulted in xenophobic attacks.

According to Crush (2008:6), the rise of xenophobic violence results from racist immigration policies, racial and class division as well as the attitudes of superiority towards African countries during the apartheid era. South African citizens accuse African immigrants of bringing diseases, committing crimes and increasing the unemployment rate by taking jobs that were meant for them (Steenkamp, 2009:439). Similarly, Crush (2008:6) states that after apartheid era, South African citizens began to blame immigrants for crime, the spread of HIV/AIDS and unemployment. The South African government officials are reported to be fuelling the attacks that are occurring in the country (Steenkamp, 2009:443).

Yawlui (2013:2) is also of the same view that African immigrants are being abused institutionally, the perpetrators include the South African Police Service (SAPS) and Home Affairs officials. For example, in 1994, the former Home Affairs minister described immigrants as a threat to the victory of Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) and to the safety and security of South African citizens (Crush, 2008:17). This indicates that ordinary citizens are not only the perpetrators of xenophobic attacks but also government officials. Zegeye (2009:8) postulates that in South Africa, xenophobia seems to be racialised as African immigrants are the first targets of the attacks. Mothibi *et al.* (2015:153) postulate that xenophobia is also displayed through acts of looting and destruction of immigrants' properties. The attacks of foreign immigrants in South Africa are continually occurring (Tirivangasi & Rankoana, 2015). Xenophobic violence has worsened in 2008 in different provinces of the country (Human Sciences Research Council - HSRC, 2008:14).

Vromans, Schweitzer, Knoetze and Kagee (2011:2) assert that in May 2008, xenophobic sentiments exploded in South Africa, whereby immigrants from African countries became the targets of the attacks. In May 2008, "*xenophobic violence in South Africa commanded global attention when, armed mobs went door to door in Alexandra in Johannesburg seeking to attack immigrants*" (Nel & Breen, 2013:np). Again, Freemantle and Misago (2014:136) claim that in May 2008, South Africa made global headlines with images reminiscent of the country's strong civil unrest of the 1980s and early 1990s. These images were horrible snapshots of a wave of large-scale of violence against immigrants and other outsiders that have erupted in the Johannesburg township of Alexandra, and then rapidly spread across the country (Freemantle & Misago, 2014:136).

According to King (2013:1), in May 2008 xenophobic attacks in South Africa marked the highpoint of violence against immigrants since the end of apartheid. Xenophobia continues to resonate in South Africa since 2008 (King, 2013:1). Vromans *et al.* (2011:2) claim that xenophobic violence started in township communities around Johannesburg and spread to other provinces where immigrants were killed and robbed of their properties by locals. The findings of the study by African Centre for Migration and Society, show that since 2008, one immigrant each month falls under delirious attacks (Magubane, 2015:np). HSRC (2008:14) states that the violence that took place in May 2008 resulted in many deaths where some people were displaced. Similarly, Tella (2016:2) states that both South Africans and immigrants lost their lives and most of their properties were destroyed.

According to Steenkamp (2009:439), approximately 35,000 people were displaced while others were queuing at border gates to return to their countries of origin. Steenkamp (2009:440) claims that the events of May 2008 were very shocking because of the violent campaigns and the way it exploded around the country. The nature of the attacks did not differ much from place to place, they were categorised by the brutalisation of people identified as immigrants by their fellow citizens. South African attackers armed with sticks and machetes (Hayem, 2013:78) have beaten immigrants. On one incident, women were raped; shacks and shops that belong to foreign nationals were looted after the occupants had been removed. Many immigrants ran away from their homes in fear, looking for safety at the local police station or taking refuge in churches, municipal halls and sports grounds (Hayem, 2013:78). In Alexander, fearful immigrants fled their homes because of threats and deadly attack.

Those immigrants were targeted by their long-time neighbours and people who warned they would assault anyone carrying a foreign passport (News24, 2015:np). The attacks were mainly targeted at shops owned by African immigrants from Congo and Somalia. The attacks stem from a perception that immigrants are taking jobs at the disbursement of South Africans in a country with high unemployment (News24, 2015:np). The violence resulted from local government failures to fulfil its promise of rendering enough services to the community, institutional marginalisation of some poor individuals and immigrants (Consortium for Refugees and Migrants in South Africa –CORMSA, 2009:10). CORMSA (2009:41) reports that the events that took place in 2008 were not motivated by poverty and unemployment, as the areas in which the attacks took place were not poor and did not show a high rate of unemployment.

During the May 2008 event, rather than protecting the lives and properties of immigrants, police officials focused on removing them from communities (CORMSA, 2009:41). In both 2013 and 2014, another xenophobic attack against Somalian immigrants occurred (Durokifa & Ijeoma, 2017:3298). Somalia immigrants were beaten and robbed of their properties. On occasions, these attacks were accompanied by robbery. In 2015, there was another round of xenophobic attacks on immigrants similar to that one of the 2008 event (Durokifa & Ijeoma, 2017:3298). Similarly, Desai (2015:247) claims that in 2015, xenophobic violence exploded across South Africa. The violence started in Durban and escalated to other provinces of the country.

The 2015 violence is suspected to have been triggered by the Zulu King speech, who said that immigrants must take their things and go back to their countries of origin. Desai (2015:247) states that South African citizens attacked African immigrants. The violence claimed the lives of many people and some were deported (Desai, 2015:248). In Johannesburg, local people were seen blocking roads and burning tyres in Jeppestown and Cleveland, ordering African immigrants to leave South Africa (Makwembere, 2015:122). Further, it is stated that immigrants' shops were looted and vandalised during the attacks.

2.4.4.1 Chronological incidents of xenophobic attacks in South Africa since 1994

The incidents of xenophobic violence from 1994 until 2017 are recorded on newspapers. The purpose of this section is to highlight the incidents that occurred since 1994. The following chronology has been compiled by (Crush, 2008:45; Kgosana, 2017:np; Matika, 2016:np; SAHO, 2015:np & Swanepoel, 2017:np).

Incidence of xenophobia in Gauteng Province

Date	Place	Incidences
December 1994 and January 1995	Alexander	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The homes and property of suspected undocumented immigrants were destroyed by the armed youth gangs in Alexandra Township outside of Johannesburg in Gauteng Province. The gang then marched the individuals down to the local police station where they commanded that the immigrants be immediately and forcibly removed (SAHO, 2015:np).
1996	Germiston Kempton park	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> South African vendors attacked foreign traders accusing them of stealing their customers, one leader died after being shot by the vendors. Local traders threatened and attacked Somali refugees, which forced them to stop selling in

		the area (Crush, 2008:44).
1997	Johannesburg	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hundreds of South African traders marched, while singing and calling names, as their way of passing a message to immigrants that they must go back to their countries. Local hawkers attacked foreign traders by destroying and looting their belongings, as well as beating them with knobkerries (Mail & Guardian, 2008:np).
1998	Ivory Park	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Two immigrants were burnt alive in Ivory Park, while three were killed on a train that was travelling between Pretoria and Johannesburg (SAHO, 2015:np).
1999	Ivory Park	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Six immigrants that were accused of criminal activities have been kidnapped by a mob. Amongst them, two were killed, while three were seriously injured and only one managed to escape.
2000	Pretoria	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A group of armed men threw a refugee from Sudan out of the train, while two men were shot to death in their home (SAHO, 2015:np).
2001	Zandspruit	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • South African residents chased away hundreds of Zimbabwean nationals and burnt their homes, after an immigrant was accused of killing a local woman.
2006	Diepsloot	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Businesses of Somali immigrants were torched. More than 20 tuck shops owned by Mozambicans were vandalised by a gang in Zamdela, whereas 10 Mozambicans were injured.
	Olievenhoutbosch	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Two Zimbabweans were killed in violent attacks between immigrants and South Africans (Crush, 2008:49).

2007	Khutsong	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Somalis and other immigrants were torched during anti-government protests (Crush, 2008:49).
May 2008	Alexander Ramaphosa settlement in East Rand South of Johannesburg areas; Sebokeng, Orange Farm and Evaton	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Xenophobic violence in Alexandra erupted and exploded to other townships and provinces. Many people were injured, while others were chased out of the townships. Houses and shops belonging to immigrants were burnt and looted. • A Mozambican man was killed by a group of angry mob (SAHO, 2015:np). • On 24 May, shops owned by immigrants from Pakistan, Somalia and Ethiopia were destroyed and their belongings were burnt (SAHO, 2015:np).
2010	Kya Sands, Johannesburg	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 16 people, most of them foreign nationals, were attacked
2012	Gauteng	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 42 shops and businesses burnt or looted, 273 people were arrested, while more than 600 were displaced within the same year.
26 May 2013	Diepsloot	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Two Zimbabwean men were killed by South African mob in xenophobic violence (SAHO, 2015:np).
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
18 April 2015	Jeppestown	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • While 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

		men in full view of the public.
2017	Pretoria	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Xenophobia erupted in Pretoria where houses belonging to immigrants were looted and set alight (Swanepoel, 2017:np). • Two houses were burnt by angry mob who accused Nigerian immigrants of drug dealings and prostitution in Pretoria West (Kgosana, 2017:np).

Incidences of xenophobia in Limpopo Province

Date	Place	Incidences
June 2011	Seshego	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Homes belonging to Zimbabweans who live in Seshego were destroyed after the attacks erupted in the area.
November 2013	Lephalale	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Properties belonging to Zimbabweans were burnt.
February 2014	Tswinga Village in Thohoyandou	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Two Zimbabweans were kidnapped from their homes and taken to a private place where they were brutally attacked. One died on the spot and others sustained injuries (Chronicle, 2014).
August 2014	Tshikota Village in Makhado	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A Zimbabwean man who was accused of stealing from the villagers was attacked and killed by an angry mob.
March 2015	Ga-Sekgopo	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Violence exploded in the area after a foreign shop owner was found in possession of a mobile phone belonging to a local man who was killed. Foreign nationals were pushed out of the village and some foreign shop owner lost his stock.
April 2015	Thabazimbi	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Shops owned by foreigners have been set alight and looted at a township.

June 2016	Giyani	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Xenophobic violence erupted in Giyani where more than 200 people are said to have been displaced by violent attacks against Indians and immigrants in the township, which also saw a mosque being burnt down. Two Zimbabwean immigrants died during the attack (Matika, 2016:np).
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Incidences of Xenophobia in Free State

Date	Place	Incidences
2005	Bothaville	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The community members who were protesting against the local municipalities beat Zimbabwean and Somalian refugees because they believed that foreigners are getting services that were meant for them (Crush, 2008:49).
15 May 2015	Petrus Steyn	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Three foreign-owned shops were burned down and 18 shops were looted.

Incidences of xenophobia in North West

Date	Place	Incidences
2007	Ipelegeng near Schwiezer-Reneke	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Shops belonging to Bangladeshi, Pakistani, Somali, and Ethiopian immigrants were destroyed and looted by mob of youths (Crush, 2008:49).
16 April 2015	Ledig Village	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Foreign traders have been caught in the crossfire of service delivery protests. Shops have been looted and forced to close down as community member's demands action from local government.

Incidences in Northern Cape

Date	Place	Incidence
21 July 2015	Kuruman	<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:np).

Incidences of xenophobia in Western Cape

Date	Place	Incidences
1996	Mizamoyethu, Cape Town	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A crowd of South Africans sent immigrants out of the settlement accusing them of bringing crimes to their area. Two immigrants and two South Africans are reported to have been killed during the event (Crush, 2008:44).
2002	Milnerton	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> South Africans accused Angolans of taking their wives and jobs. In 2002, SAPS officials beat a Nigerian man to death (Crush, 2008:48).
2006	Knysna	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Somali shop owners were chased out of the area, on the other hand, 30 <i>spaza</i> shops were damaged. Violence started after a South African boy who was accused of theft was shot by a Somali shop owner. An angry crowd destroyed the shops owned by Somalis.
	Plettenburg Bay	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Local residents attacked immigrants claiming that they are stealing jobs; a man was killed during the attack.
	Cape Flats, Cape Town	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Somalis were attacked, some were killed and shops were robbed and looted.
	Masiphumelele	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Somali refugees were attacked and their shops

		were looted and torched (Crush, 2008:49).
2007	Western cape	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Reuters reports that approximately 40 Somalis were killed in Western Cape.
17 November 2009	Stofland and Hasie Square	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The violence exploded in the area and around 3000 Zimbabweans were displaced for safety (SAHO, 2015:np).
12 July 2010	Western Cape	<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. Seventy foreign nationals had sought refuge overnight at the Mbekweni police station in Paarl and 22 at Wellington.

Incidences of xenophobia in Mpumalanga

Date	Place	Incidences
February 2010	Balfour	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Shops belonging to foreign nationals were looted and 30 foreign nationals had to stay at the Balfour police station.
February 2014	Pienaar	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Foreign owned shops were vandalised and looted after Somali national killed a student by gun fire.

Incidences of xenophobia in Eastern Cape

Date	Place	Incidences
2007	Motherwell	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Over hundreds shops owned by Somali immigrants were looted.
14 November 2009	Ekuphumleni	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Xenophobic violence took place in the area and the targets for the attacks were Zimbabwean immigrants and 68 of them were displaced.

23 May 2013	Port Elizabeth	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Shops belonging to Somali nationals were looted and burnt. A vehicle which was parked outside the shop was set alight. The attacks occurred after a Somali national shot a man outside one shop.
April 2015	Cala Community	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The first xenophobic incidence in the Eastern Cape has been sparked by the discovery of the body of a missing woman. Four foreign national owned shops were looted.

Incidences in Kwazulu-Natal

Date	Place	Incidences
21 March 2015	Durban	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Violence erupted in KwaZulu-Natal which is thought to have been triggered by a speech made by the Zulu King.
14 April 2015	Verulem	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Shops owned by immigrants were robbed (SAHO, 2015:np).

2.4.4.2 Xenophobic violence in Limpopo Province

It is important to discuss xenophobic violence in Limpopo because the study area of this research is Giyani, which falls under the above-mentioned province. A report by SABC news (2015:np) indicates that xenophobic violence also erupted in Limpopo Province in 2015. Shops owned by foreigners, especially African foreigners were set alight and looted in Thabazimbi Township. In March 2015, xenophobic attacks occurred in Ga-Sekgopo, Limpopo Province. The violence exploded after a foreigner who owned a certain shop was found with a mobile phone that belongs to a local man who was murdered (SAHO:np, 2015). Villagers confronted and commanded answers as to how the shop owner got the deceased's phone. The villagers did not have knowledge to whether the cell phone was sold to him or was brought there to be fixed, but they immediately sent all the immigrants out of the village. One of the shop owners reported that he has lost his stock due to the attack. Xenophobic attacks took place in Makurung Village outside Lebowakgomo.

Residents apparently engaged in action to chase all immigrants from the area (Myburgh, 2015:np). Locals looted homes and businesses belonging to immigrants after accusing them of stealing goods from local people. Consequently, immigrants were forced to move to neighbouring villages for their safety (Myburgh, 2015:np). Locals started moving from door to door warning immigrants and telling them to leave the village immediately. Quite a lot of houses were damaged and immigrants' clothes were loaded outside and burnt (Myburgh, 2015:np).

2.5 LEGAL RIGHTS OF IMMIGRANTS IN SOUTH AFRICA

The following section briefly highlights legislation, international and national, which governs the rights of immigrants in South Africa, as forwarded by SAHRC (2010:24).

2.5.1 International Law and Conventions

There are quite a few world-wide human rights instruments that are available to promote the human rights of all immigrants. It is a principle of international law that governments have wide independent discretion to determine nationality. However, when an immigrant is found in a particular state territory, the government of that particular state has to ensure that the immigrant's human rights are respected. Those international legal instruments contain rights and are therefore guaranteed to everyone present in a particular state including citizens and non-citizens, regardless of their legal status, gender and age (Abrahams, 2010:511).

2.5.1.1 The Charter of the United Nations 1945

The Charter of the United Nations addresses political and civil rights and calls for international economic and social cooperation. Article 55 affirms that everybody is entitled to enjoy human rights without discrimination.

2.5.1.2 The Universal Declaration for Human Rights 1948

The above mentioned legal right added statuses that are on the list of unacceptable distinctions in the enjoyment of rights.

These statuses include; colour, political or other opinions, national or social origin and property. It also gives emphasis to the equality of all persons before the law and their right to full protection of the law without discrimination.

2.5.1.3 The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination 1965

This Convention also guides South Africa to take all suitable procedures to reduce discrimination based on race, colour, descent, as well as national or ethnic origin within its borders. The monitoring body for this Convention expressed concern at its 69th session in 2006 about the frequency of hate crimes and hate speech in South Africa and the inefficiency of the measures to prevent such acts. The monitoring body gave a general recommendation on organised violence based on ethnic origin which states that South Africa should make sure of the full and satisfactory implementation of article 4 of the Convention, which is the prohibition of slavery and forced labour. It also recommended that South Africa should adopt legislation and other effective measures in order to prevent, fight and punish hate crimes and speech.

2.5.1.4 The Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees 1951 and the Protocol Relating to the Status of Refugees 1966

The above-mentioned agreements consented to by the Republic affirm the refugees' rights to status, property, association, access to the courts, employment and education. The Convention also protects against the return of asylum seekers or refugees to a country where they would face a threat to their lives or freedoms. South Africa's initiatives under these instruments are particularly relevant given the substantial number of refugees' residing in the country.

2.5.1.5 International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights 1966 and the International Covenant on Economic Social and Cultural Rights 1966

The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights 1966 gratifies South Africa as a signatory to deliver an effective lawful remedy to any violation of the rights it recognises, which include the right to physical integrity, liberty and security of person, procedural fairness, individual liberties as well as non-discrimination.

The above mentioned international covenant includes an obligation to assure non-discrimination, including discrimination based on race or nationality.

2.5.1.6 Declaration of the UN World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance 2001

The Declaration of this Conference, held in Durban in 2001, commits South Africa to developing both policies and an overarching National Action Plan to combat intolerance on the basis of race and nationality. Furthermore, it urges countries to maintain the rule of law and to adopt operative measures to make sure that crimes stemming from such intolerance do not go without punishment. Finally, the Declaration urge states to strengthen National Human Rights Institutions (NHRIs) concerning racism and xenophobia in particular and to foster greater collaboration between NHRIs as well as other national institutions.

2.5.1.7 African Commission Resolution on Ending Impunity in Africa and on the Domestication and Implementation of the Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court 2005

In line with the Rome Law, this resolution urges member states of the African Union to make sure that criminals under universal human rights law and international humanitarian law should not benefit from impunity.

2.5.2 The Regional Legal Framework

2.5.2.1 African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights 1981

Beyond the human rights expressed in the South African Constitution, South Africa is party to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights that precisely forbids the mass eviction of immigrants, which also include expulsions that are designed at national groups.

2.5.2.2 The 1969 Organisation of African Unity (OAU) Convention Governing the Specific Aspect of Refugee Problems in Africa

The 1969 OAU Convention Governing the Specific Aspect of Refugee Problems in Africa was specifically adopted to complement the 1951 UN Refugee Convention and a response to tackle problems of refugees in Africa. The Convention which came into power in 1974 that has been sanctioned by one-third of the members of OAU expanded the definition of the United Nations 1951 Convention on refugee protection to suit African context (Enwere, 2006:46). The Convention identifies the duties of state parties to protect the rights of immigrants in their territories and accord them the basic rights in conformity with world-wide values (Enwere, 2006:46).

2.5.3 The Domestic Legal Framework

2.5.3.1 The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996

Chapter two of the South African Constitution protects the rights of everyone who is in the country. The Constitution protects the right to life, equality, human dignity, freedom and security of the person, freedom of movement as well as residence. Similarly, the Constitution forbids discrimination on grounds including social origin and birth and speech that advocates hatred or provokes looming violence. It also watches against the random deprivation of property (SAHRC, 2010:25).

2.5.3.2 Immigration Act 13 of 2002

The Immigration Act 2002 places the following responsibilities upon the Department of Home Affairs (DHA) in relation to the management of immigration and the risk of anti-immigrant sentiment and action (Republic of South Africa, Immigration Act 13 of 2002). In the administration of this Act, the Department shall follow the following objectives:

- Promote a human-rights based culture in both government and public society in respect of migration control.

- Facilitate and simplify the issuing of eternal and temporary residences to those who are suitable to them and concentrating resources and efforts in applying this Act at community level and discouraging illegal immigrants.
- Detecting and transporting unlawful immigrants.
- Preventing and discouraging xenophobia in the department, any scope of government state at community level.
- Controlling the arrival of immigrants in large numbers and residents in the Republic to promote economic growth by promoting tourism, facilitating foreign investments and increasing skilled human resources.
- Educating communities and structures of civil society about the rights of immigrants, illegal immigrants and refugees as well as to conduct other actions to prevent xenophobia.

2.5.3.3 Refugees Act 130 of 1998

South Africa circulated the South African Refugees Act 130 of 1998 in order to give effect to its international duties, values and standards relating to refugees in terms of these two international instruments (Republic of South Africa Refugees Act 130 of 1998). The Refugees Act 1998 inaugurates that immigrants may live lawfully within South Africa as asylum seekers or recognised refugees. The Refugee Act states that all refugees are permitted to access health care, to seek employment and to access education just like South African born citizens.

The above-mentioned Act also states that everyone in the country is entitled to the rights enshrined in Chapter 2 of the Constitution with the exception of political rights and the rights to freedom of trade, occupation, and profession, which do not apply to immigrants. Therefore, legal immigrants and refugees should be eligible to amenities offered at municipal level such as safety, housing, clinic services as well as libraries. Surprisingly, the Act was established and its objectives are clear and seem helpful, but nothing is being done to monitor whether the refugees are able to get services (SAHRC, 2010:np).

2.5.3.4 The Promotion of Equality and Prevention of Unfair Discrimination Act 4 of 2000

The Promotion of Equality and Prevention of Unfair Discrimination Act (PEPUDA) 2000 seeks to fulfil the constitutional order and is meant to prevent and prohibit unfair discrimination. This Act also seeks to fulfil South Africa's international duties with regard to the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination against Women (Pityana, 2002:3).

2.6 ATTITUDES TOWARD IMMIGRANTS

The way in which citizens feel about immigrants is suspected to be the leading cause of violence. According to Tella (2016:10), many South African citizens show xenophobic attitudes towards African immigrants. Khalo (2012:108) finds that participants' view on how they feel about immigrants differed. The above-mentioned scholar further articulates that some South African citizens do not have problems with immigrants being in the country (Khalo, 2012:108). The above statement shows that not all the citizens of South Africa have bad attitudes toward immigrants. Furthermore, Khalo (2012:108) states that the environment of a particular place determines views of people living on it about immigrants. In supporting this for example, those who are living in cities have different views from those who stay in townships. Moreover, Valji (2003:np) claims that prejudice attitudes and violence on the other hand are not directed to all immigrants but at Black Africans from neighbouring countries. A study conducted by Mataure (2013:1) reveals that many South Africans suggest that strict restrictions must be placed on immigrants seeking to enter the country and some suggested that immigrants should be totally prohibited from coming to South Africa.

Similarly, a study based on a citizen survey in the Southern African Development Community shows that 21 per cent of South African wanted a complete ban of foreign entry into the republic while 64 per cent favoured strict limitations on the numbers permitted (Msimang, 2019:np). The statement above shows that most South African citizens really do not like people from other countries, especially African countries (Mataure, 2013:1). Furthermore, government officials also have negative feelings about immigrants.

This is supported by the statement of former minister of Home Affairs (HA) Mangosothu Buthelezi who stated that “*if South Africans are going to compete for scarce resources with the millions of 'aliens' that are pouring into South Africa, then we can bid goodbye to our Reconstruction and Development Programme*” (Statement by former minister of Home Affairs, 1994). Crush (2008:3) postulates that South African citizens are accused of not treating immigrants the same way. The SAMP survey of 1999 found that South African citizens favour immigrants from North America and Europe than those from South African Development Community (SADC) countries (Crush, 2008:4).

2.7 FACTORS THAT ENCOURAGE XENOPHOBIC VIOLENCE

South African citizens attack immigrants for different misperceptions (Segal, Elliot & Mayadas, 2010:368). Factors that encourage xenophobic violence in South Africa include some of the following:

2.7.1 Socio-economic factors

In South Africa, xenophobia is believed to be resulting from multiple socio-economic factors (Harris, 2001:np). Harris (2001:np) states that Scapegoating Theory elucidates xenophobia in terms of the broad societal and economic factors. Socio-economic factors such as unemployment and lack of housing are some of the factors spreading xenophobic hostilities among South African citizens towards immigrants (Khalo, 2012:36). Similarly, Mudzanani (2016:339) postulates that the socioeconomic challenges that are confronting South Africa are the main cause of xenophobia. A study conducted by Dassah (2015:135) found that poor Black South Africans perceive black immigrants as contestants for occupations, accommodation and other resources. Furthermore, immigrants are seen as a direct threat to the upcoming economic health of the country and they are perceived to be wiping off public amenities while thoroughly sponging away at the economy for their own selfish living (Patel, 2013:np).

2.7.1.1 Poor service delivery

The failure of proper service delivery by the government contributes to xenophobic violence (Mudzanani, 2016:335). A study by Mudzanani (2016:335) reveals that government's reluctance in delivering proper services causes xenophobic violence.

Moreover, a study conducted by the University of Pretoria found that South African citizens feel that the South African government has not fulfilled what it has promised its citizens to provide for basic socioeconomic needs of the inferior section of South African society. It angers locals to see immigrants with access to the services while locals remain not assisted (University of Pretoria Centre for Human Rights, 2009:41). Similarly, Chigeza, de Wet, Roos and Vorster (2013:501) claim that a severe xenophobic attack that erupted in South Africa in 2008 was a result of government's poor service delivery.

A study by Kayitesi and Mwaba (2014:1130) reveal that thirty-five per cent of participants believe that immigrants are the cause of shortage of public services. Arguably, citizens become frustrated when they do not get what they were expecting from the government and direct their frustrations at African immigrants (Duncan, 2011:106). Furthermore, Democratic Alliance (DA), the opposing party to the African National Congress (ANC), which is the ruling party in the country, claims that the root cause of the rise of xenophobic violence is the governing party's failure to generate jobs and furnish people with the necessary excellent education and skills to gain employment (eNCA, 2017:np).

2.7.2 Competition over scarce resource

Competition for scarce resources is the root cause of xenophobic outbreaks in South Africa (Pillay, 2017:8). When the locals and immigrants compete for particular resources they end up attacking one another, like in South Africa, locals and immigrants compete for resources such as houses and employment; so, when South Africans do not get what they want they put the blame on African immigrants and attack them.

2.7.2.1 Employment

Competition over scarce resources such as employment is seen as a major cause of xenophobic violence (Mudzanani, 2016:340). Mudzanani (2016:339) claims that the high rate of unemployment makes young people to engage in criminal activities such as xenophobia. In a study conducted by Kinge (2016:64), one of the participants pointed out that *"the central cause of xenophobia is the down turn of the economy and the unemployment rate in South Africa, as well as failure to initiate small medium enterprises that will be beneficial to South Africans"* (Kinge, 2016:24).

According to Masiloane (2010:46), most immigrants are uneducated and therefore compete for employment with indigent people of the host country. Similarly, the majority of participants on a study conducted by Kayitesi and Mwaba (2014:1130) believe that immigrants were taking South African jobs. Furthermore, Segal *et al.* (2010:368) point out that South Africans believe that immigrants are stealing their jobs. Similarly, Mothibi *et al.* (2015:157) state that one of the biggest reasons for xenophobic violence in South Africa is that African immigrants apparently steal jobs that are destined for South African citizens. Correspondingly, a study conducted by Crush (2001:125) reveals that 61 per cent of the participants believe that immigrants put a pressure on their economy because of their employment rate.

According to Segal *et al.* (2010:368), South Africans claim that employers opt to hire immigrants because they can settle for low wages. Arguably, employers say that every amount is acceptable to immigrants and when South Africans charge higher wages; employers opt for immigrants and leave the locals with no jobs (Valji, 2003:np). Moreover, Masiloane (2010:46) asserts that employers opt to hire immigrants because they can work for low incomes, work long hours and are resilient to unionisation and pose a threat to the job security of unskilful citizens of the host country. Therefore, this contributes to South Africans having reduced access to employment opportunities and results in bitterness towards illegal immigrants that is expressed through xenophobic attitudes (Masiloane, 2010:46). The perception of cheap labour is supported by Crush (2008:16) who asserts that South African employers prefer to hire immigrants because they can bypass labour laws, avoid giving them benefits and pay them minimum wages. However, Makgahlela and Lesaba (2015:48) argue that immigrants contribute enormously towards South Africa's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and job creation.

The above-mentioned scholars further claim that some works that have been done in Africa and elsewhere in the world that show that immigrants play an important role in the economy of the host country. Similarly, the study conducted by the University of Witwatersrand in 1998 highlights helpful contributions that immigrants bring in South Africa (Adjai, 2010:45). The study found that immigrants create job opportunities by often hiring South African citizens to work for them (Adjai, 2010:45). Additionally, a study conducted by the Southern African Migration Project (SAMP) found that the perception that immigrants are stealing jobs is a stereotype.

The study indicates that threats posed by immigrants do not appear to be based on personal experience because none of the participants interviewed during the study experienced job loss to an immigrant (Crush, 2008:33).

2.7.2.2 Housing

The distribution of RDP houses to immigrants is also a contributing factor to xenophobic violence that occurs in the country. A study by Khalo (2012:105) found that the majority of participants believe that immigrants took houses that were meant for them. The study also found that many South Africans applied for the houses and waited too long for the houses to be allocated to them; but instead they were given to immigrants and people from outside the township (Khalo, 2012:105). The participants pointed out that the immigrants obtained houses through corruption; they bribe government officials in order to get houses (Khalo, 2012:105). On the other hand, both immigrants and the government officials are to be blamed (Khalo, 2012:105).

The Scapegoating Theory argues that people experience negative feelings when they feel as though they are treated quite poorly for illegal reasons, for instance, immigrants bribe officials to get RDP houses that were meant for legal citizens and in this circumstance, the right citizens will be forced to live without a good shelter (Glick, 2002:115). However, a Wits University survey found that only two per cent of immigrants were staying in government houses and they were living with South Africans, while others were renting the accommodation from South Africans (CORMSA, 2009:112). Based on the statement above, it is evident that the perception that immigrants are taking houses that are meant for South African born citizens is somehow false.

2.7.2.3 Business competition

Competition over business is also said to be exacerbating xenophobic violence taking place in the country (HSRC, 2008:40). According to HSRC (2008:40), African immigrants sell their goods cheaply than South African born citizens. South Africans claim that immigrants sell their goods for low amounts, which make the customers buy from them more regularly (Mamabolo, 2015:144). Furthermore, Mamabolo (2015:143) notes that foreign nationals' business acumen appears to have presented a threat to local businesses with their competitive market prices.

South African citizens claim that immigrants occupy the places that were meant for them to run their businesses (Tevera, 2013:13). Additionally, a study conducted by Khalo (2012:84) in Alexandra found that the reason for the attacks is because immigrants affect local businesses. Participants claimed that immigrants' businesses flourished whereas theirs were not flourishing (Khalo, 2012:84).

2.7.3 High rates of crime

The high rate of crime also contributes to the violence against immigrants. South African citizens see immigrants as dangerous people who bring crime to their country. Landau (2007:72) claims that the influx of immigrants is said to have an effect on the high rates of crime as well as on safety and security. It is believed to generate a climate for crimes and criminal recruitment (Landau 2007:72). The most vulnerable group that is associated with criminal activity is illegal immigrants (Landau, 2007:72). Illegal immigrants are believed to be encouraging antisocial behaviour as well as criminal activities (Simelane 1999:4; Landau 2007:72). Ngomane (2010:28) claims that illegal immigrants critically affect the crime situation in South Africa while Masiloane (2010:46) states that immigrants are seen as being able to get away with crime as well as to engage in a range of other illegalities such as bribing officials. Danso and McDonald (2001:16) indicate that illegal immigrants are involved in crime and that since 1994 the rate of crime in South Africa has increased.

There is a perception that illegal immigrants come from countries that have been experiencing long periods of political war, therefore they enter the country carrying weapons, that they have the skills in fighting and have ability to upheave the South African government (Ngomane, 2010:28). Similarly, in a study by Mohamed (2011:64), Nelson Mandela Bay residents claimed that immigrants were worsening crime and illegal conducts such as drug dealing, prostitution and corruption. This confirms the findings by the 1999 and 2006 SAMP that South Africans believe crime in the country has increased after the arrival of immigrants. A study by SAMP in 1999 found that 48 per cent of South Africans perceive immigrants from neighbouring countries as criminal threats (Crush, 2008:3). The former Director General of Home Affairs presented the report in Parliament in March 2002 that almost 90 per cent of illegal immigrants were involved in crime (Masiloane, 2010:50).

For example, a report by City Press news indicates that violence broke out in Pretoria West in February, where the residents looted and set the homes of immigrants on fire, claiming that those buildings were used to facilitate prostitution and to trade in illegal drugs (Swanepoel, 2017:np). Valji (2003:np) states that in a survey conducted in 1998, 52 per cent of the participants stated that illegal immigrants cause crime in their areas. Corruption is another type of crime that immigrants are accused of and evidently, entering the country illegally is a crime (Masuku, 2006:5). Illegal immigrants who are caught by the police without valid documents are accused of bribing police so that they cannot be arrested and deported (Masuku, 2006:5). Moreover, Moatshe and Ndlhazi (2017:np) state that Pretoria West's residents burnt down two houses believed to be drug dens and brothels operated by immigrants.

Similarly, Sambalikagwa (2017:np) asserts that South Africans claim that immigrants had turned the neighbourhood into a drug haven. They also believed that immigrants had taken over most properties and turned them into drug and prostitution dens. Furthermore, Wambogo (2001:19) asserts that immigrants are accused of committing crimes such as drug trafficking, hijacking, robberies, murder, rape and burglary. However, Khalo (2012:107) is against the perception of immigrants being criminals. In this study, it was found that the residents of Alexandra did not view immigrants as criminals. The participants believed that crime rate was high even before immigrants come to settle in their area, meaning that they were not the ones causing crimes (Khalo, 2012:107).

Vigneswaran (2007:6) argues that illegal immigrants associate themselves with crime and other illegalities because they lack citizenship rights and as a result of their illegality, they involve themselves to unlawful activities. However, McDonald, Mashike and Golden (1999:19) as well as Solomon (2000:6) argue that South Africans should bear in mind that illegal immigrants are also victims of crime because they lack protection from the police and should stop labelling illegal immigrants as perpetrators of crime. The above-mentioned scholars further claim that illegal immigrants are regarded as easy targets because they do not report crime committed against them to the police (McDonald *et al.*, 1999:19).

2.7.4 The role of media in xenophobic violence

Media plays an important role in determining the populace's opinion (Tella, 2016:11). The print media, in particular, has also been associated with exacerbating xenophobic attitudes in South Africa (Ilesanmi, 2008:289). SAMP policy paper revised English-language press reportage in South Africa from 1994-1998 and observed that a majority of newspaper reports, articles, letters, and editorial comment about cross-border migration were largely against the immigrants (Danso & McDonald, 2001:124). Crush (2008:42) states that consecutive studies have found that the media has been central in encouraging xenophobic attitudes towards immigrants. The statement above clearly shows that the media has something to do with the on-going xenophobic attacks (Crush, 2008:42). According to Tella (2016:11), the way in which the media reports immigrants also shows negative attitudes toward immigrants and it sends a bad influence to the community. The media fuels xenophobic sentiments by portraying immigrants in a negative way (Tella, 2016:11).

Media organisations, media enterprises and media workers, primarily public service broadcasters, have a good and social responsibility to make a positive contribution to the fight against racism, discrimination, xenophobia and intolerance (Ilesanmi, 2008:289). Ilesanmi (2008:289) postulates that their perpetuation of negative stereotypes of immigrants in the South African press has largely exacerbated anti-immigrants' hostility of xenophobic attacks and other violence in the region. Recurrent images of most immigrants in the South African press as job stealers, criminals and illegals only serve to spread irresponsible stereotypes of immigrants and migration (Ilesanmi, 2008:289-290). Furthermore, the South African media is accused for worsening unpleasant attitude against immigrants for being liable for crime by racialising crime and associating it with specific groups of immigrants (Ngomane, 2010:29).

Similarly, Foster (2012:50) postulates that the reason why African immigrants are targeted is the manner in which they are presented in the media. For example, the coming of immigrants in the country is described as the "flooding" which threatens the citizens (Harris, 2002:175). Duman (2015:6) states that the South African media criticises and stereotypes all African immigrants from Nigeria as drug dealers, which fuels a bad public perception about Nigerians.

Between 1994 and 1998, a study that analysed 1200 newspaper clippings from English newspapers made it clear that the media is surely a contributing factor towards hard feelings and violence against immigrants (Danso & McDonald, 2001:124).

2.7.5 The spread of diseases

Immigrants are believed to be the ones bringing various diseases in the country (Kayitesi & Mwaba, 2014:1130). This is supported by a study conducted by Meda (2014:73) which reveal that citizens blame and attack immigrants, including refugee children accusing them of spreading diseases. The study found that refugee children at the community centre are said to be liable for bringing sicknesses such as HIV and AIDS to South Africa (Meda, 2014:73). Similarly, in their study, Kayitesi and Mwaba (2014:1130) found that twenty-two per cent of the participants believe that immigrants bring diseases to the country.

2.7.6 The influx of immigrants in large numbers

Xenophobic attacks that take place in South Africa are believed to be exacerbated by the coming of immigrants in large numbers. Research by the University of Pretoria confirmed that the perception of the South African born citizens about the influx of immigrants in the country is true as the South African born citizens participants have confirmed that (University of Pretoria Centre for Human Rights, 2009:41). South African born citizens admit that immigrants have always lived in their communities. They also believe that the high influx of immigrants has contributed to the frustrations of locals (University of Pretoria Centre for Human Rights, 2009:41). A study by Khalo (2012:104) in Alexandra found that immigrants are blamed for overcrowding the population. South African citizens believe that immigrants occupy much space in the township by building shacks. Consequently, the large numbers of immigrants coming to their township frustrates South African citizens and they end up causing hostilities (Khalo, 2012:104).

2.7.7 Misinterpretation of immigration Acts

The way in which the immigration legislations are interpreted also contribute to the violence against immigrants (Adjai, 2010:56). Adjai (2010:56) further claims that xenophobic attitudes toward immigrants rest in the interpretation and implementation of legislation. The way in which the Aliens Control Act was interpreted led to the negative description and consequent mistreatment of immigrants. Adjai (2010:56) argues that, “*the interpretation and implementation of sections of the Alien Control Act (ACA) on definitions, arrest, detention and deportation led to the creation of negative portrayal of immigrants that unfortunately became established in bodies of government and the police*”.

Section (1) of the above-mentioned Act referred to immigrants as aliens, which mean persons who are not South African born citizens. Section 53(1) states that “*If any immigration officer or police officer suspects on reasonable grounds that a person is an alien, he may require such a person to produce to him proof that he is entitled to be in the Republic. If such person fails to satisfy such officer that he is entitled, the officer may take him into custody without warrant, and if the officer deems it necessary to detain such person in a manner and at a place determined by the Director General, and such person shall as soon as possible be dealt with under Section 7*” (Republic of South Africa, The Aliens Control Act 96 of 1991). Valji (2003:5) claims that immigrants were suspected of their nationalities based on their features such as skin colour, hair and height and this has resulted on some South African citizens mistakenly being arrested. The Aliens Control Act was interpreted and executed through the prism of negative perceptions of immigrants (Adjai, 2010:65). Adjai (2010:66) also notes that Aliens Control Amendment Act 76 of 1995 only served to harden perceptions of immigrants as negative and a threat to South Africans.

2.8 IMPACTS OF XENOPHOBIC VIOLENCE

Xenophobic violence is said to have effects on both the immigrants and the host country citizens.

2.8.1 Effects of xenophobic violence on immigrants

Xenophobic violence poses a sincere threat to the lives of immigrants and to the global integrity of South Africa (Mohamed, 2011:10). According to Ilesanmi (2008:297), xenophobic attacks and other violence against immigrants in South Africa have major negative impacts on the lives of the immigrants and livelihoods of their families. Chaone, Shulika and Mthombeni (2011:139) postulate that the perpetrations of xenophobic acts do not only affect the social spheres of society, but also include a main attribute of human rights violation. In terms of human rights violation, the aspect of death and displacement of people are very essential (Chaone *et al.*, 2011:139). According to the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996, everyone has the right to life.

Moreover, the perpetrators of xenophobic violence violate immigrants' rights by killing them, which is prohibited according to the Constitution (Constitution of the RSA, 1996). In addition, Section 7 of the Bill of Rights in the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa states that "every citizen has the right to enter, to remain in and to reside anywhere in the Republic". However, the South African citizens violate this right by attacking immigrants, which result in them moving from one place to another.

2.8.2 The impact of xenophobic violence on the whole country of South Africa

Xenophobic violence affects the entire country (Mohamed, 2011:30). This violence has negative effects on citizens and to the economic development of the country. FinMark Trust (2015:np) claims that the attack on immigrants in South Africa has far reaching consequences on the social, political and economic relations with the continent and the rest of the world and is damaging the country's image worldwide.

2.8.2.1 Death of South African born citizens

Mohamed (2011:10) claims that xenophobic violence has an effect on the people of the host and to the entire country. Mohamed (2011:29) states that among the 62 people killed in the 2008 nationwide violence; 27 were identified as South Africans. These victims are said to be “Shangaans” from Limpopo Province who failed language tests such as knowing the isiZulu or simply looked like African immigrants (Mohamed, 2011:29).

Furthermore, Neocosmos (2010:120) claims that during the 2008 event, many people who have been killed were reported to be South Africans.

2.8.2.2 Psychological effect of xenophobic violence

Xenophobic violence might also cause psychological harm to those who experience it. According to Mkhondo (2015:24), xenophobic violence is reported to have a psychological effect on children who participated in it and witnessed the horrific attacks. A study by Oloyede (2008:117) claims that the incidents remain in the minds of children and fail to teach them good ways of dealing with challenges as well as how to treat other people (Oloyede, 2008:117).

2.8.2.3 Xenophobic violence hinder investments and economic growth

Xenophobic violence jeopardises the economic growth of South Africa (Chimbga & Meier, 2014:1691). It is evident that each country depends on other countries' investments. Oyelana (2016:285) claims that a country that does not consider a foreign investment as part of its economic development, such country is digging an economic downfall. Oyelana (2016:285) postulates that xenophobic attacks adversely affect the country's direct foreign investments. For instance, in South Africa, the way in which South African citizens treat immigrants from different countries is in turn sending a message to foreign investors to go back to their countries of origin, which will downgrade the country's growth in future. Another relevant issue is that available surplus finance by foreign borrowing which shows a pleasant relationship among different citizens and governments of African countries and the world as a whole could also be lost or denied as a result of xenophobic incidents (Chaone *et al.*, 2011:139).

Chimbga and Meier (2014:1691) claim that any violence against African immigrants in South Africa may well jeopardise the economic development. Mudzanani (2016:339) is of the view that criminal activities such as xenophobia pose a serious threat to the growth of the international tourism in South Africa. Similarly, Mamabolo (2015:147) states that the existing xenophobic attacks caught much attention to such an extent that even some of South Africa's businesses operating in other countries were in danger. In addition, the Mail and Guardian (2015:np) reports that "most of the South African businesses that are operating in African countries also felt the heat of the threats of violent attacks". Likewise, xenophobic violence has a negative impact towards South African businesses operating elsewhere in Africa (Sanchez, 2015:np). Furthermore, Mudzanani (2016:340) claims that xenophobic attacks may trigger retaliatory attacks on South Africans who are in other countries.

Clearly, if South African citizens continue with the attacks against immigrants, South African citizens who are abroad may be possibly affected (Mudzanani, 2016:340). Xenophobic violence also brings bad image to the country, which scares away potential tourists and investors (Chimbga & Meier, 2014:1691). Similarly, the study conducted by Oloyede (2008:117) states that xenophobia threatens tourists visiting South Africa and threatens the jobs of workers in the tourism industry. Moreover, xenophobic violence has the potential of scaring away highly skilled immigrants as well as preventing new ones from coming to the country (Oloyede, 2008:117). Economically, the violence is weakening South Africa's rand because investors backed away from the currency as they fear that the xenophobic attacks could hurt the economy and lose their investments (Ilesanmi, 2008:292). Sanchez (2015) states that the impacts of attacks have extensive inferences on the country's economic and social relations with the continent and the world.

Xenophobic violence also threatens foreign businesses who are collaborating with South African businesses (Adjai & Lazaridis, 2013:198). Additionally, the attacks spoiled the country's trustworthiness in fulfilling its international obligation, and therefore, the obligation to protect human rights (Mohamed, 2011:30). Apparently, recent evidence claims that the South African citizens cannot, all by themselves improve their recent economic state of affairs (Adjai & Lazaridis, 2013:198).

Furthermore, Oyelana (2016:285) proclaims that for any country to enhance success economically in this world economic dispensation, there is a substantial need to be in accord with other citizens residing in the country, invest in one another's economy and welcome one another into their environment with passion, peace, tranquillity and learn how to live with different people in harmony. In supporting this, it is obvious that xenophobic attacks against immigrants have major negative impacts on the economic development because people from other countries will be afraid to visit and invest in South Africa.

2.8.2.4 Poverty

Violence against immigrants also leads to poverty toward citizens of the host country (Oyelana, 2016:286). According to the afore-mentioned author, it is noted that foreign investments bring about empowerment to South African citizens and as a result, there would be more job opportunities to accommodate a large number of unemployed local citizens (Oyelana, 2016:286). Thence, if the potential business owners go back to their countries, people will be left with no jobs and that will increase the rate of poverty (Oyelana, 2016:286).

2.9 MEASURES TO REDUCE XENOPHOBIC VIOLENCE

Xenophobic violence is a disturbing phenomenon that needs a special attention. The South African government should engage with its citizens to fight against this phenomenon.

2.9.1 Improvement on service delivery

The lack of proper service delivery by the government is said to perpetuate xenophobic attacks in the country (Mudzanani, 2016:335). The government must improve service delivery issues (Laher, 2009:71; Mudzanani, 2016:340). This delivery of services that should mostly concentrate on poor communities include the provision of housing, electricity and other basic facilities in order to reduce doubt and anxiety among South Africans (Laher, 2009:71). Housing is a central trigger of frustration and violence, nonetheless, there is a need for the enlightened realisation of socio-economic rights including getting rid of the bucket system and expanding sanitation and access to clean water (Handland, 2008:3).

Moreover, Kayitesi and Mwaba (2014:1131) suggest that the government should improve service delivery to improve citizens' levels of life satisfaction and reduce the competition for economic and social resources as well as the xenophobic feelings towards immigrants.

2.9.2 Educational campaigns by government

Educational campaigns by the government are needed to reduce the spreading of xenophobic violence taking place in the country. Laher (2009:71) states that government needs to deliver appropriate information to the South African residents about xenophobia and its effects on the economy in terms of employment and health care. In fact, the South African government must provide awareness campaigns that will teach locals about the immoralities of xenophobic violence (Lombard, 2015:98). Oyelana (2016:288) recommends that the South African government should ensure that education is available to its citizens on several things that the country went through during xenophobic attacks. Lombard (2015:98) further postulates that education programmes are necessary to address gender and xenophobic violence issues. Similarly, Handland (2008:3) is of the opinion that an education module needs to be included that reflects the philosophy of the Constitution and the Human Rights Charter of South Africa.

Furthermore, Mudzanani (2016:340) also recommends that the government should review the immigration policy to deal with the entry of illegal immigrants. The above-mentioned scholar further suggests that the government should also establish educational programmes to educate the public that South Africa is part of the global village and hence, it is a vital part of the African continent (Mudzanani, 2016:340). In addition, research by Oyelana (2016:287) suggests that in order to reduce xenophobic violence in South Africa, the government must come with some effective strategies. He further recommends that the government should also create awareness campaigns whereby citizens can be informed of the purpose of issuing immigrants visas to come to South Africa to operate, establish businesses and invest massively into the economy (Oyelana, 2016:288).

2.9.3 Strengthening the Legal and Institutional Framework

The South African legal framework is blamed for xenophobic sentiments that are occurring in the country (Kang'ethe & Duma, 2013:165). The afore-mentioned scholars give recommendations that should be considered to strengthen legal framework. According to Kang'ethe and Duma (2013:165), the SAPS need further training in order to handle violence such as xenophobic violence. The SAPS officials are accused of being reluctant to help during the attacks and some officers are blamed for corruption (Kang'ethe & Duma, 2013:165). The above-mentioned scholars suggest that in order for the South African government to curb xenophobic violence, the officers must be retrained and the immigration legislation must be restructured (Kang'ethe & Duma, 2013:165). It is believed that the immigration legislation favours a specific type of immigrants while on the other hand some immigrants suffer from its rules (Kang'ethe & Duma, 2013:165).

2.10 SUMMARY OF THE CHAPTER

Xenophobic violence is not a new phenomenon in South Africa, it has happened in the past. Xenophobic violence occurs globally (Dassah, 2015:129). It also takes place in the international countries, for example, in Germany and Japan. The causes of xenophobic violence in Germany are more likely to be the same with causes of xenophobic violence in South Africa (Braunthal, 2009:10). The German government has legal frameworks that protect the rights of immigrants in their country. In Japan, xenophobic violence manifests in the form of racism (Peucker, 2007:4). Like in other countries, Japan has its own legal rights for the people living within its nationality such as its Constitution that includes human rights for immigrants.

Moreover, another international country that is experiencing xenophobic violence is Russia (Herrera, 2011:12). Xenophobic violence in Russia manifests itself in the form of assaults and verbal abuse (Kingsbury, 2017:179). Just like in South Africa, these attacks occur because Russian citizens blame immigrants for the poor health care system and high levels of crime. Xenophobic violence also occurs in African countries, for example, in Botswana, Kenya, and amongst others. In Botswana, xenophobia has been largely shown through the wide-ranging dislike of black immigrants (Lesetedi & Modie-Moroka, 2007:3).

Same as in South Africa, the Batswana people believe that immigrants take their jobs (Lesetedi & Modie-Moroka, 2007:9). In Kenya, xenophobic discrimination is directed at a specific ethnic group. Somalis are the target of discrimination and human rights abuse in Kenya. Government officials of Kenya Republic are said to be also taking part in the discrimination against Somalis (Al-Jazeera International, 2012:np). Another African country that faces xenophobic sentiments is Lesotho (Lesetedi & Modie-Moroka, 2007:6).

In Lesotho, foreigners are attacked because they are perceived as being responsible for criminal activities (Lesetedi & Modie-Moroka, 2007:6).

Same as in other countries, foreigners in Libya are accused for stealing jobs that are meant for Libyans and also responsible for criminal activities taking place in the country (Lewis, 2008:90). After the apartheid regime, many foreigners immigrated to South Africa. During the apartheid regime, there were government measures that were used to control migration to the cities (Tlabela & Wentzel, 2006:84). There are two categories of immigrants in South Africa, namely, legal and illegal immigrants. Xenophobic violence in South Africa happened long time ago during the apartheid era.

During that era, Black immigrants were denied access to the country while White people were allowed to come (Vandeyar & Vandeyar, 2017:4). In 1994, many people celebrated democracy. By then, South Africa received an influx of African immigrants. These immigrants were attracted by the economic development. The increase in the number of immigrants in the country has frustrated South African citizens and they become intolerant of them, which result in xenophobic attacks (Steenkamp, 2009:439). The incidents of xenophobic attacks in South Africa became more prevalent since 1994 to date (Neocosmos, 2010:1). Xenophobic attacks escalated around many provinces of South Africa (Desai, 2015:247). Limpopo is one of the provinces that have been affected by xenophobic violence. There are legal rights of immigrants in South Africa (SAHRC, 2010:24). South African government has established rights and regulations for immigrants. Attitudes of South African citizens toward immigrants differ according to the environment where they are living (Khalo, 2012:108). People living in rural areas seem to be more tolerance towards immigrants than those living in urban areas (Khalo, 2012:108).

There are root causes of xenophobia which include: competition over scarce resources, high rates of crime as well as diseases, amongst others. Xenophobic violence has negative impacts on foreigners as well as on people of the host country. Xenophobic violence threatens the lives of both immigrants and South African citizens as well as the economy of the country. Xenophobia destroys the country's reputation worldwide (Chaone *et al.*, 2011:139; Chimbga & Meier, 2014:1691; Oyelana, 2016:285). Therefore, the South African government should implement strategies that can be used to combat xenophobic violence and should also engage with its citizens to fight against the scourge. The next chapter presents the theoretical framework.

CHAPTER THREE

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: SCAPEGOATING THEORY AND ITS IMPLICATION IN XENOPHOBIC VIOLENCE

3.1 INTRODUCTION

Xenophobic violence takes place in Germany and in African countries (Braunthal, 2009:10). From the foregoing, it is clear that xenophobic violence is a global problem. The researcher asserts that for one to know and understand xenophobic violence, the Scapegoating Theory provides a sound foundation for analysis. The researcher applies Scapegoating Theory to explain the South African citizens' perceptions of immigrants. The researcher also makes use of Relative Deprivation Theory.

3.2 ANALYSIS OF SCAPEGOATING THEORY TO THE STUDY

Scapegoating Theory was developed by Renè Girard (Fleming, 2002:60). The Scapegoating Theory was developed during the 1940s as a way for social psychologists to explain the reason why prejudice and racism occur (Davis, 2010:13). Before one can understand the Scapegoating Theory, it is logical to first understand Scapegoating as a term. Scapegoating refers to a process whereby a person or group is falsely accused for something that they did not do and therefore the responsible person is either never seen or is disregarded (Crossman, 2017:np). Davis (2010:13) states that Scapegoating is the process whereby frustration and hostility are directed at a group that did not cause the frustration.

In addition, Glick (2002:114) postulates that Scapegoating Theory refers to the *"tendency to blame someone else for one's own problems which often result in feelings of prejudice toward the person or group that one is blaming"*. The basics of scapegoating are frustration, aggression, and hostility. According to sociologists, there are four various ways in which scapegoating takes place and scapegoats are created (Crossman, 2017:np). The above mentioned author postulates that Scapegoating can be in the form of a one-on-one phenomenon where one person blames another for something they did themselves.

Furthermore, Crossman (2017:np) emphasises that *“this form of scapegoating is common among children who are seeking to avoid the shame of disappointing their parents and the punishment that might follow a misconduct, blame a sibling or a friend for something they did”*. Scapegoating also happens in a way where a person blames a group for a problem they did not cause (Crossman, 2017:np). Further this form of scapegoating regularly reflects racial, ethnic, religious, and anti-immigrant prejudices. In addition, it takes place when a group of people single out and blame one person for a problem. For example, a girl or woman who claims sexual assault and thereby blamed by members of her community for causing trouble or ruining the life of her male attacker. Lastly, scapegoating can also take place in the form of group-on-group.

This takes place when one group blames another for problems experiences by the entire group, for instance, economic or political crisis (Crossman, 2017:np). A study conducted by Dassah (2015:135) found that poor black South Africans perceive black immigrants as contestants for jobs, housing and other resources. This form of scapegoating often manifests through lines of race, ethnicity, religion, or nationality (Crossman, 2017:np). Glick (2002:114) claims that Scapegoating serves as an opportunity for people to explain their failure or faults while maintaining their positive self-esteem. For instance, if a person who is poor or does not get a job that he or she applies for can blame an unfair system or the people who got the job that he or she wanted, the person may be using others as a scapegoat and may end up hating them as a result (Glick, 2002:114). Basically, scapegoating generally employs a substitute for one’s own failures so that the person does not have to face his or her own weaknesses (Glick, 2002:114).

Glick (2002:115) ascertains that ‘the concept of scapegoating is also to some extent reliable with Sigmund Freud’s ideas of displacement or projection as a defence mechanism’. *“According to Freud, people displace hostility that they hold toward unacceptable targets onto less powerful ones”* (Glick, 2002:116). Likewise, “projection refers to one’s tendency to attribute one’s own unacceptable feelings or anxieties onto others, therefore denying them within oneself” (Glick, 2002:115). Both mechanisms care for people from their illegitimate desires or fears by helping them cast off the notion that they are the owners of such feelings (Glick, 2002:115). As such, the target of their displacement or prognosis may serve as a victim. According to Glick (2002:115), social psychologists have more recently described the inclination to scapegoat in same terms but with some qualifications and explanations.

For example, the notion of displaced hostility has received a good transaction of attention in the field (Glick, 2002:116). If a man has a fight with his boss or colleague at work, he may come home and beat up his wife for a minor mistake. Then a wife is his scapegoat and is discharging the price for the fight her husband had with a colleague. The aggression that the fight produced is not being directed to the one who caused it, but instead is directed at the wife, who is seen as a suitable target because she cannot fight back (Glick, 2002:116). The above statement is supported by the study of the University of Pretoria Centre for Human Rights (2009:41) that found that locals become furious to see immigrants accessing the services while locals remain not assisted. Instead of directing the anger at the government, they put the blame on the immigrants. Glick (2002:115) claims that some scholars have stated certain circumstances in which scapegoating against a specific group are most likely to take place. For example, the blamed group tends to be one with less power. Otherwise, the group would be able to stamp out the opposition brought from the masses (Glick, 2002:115).

The foregoing author postulates that the blamed group also tends to be a group that is in some way recognisable as separate from the in-group, thus those group members can be easily recognised and associated with the undesired situation (Glick, 2002:115). Finally, the scapegoat tends to pose a real threat to the in-group, deliberately or not deliberately (Glick, 2002:116). In this case, the immigrants knowingly or unknowingly display threat to the locals. For instance, some immigrants may not be aware that they are a threat to the people of the host countries. The Scapegoating Theory has been applied in crimes such as xenophobia to explain the causes of the incidents. Harris (2002:np) applied Scapegoating Theory in his study of "*Xenophobia: A new pathology for a new South Africa*". The above-mentioned author states that Scapegoating Theory locates xenophobic violence within the context of social transition and change (Harris, 2001:np).

Furthermore, Harris (2001:np) claims that South Africa's political transition to democracy has exposed the imbalanced distribution of resources and wealth in the country. Further, antagonism towards immigrants is explained in relation to limited resources, such as housing, education, health-care and employment, combined with high expectations during the transition (Harris, 2001:np). Harris (2001:np) further states that Scapegoating Theory describes xenophobia in terms of the extensive social and economic factors.

The above mentioned author postulates that investigations and historical events have specified that if the majority group is facing an economic problem, they become more threatened by minorities, especially if they are immigrants. Foster (2012:51) argues that after democracy, the South African government promised to deliver appropriate services to their people which it is now failing to fulfil. Moreover, since the government has failed to fulfil its promises, citizens have become more frustrated and they direct their frustration at immigrants (Foster, 2012:51). South African citizens claim that immigrants come to their country to take away what belongs to them (Duncan, 2011:105). In line with this study, this theory states that immigrants are used as scapegoats for social and economic crises that are experienced by people. Scapegoating Theory states that xenophobic violence takes place because of competition over scarce resources. South African residents compete with immigrants over resources and as a result, they become frustrated and direct their frustration at immigrants (Duncan, 2011:106).

The citizens believe that if it were not for immigrants who left their countries to settle in South Africa, they would be enjoying the benefits of a proper service delivery system (Foster, 2012:51). Harris (2001:np) states that frustration over poor service delivery is then misdirected to foreign Africans living in impoverished communities, making them scapegoats for the country's social ills. Harris (2001:np) criticises the Scapegoating theory and argues that the theory does not elucidate why immigrants are singled out and carry the liability for unemployment, poverty and deprivation. There are other minorities in a society who are not being attacked, for example, Whites and Indians. Harris (2001:np) that Scapegoating Theory further does not provide an explanation to justify why nationality is the driving force behind such scapegoating (Harris, 2001:np).

“The criticism directed at the scapegoating theory is that it does not explain why foreigners are the only group that is burdened with the hatred and abuse of autochthonous groups”. It further does not explain why foreigners of colour in the context of contemporary South Africa frequently bear the effect of the prejudicial and murderous hatred of the local population. The Theory of Relative Deprivation is also applicable as an explanation for people's tendency to scapegoat (Glick, 2002:117). *“The Relative Deprivation Theory is used to explain the formation of attitudes towards foreigners. Relative deprivation refers to a situation whereby a group of people perceived themselves as being deprived of certain services such as housing, roads, clean water and so forth.”*

The Relative Deprivation Theory was developed by Stouffer, Suchman, DEVinney, Starr and Williams(1949:np), Merton (1957:np), Runciman (1966:np), Gurr (1970:np), Crosby (1976:np) Walker and Pettigrew (1984:np). The afore-mentioned theory suggests that people who feel are being deprived of anything in their society will organise a social movement devoted to obtaining the things of which they feel deprived. For example, Relative Deprivation has been cited as one of the causes of the U.S. Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s which was rooted in Black Americans' struggle to gain social and legal equality with white Americans (Longley, 2020:np). In some cases, Relative Deprivation has also been cited as a factor of driving incidents of social disorder such as rioting, looting, terrorism and civil wars (Longley, 2020:np).

This can be linked to xenophobic violence that takes place in South Africa. South African citizens may feel deprived of proper service delivery that they think is being given to wrong people. The Theory of Relative Deprivation proposes that people experience negative emotions when they feel as though they are treated relatively poorly for illicit reasons (Glick, 2002:117). For example, a person may be contented with his or her salary until the person learns that a colleague who does not have much work but is a friend of the boss got a maximum salary (Glick, 2002:117). Now the person is relatively deprived and may begrudge the colleague for his or her own lower salary. In supporting this, a study by Kayitesi and Mwaba (2014:1130) reveal that 35 per cent of participants believe that immigrants are the cause of shortage of public services. Arguably, citizens become frustrated when they do not get what they were expecting from the government and direct their frustrations to African immigrants (Duncan, 2011:106). Critics of Relative Deprivation Theory have argued that it fails to explain why some people who thought deprived of rights or resources fail to take part in social movements meant to attain those things.

3.3 SUMMARY OF THE CHAPTER

The section presented the theories used in the study. The researcher employed Scapegoating Theory and Relative Deprivation to explain perceptions of residents about xenophobic violence. The developers and backgrounds of both theories were discussed. The above mentioned theories explained much about the causes of xenophobic violence. Scapegoating Theory argues that xenophobia occurs when indigenous populations turn their anger resulting from whatever hardships they are experiencing against foreigners.

The Relative Deprivation Theory argues that when people feel deprived of certain services they take an action in order to get such services. The problem is that they take actions to wrong people. Instead of approaching government officials who are responsible for delivering services, they attack foreigners. The next chapter focuses on research methodology of the study.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1 INTRODUCTION

Sileyew (2019:1) refers to research methodology as the way in which researchers need to conduct their study. It shows how researchers formulate their research problem and objectives as well as present their result from the data collected during the study (Sileyew, 2019:1). Burns and Grove (2010:488) define research methodology as the plan, setting, sample, methodological limitations and the data collection as well as analysis procedures in a study. This chapter presents the methodology that has been used in this study. It covers the research design as well as the area where the study was conducted. It also presents sampling, data collection instrument and the method used for data analysis. The chapter also highlights ethical issues that guided the study.

4.2 RESEARCH DESIGN

According to Sileyew (2019:2), the research design is planned to provide a suitable outline for a study. The study used qualitative research design as the aim was to understand residents' perceptions about xenophobic violence. In qualitative approach, the researcher investigates a problem from participants' perception (Bless, Higson-Smith & Sithole, 2013:16). This method was appropriate to the study since its aim is to explore residents' perception about xenophobic violence. This study employed exploratory research design to explore residents' perceptions about xenophobic violence in Giyani. Bless *et al.* (2013:60) state that exploratory research is often used where little information is known or exists about a certain topic. The purpose of exploratory research is to gain more understanding of a phenomenon. Exploratory research design was suitable to this study as the focus of the researcher was to gain more insight about the residents' views regarding xenophobic violence (Bless *et al.*, 2013:60).

4.3 SAMPLING METHODS AND PROCEDURES

4.3.1 Geographical area of the study

The study took place in Limpopo Province, Giyani section A under Mopani District. Giyani was established during the 1960s as a capital City of Gazankulu. Giyani has 89 villages, 9 Tribal Authorities of Tsonga and 2 Tribal Authorities of Balobedu. The large part of the town's open land is not developed or settled (Census, 2009:1). There are prosperous residential areas in Giyani town that includes; Section A, D1, D2, E, F and Kremetart. Giyani has new settlements closer to its which falls under Tribal Authorities such as Risinga view and Church view. The above mentioned town is situated within the sub-tropical zone.

The place becomes very hot during summer. Winters are mild during the day and cold during the nights. Rainfall season is between September and March while the winter season is from April to August (Census, 2009:1). The major road that runs through Giyani is R81. The above mentioned road joins Giyani to Polokwane as well as Malamulele. The route also links the R524 to Punda Maria entrance gate of the Kruger National Park. This road also joints the N1 to Pretoria and Johannesburg in Polokwane next to the Mall of the North (Census, 2009:1). Moreover, there are many foreign nationals staying in the villages of Giyani. Thus, the researcher targeted one area which is Section A because most immigrants stay there as well as the neighbouring village which is Homu Fourteen C.

4.3.2 Target population

Target population denotes a specific group of cases that the researcher wants to study (Neuman, 2014:171). Bless *et al.* (2013:164) refer to target population as the group of elements that the researcher focuses on. The researcher selected twenty-two (22) participants for an interview. The population in this study comprised of residents from Giyani section A.

4.3.3 Sampling

Bless *et al.* (2013:161) denote sampling as a methodological accounting device to justify the collection of information, to select a suitable way in which to confine the set of objects, persons as well as events from which actual information will be drawn. In this study, the researcher employed purposive sampling aligned to non-probability sampling procedure to select participants. The participants in this study were purposively chosen within the community. Participants were selected because of their knowledge on xenophobic violence that took place in Giyani. According to Bless *et al.* (2013:166), non-probability sampling is when the chance of including each element of the population in a sample is not known. Furthermore, Maruster and Gijzenberg (2013:80) postulate that “*qualitative research uses non-probability samples for selecting the population of the study*”.

In a non-probability sample, units are deliberately selected to reflect particular features of groups within the sampled population. The sample is not intended to be statistically representative: “*the chances of selection for each element are unknown but, instead, the characteristics of the population are used as basis of selection*” (Maruster & Gijzenberg, 2013:80). Moreover, the above mentioned authors state that in purposive sampling, the element that is rich in information will be the most valuable. In this study, the researcher therefore chose participants based on the specific standards that were judged to be crucial. The researcher chose Giyani residents because there are many foreign nationals in the township and acts of xenophobic attacks once occurred. Furthermore, in this research, a sample of twenty-two (22) participants between the ages of eighteen (18) and forty-five (45) years were selected from the residents of Giyani section A. The participants were selected in terms of gender and age. There were 13 males and 9 females.

4.4 DATA COLLECTION

The researcher employed semi-structured interviews to gather data from the participants. According to May (2011:135), “*semi-structured interviews represent an opening up of the interview method to an understanding of how interviewees generate and deploy meaning in social life*”. Semi-structured interviews allow people to reply to questions based on their perceptions. This type of interview is said to allow the interviewer to probe far beyond the answers (May, 2011:134). In this study, the researcher asked questions based on research objectives, literature review and the theoretical framework.

The data was collected using transcripts and a digital audio tape recorder after consent was granted from the participants. Data was collected in Xitsonga language, which was then translated into English. The researcher intended to collect data from 25 participants, but the data reached the saturation point at participant number 22. The researcher reached the conclusion of data collection because further participants were giving the same information that was given by previous participants.

4.5 DATA ANALYSIS

Creswell (2003:190) states that data analysis includes making sense out of text and image data. According to Jorgensen (1989:170), *“analysis is a breaking up, separating, or disassembling of research materials into pieces, parts, elements, or units. With facts broken down into manageable pieces, the researcher sorts and sifts them, searching for types, classes, sequences, processes, patterns or wholes. The aim of this process is to assemble or reconstruct the data in a meaningful or comprehensible fashion”*. The researcher applied Thematic Content Analysis (TCA) to analyse the data since the study was qualitative in nature. TCA refers to a methodology that is used to consistently analyse the meaning of communications (Bless *et al.*, 2013:352). Neuman (2014:259) defines content analysis as a research method used for collecting and analysing the content of text.

According to Anderson (2007:1), TCA can be defined as a descriptive presentation of qualitative data. During data analysis, same answers to each question were categorised into appropriate themes. Furthermore, the researcher translated the write out that was recorded. The researcher therefore familiarised herself with data by reading and re-reading it to become absorbed and familiar with the content. This is done in order to search for meanings. The researcher then sorted different codes into possible themes, and organised relevant coded data extracts within identified themes. The researcher also applied document analysis in which documents were interpreted to give voice and meaning around the topic (Bowen, 2009:np).

4.6 QUALITY CRITERIA

The following quality criteria were adhered to in this research: credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability.

4.6.1 Credibility

Credibility refers to the sureness one can have in the certainty of the findings (Bowen, 2005:215). According to Mandal (2018:592), “credibility refers to the believability or the truth in research findings”. Credibility can also be attained by determined observation and triangulation of data. “Credibility helps in ensuring internal validity of the research findings”. Mandal (2018:592) denotes that credibility can also be built through prolonged engagement in the field, persistent observation and triangulation of data. For the purpose of this study, the researcher conducted an exploratory study with relevant people to ensure that the methodology used produced a good research quality. In this study the methodology of the research has been clearly described in order to maintain credibility of the study. Moreover, the researcher enhanced credibility by recording interviews and transcribing them verbatim.

4.6.2 Transferability

Transferability denotes that other researchers can apply the findings of the study to their own. According to Shenton (2004:63), in order to allow transferability, the researcher should provide enough detail of the context of the fieldwork for a reader to be able to decide whether the prevailing environment is similar to another situation with which he or she is familiar, and whether the findings can justifiably be applied to the other setting. To provide for transferability, the study presents findings with many descriptions of the phenomena (Bowen, 2005:216).

Mandal (2018:592) states that “transferability refers to whether the results obtained from the analysis can be applied to other settings and contexts”. This acts as a check for external validity of the findings (Mandal, 2018:592). The afore-mentioned author further states that in qualitative research, researchers provide a detailed description of the settings and the context in which research is conducted. This is done to give the readers enough information to judge the applicability of the findings to other settings. To ensure transferability, the researcher provided adequate information about the research background, processes and participants to enable the reader to decide how the findings may be transferred.

4.6.3 Dependability

Dependability refers to the idea of reliability as applied in quantitative research (Mandal, 2018:592). Mandla (2018:592) denotes that a measure is reliable when independent but comparable measures of the same trait or construct of a given object agree. Qualitative researchers ensure dependability by having proper documentation of data, methods and taking proper decisions about research (Mandal, 2018:592). To ensure dependability, the researcher provided a complete description on how data was collected as well as the research design.

4.6.4 Confirmability

Shenton (2004:63) refers to confirmability as the stages taken by the researcher to show that findings come from the data and not their own inclinations. Ryan, Coughlan and Cronin (2007:743) denote that confirmability is attained by ensuring credibility, transferability and dependability. Mandal (2018:592) defines conformability as the objectivity of research during data collection and data analysis. Conformability also indicates a means to demonstrate quality. Analysis of the methodology used in the research might be emphasized upon by the researcher to establish conformability. Mandal (2018:592) further states that techniques such as triangulation can also be useful tools of confirmability. To ensure confirmability of the study, the researcher provided a complete description of the research processes.

4.7 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

During the period of data collection, research ethics were considered to prevent the harm of participants' rights. Ethical clearance was requested from Turfloop Research Ethics Committee (TREC) of the University of Limpopo. Thus, the researcher informed participants of the following rights:

4.7.1 Confidentiality and anonymity

Confidentiality and anonymity were considered in this study. Confidentiality is the most important ethical requirement that one needs to consider in research (Bless *et al.*, 2013:32). Confidentiality simply means that any information given by participants more especially personal and sensitive information should not be divulged to any other person. Therefore, in this study, the same procedure was done. All the information that was shared by participants was treated with confidentiality. In order to maintain confidentiality, the researcher did not share participants' information with other people except the supervisor. Furthermore, anonymity is interrelated to confidentiality. In order to maintain anonymity, the researcher asked participants not to provide their names. The researcher maintained the anonymity of participants by assigning numbers to each and every participant to ensure that their details remain unknown (Bless *et al.*, 2013:33).

4.7.2 Informed consent and voluntary participation

This refers to the fundamental ethical principle of social research (Neuman, 2014:75). The principle states that no one should be forced to participate in a study. Participants should give their consent whether they would like to be part of a certain study. Moreover, before they can commence with the process, participants should be informed of the kind of the study they are taking part in as well as to be informed of their rights. Therefore, in this study the researcher made sure that consent forms were given to participants to complete before the discussion commenced. The researcher informed participants that their participation is voluntary. The researcher explained the purpose, goals and motivation of the study to obtain consent from them and to find out if they were interested in participating in the study. Participants were also informed that they could pull out of participation at any time if they felt the need to withdraw (Neuman, 2014:75).

4.7.3 Emotional and psychological constraint

This ethical principle requires that the research be conducted in such a way that minimises the risks to participants (Silverman, 2013:162). The researcher should ensure that the communication is well constructed so that it does not harm participants.

In this study the researcher made sure that participants are protected from unnecessary interruption, distress, humiliation, physical discomfort, personal embarrassment, as well as psychological harm. The researcher ensured protection from harm by informing participants to withdraw at any stage if they felt uncomfortable with the process. Data was treated with confidentiality. Only the researcher and supervisors had an access to the data. Data will be stored by the researcher and kept there for five years. The interpreted data will be shared via publication of articles and conferences presentation. The level of risk in this study was very low because the topic itself is not sensitive. The aim of the study was to find the perceptions of participants. However, questions asked during interviews required participants not indulge their personal information. In addition, participants were responsible Adults and they were not vulnerable research population.

4.8 SUMMARY OF THE CHAPTER

This chapter presented the methodological information of the study. The study took place in Giyani in the Mopani District. Exploratory research design which falls under qualitative research was employed, since the researcher's aim was to get more insight about the study. The study targeted South African citizens who were staying with or next to foreign nationals. Purposive sampling was used because the researcher personally selected participants suitable for the study. Semi-structured interviews were used to collect data. In addition, the researcher applied four measures that include; credibility, transferability, dependability as well as confirmability to ensure the trustworthiness of the study. Lastly, ethical issues were taken into account to ensure the safety of participants. Ethical issues were considered to avoid or prevent psychological harm of participants. The next chapter focuses on presentation, analysis and presentations of data.

CHAPTER FIVE

PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATIONS OF DATA

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The chapter focuses on the presentation, analysis and interpretation of data. The aim of this study was **to explore Giyani residents' perceptions about xenophobic violence** associated with South African citizens. The next section will cover data presentation, analysis and interpretation. The researcher conducted a qualitative study and used semi-structured interviews to collect data. The researcher used non-probability purposive sampling. Twenty-two participants were interviewed and data was analysed using the information collected from the participants. The questions that were asked during the interviews were open-ended, some questions were developed during the interviews in which the question aimed for further elaboration from participants. The researcher intended to collect data from twenty-five (25) participants but the saturation point was reached at participant number twenty-two (22). The researcher analysed data using the Thematic Content Analysis (TCA). In the analysis, the researcher will first present demographic profile of participants, followed by themes that emerged from the interviews.

5.2. DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF PARTICIPANTS

The purpose of this discussion is to present the biographical information of participants. The participants of this study were selected in terms of gender and age. There were 13 males and 9 females. Eight (8) of the participants were in their 20s. Seven (8) of the participants were in their 40s. Five (5) of the participants were in their 30s. One (1) participant was below twenty, but above 18. See the table below:

Table 1: Demographic profile of participants

Age	Gender
18-25	5 Males 3 Females
26-35	2 Males 1 Female
36-45	6 Males 5 Females

5.3 THEMES THAT EMERGED FROM THE INTERVIEWS

The participants' responses can be categorised in terms of the following themes: Understanding of xenophobic violence, attitudes of South African citizens towards immigrants, time in which xenophobic violence took place, factors that led to xenophobic violence, impact of xenophobic violence and measures to curb xenophobic violence.

5.3.1 Theme 1: Understanding of xenophobic violence

The aim of this section is to present participants' understanding of xenophobic violence. Participants were asked to explain xenophobic violence. They gave various views according to their understanding.

Table 2: Understanding of xenophobic violence

THEME 1: UNDERSTANDING OF XENOPHOBIC VIOLENCE			
Research questions	Participants	Sub-themes	Responses
What is xenophobic violence?	Participant 2	People from foreign countries	1 quote
	Participant 5, 10 & 11	Violent attacks against immigrants	3 quotes

	Participant 12, 13, 19 & 22	Dislike or hatred	4 quotes
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Participants 5, 10 and 11 defined xenophobic violence as violent attacks against immigrants. Some of the responses from the participants about xenophobic violence as violent attacks are as follows: *“Xenophobia refers to violent attacks against immigrants” (P 5)*. *“Ah, xenophobia is the fight between two different nationalities. Eh, the ideology that this one is from Zimbabwe, this one is from Mozambique or elsewhere, that such person is not allowed here in South Africa” (P 10)*.

“Xenophobia is when people of a particular country attack others from other countries; send them back to their countries of origin and during the attacks people get hurt, some die. People of a host country call immigrants with names such as “makwerekwere” (P 11).

Some understood xenophobic violence as a hatred feeling and discrimination of immigrants. *“xenophobia is the hatred and discrimination of immigrants by citizens of a particular country” (P12)*. Other three participants support the above statement by saying *“it refers to the dislike of people from other countries” (P13)*.

“Xenophobia is a strong and unreasonable dislike of people from other countries” (P19).
“Xenophobia refers to a dislike of and negative attitudes against foreigners” (P 22).

The above quotes are in line with Onah (2008:267) who states that ‘xenophobia refers to the strong feeling of dislike or fear of people from other countries’. However, some of the participants were unable to demonstrate clear understanding of xenophobic violence although they were able to give their perceptions over factors that can lead to xenophobic violence *“Xenophobia is people coming from outside the country. I know as people from Mozambique, people from Zimbabwe, people from Malawi, they are xenophobia because they are not South Africans” (P 2)*. In addition, participant four defines xenophobia as banishing of immigrants *“xenophobia refers to the banishing of immigrants” (P4)*. From the study findings, it is evident that South African citizens have different understanding about xenophobic violence. One participant understood xenophobic violence as people who come from outside the country. However, three participants understood xenophobic violence as violent attacks that are directed to immigrants, whereas some understand xenophobic violence as a dislike or hatred feeling and discrimination of immigrants.

The findings of this study are in line with the study by Laher (2009:4) which asserts that xenophobia has to do with the hatred and prejudice against outsiders or immigrants. Moreover, McDonald and Jacobs (2005:13) support Laher by postulating that xenophobia refers to a profound dislike of foreigners. Furthermore, the SAHRC (2015:np) defines xenophobia as the general and irrational dislike of immigrants that is usually based on unfounded myths and stereotypes such as immigrants being jobs stealers and criminals.

5.3.1.1 Section deductions

Participants explained xenophobic violence according to their own understanding. The findings of the study indicate that most participants have clear understanding of xenophobic violence. However, few participants were unable to differentiate between xenophobic violence and a foreign national because instead of giving the exact explanation of xenophobic violence, they referred xenophobic violence as a person who comes from another country. Hence, this shows that there are still some people who lack information about xenophobic violence that is taking place in the country.

5.3.2 Theme 2: Attitudes of South African citizens towards immigrants

The aim of this section is to present participants' attitudes towards immigrants. In order to determine people's attitudes towards immigrants, participants were asked to respond to the question that aimed to ascertain the mind-set of residents toward immigrants. From the data collected, it is evident that majority of South Africans perceive immigrants as good people. They indicated that immigrants are human beings who need to be treated politely just like themselves. Some of the participants were not sure about how they perceive immigrants, they indicated that they like immigrants but they are sometimes afraid of them because they have been labelled as dangerous people.

However, few of the participants are against immigrants more especially the ones from African countries. They claimed that immigrants are nothing but dangerous criminals who came to their country for immoral purposes. This is supported by the study of Mohamed (2011:64), which states that Nelson Mandela Bay residents claim that immigrants are worsening crime and criminal activities such as drug dealing, prostitution and corruption.

Table 3: Attitudes of South African citizens towards immigrants

Attitudes of South African citizens towards immigrants			
Research questions	Participants	Sub-themes	Responses
How do South African citizens perceive immigrants?	Participant 1	Undocumented immigrants as bad people	1 quote
	Participant 2, 8, 10 & 15	Immigrants as good as any other human being	4 quotes
	Participant 6, 17 & 20	Criminals	3 quotes

5.3.2.1 Sub-theme 1: Undocumented immigrants perceived as bad people

The following quotes were shared:

“I take those who do not have valid permits to be in the country as bad people, but those who have permits are good people because they came here lawfully” (P1). This statement concurs with the study by Ngomane (2010:58) that states that illegal immigrants are accused of bringing diseases and increasing crime rates.

5.3.2.2 Sub-theme 2: Immigrants as good as other human beings

The following quotes were shared:

“I take them as human beings because they came here because of poverty, we should treat them like human beings” (P2).

“We take them in a good way, but not all of them because there are those who came here for criminal purposes” (P8).

“I take them as my fellow brothers and sisters, the fact that this person was born in South Africa or not does not matter to me, as long as he or she is a human being. I take that person just like myself. I do not have that tendency of taking him as bad just because he is from another country, I treat every person equal. I understand that an immigrant is also a human being and it does not mean that if a person is from outside the country we must treat him bad when he is here” (P10).

“I take them as any other people just like myself there is nothing bad that they have done, such as we are all having the same blood, we might be having different blood type, skin colour, it is either they have white skin colour, I have black skin colour it does not matter I take them as human beings” (P15).

5.3.2.3 Sub-theme 3: Immigrants perceived as criminals

The following quotes were shared:

“I do not like them; those people are here for criminal purposes” (P17).

“Truly speaking, I do not like those people because of their evil deeds, those people are criminals” (P20).

“We are afraid of those people from other countries; they scare us because when they get here they arrive with their wisdoms. They come here and take jobs that belong to South Africans, they rule this country. So we no longer want them, they should stay in their countries” (P6).

Attitudes towards immigrants are based on people’s perceptions about immigrants. The way in which a person perceives an immigrant determines his or her own attitude. The researcher found that attitudes toward immigrants differ based on the participants’ age range. The study found that young people have bad attitudes, whereas older people perceive immigrants as good individuals. The findings of this study reveal that not all citizens have bad feelings or attitudes towards immigrants; this is supported by Khalo (2012:88) who found that participants’ view on how they feel about immigrants differed. The participants’ views about immigrants are determined by the environment and immigrants’ conduct.

The above-mentioned author further states that the environment of a particular place determines views of people living on it about immigrants. The current study found that some participants felt safe around immigrants, whereas other group of participants did not like the presence of immigrants around them. Khalo (2012:108) articulates that some South African citizens do not have problems with immigrants being in the country. The study has also found that immigrants were labelled dangerous criminals even though some of them are innocent of what they are accused of. Participants were able to express their feelings about immigrants. Most of the participants indicated that they do not have any problem with immigrants.

Participants mentioned that they see immigrants as their brothers and sisters; they do not feel hatred towards them. However, some few participants indicated they are not quite sure about how they feel about immigrants because some immigrants can be unpredictable. The study findings show that most participants do not like immigrants being in the country. Even government officials seem to have a xenophobic sentiment towards foreigners. In supporting the statement above, Minister of Health Aaron Motsoaledi articulated his concern about the arrival of illegal immigrants because of the strain that was taking place on the health system. The Minister was worried about the high rate of immigrants in hospitals, saying that this was leading to overcrowding and worsening the possibility of the spread of diseases. He claims that undocumented immigrants are flooding South Africa and overburdening clinics and hospitals. Furthermore, he said that when immigrants get admitted in large numbers, they cause overcrowding and infection control starts failing (Suttner, 2018:np).

5.3.2.4 Section deductions

According to most participants' responses, it is evident that not every South African resident hates immigrants. Most participants mentioned that they regard immigrants as their blood brothers and sisters. However, some few participants indicated that they do not like immigrants because most of them are associated with criminal activities. The perception of foreigners being perpetrators of crimes is supported by some other literature (Mohamed, 2011). The study by the above mentioned author found that residents in Nelson Mandela Bay perceive immigrants as dangerous criminals who promote criminal activities in the area.

In this instance, the most accused immigrants are Nigerians who are blamed for deteriorating crimes such as drug dealing and prostitution (Mohamed, 2011:84).

5.3.3 Theme 3: Period in which xenophobic violence took place

In order to determine the year in which xenophobic violence took place in Giyani, participants were asked to indicate the period in which xenophobic violence took place. Many participants indicated that acts of xenophobic violence took place in 2015 at their areas. The present study is in line with the study by Desai (2015:247) who states that in 2015, xenophobic violence exploded across South Africa. Some participants indicated that it happened during 2015, while some said that it occurred before 1994. However, few participants said that they were not sure and one participant said that they have not experienced xenophobic violence in their area.

Table 4: Period in which xenophobic violence took place

Period in which xenophobic violence took place			
Research questions	Participants	Sub-themes	Responses
When did xenophobic attacks take place in your area?	Participant 9	Before 1994	1 response
	Participant 1 & 11	2015	2 responses
	Participant 22	2016	1 response

The following quotes were shared:

“In our area xenophobia took place, 3 years back” (P1).

“Actually, let me estimate. Let me say from 1994 until now xenophobia was there” (P9).

According to the statement above, xenophobic violence is said to have started after democracy. After the apartheid regime, immigrants from neighbouring countries came in numbers as they have also wanted to enjoy the fruits of democracy. According to Tlabela and Wentzel (2006:71), the number of immigrants coming to South Africa has increased since the early 1990s and increased more after 1994.

Immigrants came in large number during the transition from apartheid to democracy. The above quote is in line with Durokifa and Ijeoma (2017:3293) who assert that South Africa has witnessed xenophobic violence since the end of apartheid in 1994. *“Around 2015, yes I think 2015” (P11)*. The incident of xenophobic violence also took place in Thohoyandou town in the Vhembe District, Limpopo Province. In February 2015, a Zimbabwean national killed a South African national over an argument over a less amount of money collected from a customer at a car park. Thus, the public took an action over the Zimbabwean immigrant by starting a protest (Mafukata, 2015:34).

“Xenophobic violence took place in 2016, yeah” (P 22).

“In our area, we have never heard of or experienced xenophobia” (P 15).

From the data collected, it is evident that most participants are aware of the acts of xenophobic violence that take place in their areas because they were able to give a period in which xenophobic violence took place. The study found that in the selected study area, xenophobic attacks took place in 2016 where immigrants were accused of murder and their shops were vandalised and looted.

5.3.3.1 Section deductions

In this section, participants mentioned different years in which xenophobic violence took place. Participants mentioned that xenophobic violence took place between 1994, 2015 and 2016. A report by SABC news (2015:np) indicates that xenophobic violence has also erupted in Limpopo Province in 2015. Matika (2016:np) reports that on June 2016, xenophobic violence erupted in Giyani. This study's findings show that xenophobic violence does not always takes place in the area unlike in most areas around Gauteng. For example, in Gauteng, xenophobic violence happens almost five times a year.

5.3.4 Theme 4: Factors that lead to xenophobic violence

The aim of this section is to present participants' views on the causal factors that contribute to xenophobic violence. Participants were asked to respond to the question that aimed to determine the residents' views about the causal factors that contribute to xenophobic violence.

They mentioned many factors that contribute to xenophobic violence. Participants said that the threats posed by immigrants are the main reason for the violence. They indicated that competition over scarce resources such as accepting low wages, job competition, business competition and service delivery, crime and the media play a major role on the occurrence of xenophobic violence. This coincides with Khalo (2012:37) who indicates that socio-economic factors such as unemployment and lack of housing are some of the factors spreading xenophobic hostilities among South African citizens towards immigrants. This is in line with Mudzanani (2016:339) who postulates that the socio-economic challenges that are confronting South Africa are the main cause of xenophobia.

Table 5: Factors that lead to xenophobic violence

Research question	Participants	Sub-themes	Responses
What are factors that lead to xenophobic violence?	Participant 2 & 17 Participant 3, 11 & 14 Participant 16, 18 & 19	Competition over scarce resources <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Poor service delivery • Unemployment rate and stealing of jobs • Business competition 	8 quotes
	Participant 4, 5, 12, 14, 20 & 22	High rate of crimes	6 quotes
	Participant 10, 15 & 21	The role of media	3 quotes
	Participant 6 & 7	Witchcraft	2 quotes

5.3.4.1 Sub theme 1: Competition over scarce resources

The findings of this study reveal that some of the participants think that competition over scarce resources is the major factor that leads to xenophobic violence. These findings are in line with Dassah's (2015:135) research that found that poor Black South Africans perceive Black immigrants as competitors for scarce jobs, housing and other resources. In their view, resources include service delivery. Scapegoating Theory asserts that xenophobic violence takes place because of competition over scarce resources. South African residents compete with immigrants over scarce resources and as a result, due to the scarcity of these resources, they become frustrated and direct their frustration on immigrants (Duncan, 2011:106). The following verbatim quotations illustrate the participants' responses on competition over scarce resources as a factor that leads to xenophobic violence:

- **Poor service delivery**

Few participants are of the view that unfair distribution of services has a major impact to xenophobic attacks. As one participant puts it *"Poor service delivery is one of the causes. Many foreigners get fair service deliveries while some of the South Africans are getting nothing"* (P 2). Another participant added *"xenophobia is caused by a lack or completion of service delivery projects. You find that foreigners have access to services that were meant for South African citizens so such things make citizens to be angry and start a chaos"* (P 17).

South Africans are threatened by the presence of immigrants in their townships because they do not want to share services with them. Poor or lack of service delivery by government results in frustration for residents and they put the blame to immigrants. If the government fails to deliver a specific service, citizens become frustrated and direct their frustration straight on the immigrants. For example, with housing, most foreign nationals are renting RDP houses in certain townships and the locals think immigrants are the owners. From that false perception, locals attack immigrants. Theoretically, the theory of Relative Deprivation proposes that people experience negative emotions when they feel as though they are treated relatively poorly for illegitimate reasons (Glick, 2002).

This is supported by Mhlana (2018:np) who postulates that the country's spreading inequality levels and poor service delivery in poor communities have been identified as some of the leading underlying causes of xenophobic outbreaks in South Africa. Moreover, frustrated citizens become furious and start to put the blame on the wrong people. Instead of approaching their local governments, they divert their frustration to foreign nationals. This concurs with the Scapegoating theory which is the process through which frustration and aggression are directed at a group that is not the causal agent of the frustration (Davis, 2010:13). Immigrants become the targets of xenophobic attacks because they are accused of stealing what belongs to the locals. The frustrated locals attack foreigners and leave people who are responsible for their demands.

- **Unemployment rate and stealing of jobs**

Some participants mentioned competition over jobs as a factor that triggers xenophobic violence. This is supported by Mothibi *et al.* (2015:157) who state that one of the most repeated reasons given for xenophobic aggression in South Africa is that African immigrants are perceived as stealing jobs meant for South African citizens. Some other few participants perceive accepting of low wages by immigrants as another factor that triggers xenophobic violence, this is in line with the study by Segal *et al.* (2010:368), who state that South Africans claim that employers prefer to hire immigrants because they can settle for low wages *"When immigrants are here, they take our jobs, because they do not mind even if they work for five cents, so we South Africans know money, that is why you find that there are conflicts"* (P 3).

The citation above concurs with the statement by the Secretary-General of the new political party, African Basic Movement Party (ABMP), who said that *"South Africans are sitting with qualifications while foreigners are taking all the jobs because they accept very low wages"* (Bingwa, 2018:2).

"I think eh, maybe is because of job scarcity, ehh when South African citizens see jobs as being scarce, they attack immigrants and claim that they are the ones taking their jobs, so they think that if they attack immigrants and chase them away, there will be more jobs" (P 11).

“South Africans are afraid to lose their jobs as well as businesses to foreigners. Foreigners take over positions that were meant for South African citizens in the corporation world; hence by their presence unemployment is very high” (P 14).

- **Business competition**

Some participants perceive business competition to be a causal factor of xenophobic violence; this is supported by Mamabolo (2015:143), who claims that foreign nationals’ business acumen appears to have presented a threat to local businesses with their competitive market prices.

“Actually, it begins with crimes in between; they are many; according to my understanding and what I have heard, business competition is one of the causes”. “You find that some South Africans have business operation somewhere and a foreigner has a business in the same place, so you find that a foreigner has many customers and South Africans have less, they do not get profit so such things might cause a havoc” (P 16). Another participant added *“Business competition, you find that a foreigner has many customers than a local business so they end up fighting” (P 18).*

“Business competition is one of the causes. You find that some of South Africans have business operation somewhere and a foreigner has a business in the same place and they end up fighting for customers” (P 19).

Moreover, South Africa residents are threatened by the presence of foreign owned shops in many townships. Most customers go to foreign owned business because they know they will find merchandise at lower prices. The above statement corresponds with Mamabolo (2015:144) who states that South Africans claim that immigrants sell their goods for low amounts, which make the customers to buy from them more regularly.

5.3.4.2 Sub theme 2: High rates of crime

The high rates of crimes are said to be worsened by the large number of immigrants that are in the country. The findings of this study reveal that majority of the participants perceive crime as a major factor that causes xenophobic violence in their area.

Some immigrants are accused of bringing drugs, while others are accused of encouraging prostitution. This statement concurs with Mohamed (2011:84) who states that Nelson Mandela Bay residents claim that immigrants are worsening crime and criminal activities such as drug dealing, prostitution and corruption. Moreover, a report by City Press news indicates that violence broke out in Pretoria West in February, where the residents looted and set the homes of immigrants on fire, claiming that those buildings are used to facilitate prostitution and to trade in illegal drugs (Swanepoel, 2017:np) *“The reason why residents attack immigrants is that some of the immigrants come here with bad intentions such as crimes, some sell drugs to minors” (P 12)*. This statement above is supported by the statement of the Secretary-General of the African Basic Movement Party (ABMP), Thembelani Ngumbane who claims that foreign nationals are responsible for high rates of crime in South Africa. The above mentioned Secretary-General further states that Johannesburg Central Business District (CBD) is full of foreign nationals who are distributing drugs for free because they are on a mission to destroy the youth (Bingwa, 2018:np). From the statements above, it is evident that immigrants are mostly attacked just because they are perceived to be dangerous criminals.

Furthermore, one participant added *“Foreigners are criminals and very dangerous ones. Those people came here for criminal purposes that are the reason why they are being chased away. Those people sell off drugs to young people and they also own buildings that are used for prostitution activities” (P 22)*. Some participants added *“there is a high rate of crimes in our country and when we look at the perpetrators they are foreigners. Those people are perpetrators of different crimes. South Africans become angry and attack them, because they cannot tolerate to be destroyed by people who originated from other countries (P 20)*.

“Mozambicans are thieves. In our community there is a high rate of electric cable theft and foreigners are responsible for this. They cut cables around the community with business related purposes. They make pots using those cables” (P 4).

“The reason why South Africans attack people from outside the country is because some of them are here for bad intentions. They come and stay here and become more comfortable and start to disrespect the nationals as well as stealing properties that belong to South Africans” (P 5).

People have different perceptions when it comes to this, some are against criminals, dodgy deals and murder that are committed by strangers or foreigners (P 14).

This concurs with IOLNews (2008:np) report that foreign nationals were attacked in Alexandra after they were accused of crime and stealing jobs from the locals. Immigrants are perceived as the perpetrators of criminal activities that take place in the country. Landau (2007:72) claims that the influx of immigrants is said to have an effect on the high rates of crime, as well as on safety and security. Arguably, immigrants are being accused of crimes that they have not committed, but the fact that they are immigrants makes them criminals. Most immigrants come to South Africa for educational or work purposes, but that does not seem that way in the eyes of the South Africa's residents. Every immigrant who comes to South Africa is regarded as a criminal regardless of the aim of such person's visit.

5.3.4.3 Sub theme 3: The role of the media

The way in which South Africa's media broadcasts news about immigrants is said to have an influence in the occurrence of xenophobic violence. Few participants believed that xenophobic violence is caused by the media broadcasting. This is supported by Tella (2016:11) who claims that the media fuels xenophobic sentiments by portraying immigrants in a negative way *"The way in which media broadcast news about and portray immigrants has an influence to the community. You find that they sometimes publish a photo of immigrants in a very unpleasant way which frustrates citizens of South Africa. These media also use antagonistic words to refer to immigrants"* (P 10).

Two participants added *"Sometimes our media influences act of xenophobic attacks; they sometimes report wrong information that leads to violence. The media, more especially print media, use provoking words such as illegal residents to refer to foreigners and obvious this angers the community"* (P15).

"I think media is one of the things that cause xenophobia. The way in which media portrays people from outside the country encourage South African citizens to attack them" (P 21).

From the study findings, it is evident that South Africa's media broadcast contributes to the hatred sentiments towards immigrants.

The way in which media portrays immigrants sends a wrong message that encourages locals to attack immigrants. Media reports immigration of foreigners to the country in a provoking way that angers South African citizens. Print media exaggerates the arrival of foreigners in the country by negatively portraying them. These reports exacerbate citizens' frustration and feel uncomfortable with the presence of foreigners in the country. The use of words such as job stealers, criminals as well as illegals also has the influence on xenophobic attacks. This concurs with Crush (2008:np) who states that the media has certainly been complicit in encouraging xenophobic attitudes among the population. Media should refrain from creating a perception that criminal activities in South Africa are committed by African foreigners only. Crime should be reported without mentioning the nationality of the person who committed it (Rasila & Musitha, 2016:8).

5.3.4.4 Sub theme 4: Immigrants are accused of witchcraft

Some immigrants are being accused of witchcraft. South Africans believe that some foreign nationals are responsible for evil things *“People from Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Malawi, and some other countries know dangerous Sangomas and they come here to kill us. Those people are witches, is there any person who can sleep at the bush?” (P 6)*. Another participant says *“The reason why we attack foreigners is because they are evil. Indian people use thunder to attack us here. I also heard that they use their magic to stop rain so that we can support their businesses in large numbers by buying maize meal. If there is no rain, it means we cannot harvest maize to make our own maize meal” (P 7)*.

The study findings show that South Africans accuse immigrants of malevolent doings. Thus, these people accuse foreigners without a valid proof. They believe that people from African countries consult to powerful *“sangomas”* when they want to destroy a person. Immigrants from India are also accused of stopping the rain from raining. They also mentioned that Indians specialise with thunders which they use to attack those who owe them.

5.3.4.5 Section deductions

The study findings indicate that there are plenty of factors that can lead to xenophobic violence. From the study findings, it is evident that competition over resources is the main factor that triggers xenophobic attacks in most areas.

Factors include employment, foreign owned businesses as well as service delivery. South African citizens are reluctant to compete for jobs with foreign nations as it has been said that immigrants work for any wage, high or low (Dassah, 2015:135). However, companies opt to hire immigrants because they know that they will accept any amount which leaves most South Africans unemployed. Theoretically, Scapegoating Theory states that immigrants are used as scapegoats for social and economic crises that are experienced by people. On the other hand, citizens blame immigrants for their social and economic crisis they are facing. In the contrary, in the study by Kinge (2016:24), one participant stated that the main cause of xenophobic violence in South Africa is unemployment rate. The participant further states that South Africans are just lazy to work and end up blaming immigrants for their own failure. Participants indicated that business competition between foreign nationals and South African nationals is very high.

Participants also indicated that the shortage of services also exacerbate xenophobic attacks. The lack of service delivery as a cause is supported by the study by Centre for Human Rights. The study found that South African participants feel that the government has not done what they promised to provide for the basic socio-economic needs of the poorer group of South African society (Centre for Human Rights, 2009:41). In the above mentioned study, participants feel that it angers locals when they see non-nationals accessing the services, while locals are not assisted (Centre for Human Rights, 2009:41). The role of media, high rates of crimes as well as the accusations of witchcraft towards immigrants are also said to be the factors that lead to xenophobic violence.

Most immigrants, more especially African immigrants are accused of criminal activities that occur in most South Africa's areas. Furthermore, the way in which the South African media broadcast news about immigrants is also said to have an effect. Crush (2001:16) postulates that the South African media is said to be playing a role in the worsening of xenophobia. Lastly, most immigrants are accused of witchcraft. Mozambicans, Zimbabweans and Indians are the most victims of witchcraft accusations. The study findings indicate that there are plenty of factors that can lead to xenophobic violence.

5.3.5 THEME 5: EFFECTS OF XENOPHOBIC VIOLENCE

Participants were asked to respond to the question aimed to assess the residents' awareness on the collateral effects of xenophobic violence in South Africa. They mentioned many effects that xenophobic violence has to the country. Below are the effects that were shared by the participants:

Table 6: Effects of xenophobic violence

Research questions	Participants	Sub-themes	Responses
What are the effects of xenophobic violence?	Participant 9, 15 & 16	Death and injuries	3 quotes
	Participant 14, 20 & 21	Loss of investments and decrease in economic growth	3 quotes
	Participant 10 & 22	Poverty	2 quotes
	Participant 11	Loss of properties	1 quote
	Participant 7, 12 & 14	Reputation of the country	2 quotes
	Participant 8 & 9	Arrests and imprisonment	2 quotes

5.3.5.1 Sub-theme 1: Death and Injuries

Many participants are of the opinion that xenophobic violence is more likely to cause death and injuries to citizens and immigrants. Most participants said that in most cases, xenophobic violence causes horrible injuries and deaths *“Consequences of xenophobia include deaths, people get injured, and some lose their properties. It also leaves the hatred between countries”* (P 15). Many people get injured, some die in the scene of the attacks. Neocosmos (2010:120) claims that during the 2008 event, many people who have been killed were reported to be South Africans.

One participant puts it *“Mm what I think is that people end up losing their lives, killing of foreigners and locals occur during these attacks” (P 16)*. Another participant supports by saying *“No, there is no other thing than killing one another. The person you attack might target and kill one person between you” (P9)*. Both immigrants and people of the host country lose their lives during xenophobic attacks. Some of the citizens are killed after they have been mistakenly identified as immigrants. These findings are in line with Mohamed (2011:29) who mentions that among the 62 people killed in the 2008 nationwide violence; 27 were identified as South Africans. The statement above indicates that the acts of xenophobic violence cause death in the country. People lose their loved ones, while some lose bread winners

5.3.5.2 Sub-theme 2: Loss of investments and decrease in economic growth

The acts of xenophobic violence are said to be downgrading the country’s economy in many ways. Some of the participants think that xenophobic violence has negative impacts towards the country’s investments and economic growth. They said those acts scare away some potential investors who are supposed to help in growing the economy. This is supported by Ilesanmi (2008) who postulates that economically, the violence is weakening South Africa’s rand as investors back away from the currency with the fear that the xenophobic attacks could hurt the economy and lose their investments *“Xenophobia send bad image of this country around the world. South African businesses that have partnership with other businesses from outside the country will lose their investments” (P 14)*.

Some other participants added *“xenophobia is not a good solution that South Africans can engage in to solve problems; it has negative effects to the country as a whole. Firstly, it destroys South African investments which lead to deterioration of economic growth (P 20)*. *“Xenophobia scares away some potential tourists and investors which make the South African economic growth to go down” (P 21)*. The statement above is in line with the study by Oloyede (2008:117) which found that xenophobia threatens tourists visiting South Africa and threatens the jobs of workers in the tourism industry. Participants believe that xenophobic violence downgrades the economic growth. Potential investors become scared to be in partnership with South African businesses as they are afraid to lose their investments. Moreover, tourists who often visit the country become reluctant to visit South Africa because they feel they might become the victim of xenophobic attacks.

A study by HSRC (2018:np) postulates that xenophobic violence ruins the country's international relationships on the African continent. It further states that relations between South Africa and Nigeria have been weakened because of the acts of xenophobic violence.

5.3.5.3 Sub-theme 3: Xenophobic violence increases poverty

Some participants thought that xenophobic violence has an impact on the high rates of poverty. They believed that xenophobic actions bring poverty in the country because many people depend on immigrants. Participants indicated that when South African born nationals chase away immigrants, some citizens will be left unemployed which can lead to poverty. This study's findings agree with Oyelana (2016:286) who claims that foreign investments bring about empowerment to South African citizens and as a result, there would be more job opportunities to accommodate a large number of unemployed local citizens. Hence, if the potential business owners go back to their countries, people will be left with no jobs and that will increase the rate of poverty. The following verbatim quotations illustrate the participants' responses on poverty as impacts that xenophobic violence has to the country: *"Xenophobic violence leaves people in poverty because many of South Africans depend on businesses that are owned by foreigners. For example, some of South Africa's citizens work for immigrants"* (P 10).

"Xenophobic attacks leave some people in poverty because some of the South African citizens are employed by foreigners, so if we chase them away, those people will be left with no jobs" (P 22).

5.3.5.4 Sub-theme 4: Loss of properties

Some participants believe that xenophobic violence results in property loss, buildings get vandalised and burnt down by the perpetrators of xenophobic violence. The following verbatim quotations illustrate the participants' responses on poverty as an impact that xenophobic violence has to the country:

"Eh infrastructure gets damaged because of those attacks, so the country has to start fixing those damages from the scratch. The damaging of properties actually turns to an extent where properties are being damaged such as government properties" (P 11).

The study found that during the xenophobic violence, many people lose their properties. Government infrastructures and homes of some citizens get damaged during the acts of xenophobic attacks. Shops owned by foreigners get damaged during the attacks. This is supported by McConnell (2009:35) who postulates that businesses owned by foreigners were destroyed, amounting to over R1.5 billion in damages.

5.3.5.5 Sub-theme 5: Reputation of the country

The acts of xenophobic violence are said to be ruining the country's reputation around the world. Residents indicated that xenophobic violence damage the reputation of the country because when people from other countries receive a message about the incident, they might start to disparage the country. Participants also indicated that xenophobic violence sends a bad image of the country around the world. The following verbatim quotations illustrate the participants' responses on reputation as an impact that xenophobic violence has to the country:

"Eish, xenophobia creates a bad image for our country" (P 7).

"When immigrants are being chased away from the country, it creates a bad image about the country, other countries will not welcome these acts which will prevent them from visiting" (P 12).

"Xenophobia send bad image of this country around the world. South African businesses that have partnership with other businesses from outside the country will lose their investments" (P 14).

According to the findings of this study, South Africa is currently seen as a bad country which is intolerant towards people from other countries. This is in line with the study by Buthelezi (2009:np) which asserts that acts of xenophobic attacks tarnish the society and the image of the country which attracts negative publicity. The acts of xenophobic violence put South Africa in the state of being careless towards others. Any group of mob that triggers xenophobic attacks paints the entire country as being xenophobic even though some of residents are not xenophobic.

5.3.5.6 Sub-theme 6: Arrests and imprisonment

Some of the South Africa's citizens end up being arrested because they engage themselves in the acts of xenophobic violence. Two participants said that xenophobic violence results in imprisonment of some citizens *"I can say that xenophobia can result in arrest and imprisonment of perpetrators because if they attack a foreigner, police can intervene and arrest them"* (P 19).

One participant added *"It affects us, it leaves most of South Africans with criminal records, you find that when we attack an immigrant, we attack him to an extent where we kill him then we get arrested"* (P 8).

In supporting the statement above, the IOLNews (2008:np) reports that *"six people have been arrested in Thokoza on the East Rand as xenophobic attacks on foreigners continued to spread"*. The data shows that xenophobic violence has negative effect such as arrests on citizens who engage themselves on the acts. The study indicates that those who involve themselves in xenophobic attacks against foreign nationals end up in prison.

5.3.5.7 Section deductions

Death and injuries, loss of investments and decrease of economic growth, poverty, loss of properties, reputation of the country as well as arrests and imprisonment are mentioned as the effects of xenophobic violence. Participants mentioned that most people got injured while others lose their lives or their beloved family members during acts of xenophobic violence. The above statement concurs with the literature on study by Kinge (2016:26), the study found that xenophobic violence has negative effects on the lives of foreigners because most of them lose their lives on the scene and some get injured.

The participant on the study further states that South Africans search for foreign nationals and kill them because they think they are responsible for South Africa's difficulty. Moreover, they have indicated that xenophobic violence has negative effects in the economic growth. The above statement supports the study of Kinge (2016:26), one participant in that study stated that xenophobic attacks taking place in South Africa create situations where immigrants lose hope for visiting the country and this will affect South Africa's political affairs and economic liberation.

It was said that acts of xenophobic attacks scare away potential investors and tourists. Chaone *et al.* (2011:169) support this by postulating that surplus finance by foreign borrowing which shows a pleasant relationship among different citizens and governments of African countries and the world as a whole could also be lost as a result of xenophobic incidents. Participants also mentioned poverty as an effect of the scourge. Most South African citizens work for Indian people in others to support their families, so if these Indians are chased away some locals are left with no jobs which exacerbate poverty rates. Furthermore, the study findings indicate that most people lose their properties during xenophobic attacks. For example, shops owned by Indians get looted and government's infrastructures get vandalised. In addition, xenophobic violence also sends a bad image to the international countries. Participants mentioned that people get arrested during xenophobic attacks which also results in imprisonment. According to the study findings, it is evident that xenophobic violence has bad effects on immigrants as well as to the country as a whole.

5.3.6 THEME 6: MEASURES TO CURB XENOPHOBIC VIOLENCE

Participants were asked to respond to the question that aimed at recommending actionable intervention measures intended to minimise xenophobic violence against immigrants. They mentioned several measures that can be used to minimise xenophobic violence. From data collected, participants recommended that the South African government should intervene in various ways.

Table 7: Measures to curb xenophobic violence

Research questions	Participants	Sub-themes	Responses
What are measures that can be used to end xenophobic violence?	Participant 3, 12, 19, 20 & 21	Government intervention <input type="checkbox"/> Awareness campaigns	5 responses
	Participant 1, 2, 4, 5 & 7	<input type="checkbox"/> Arrests and deportation	5 responses
	Participant 8	<input type="checkbox"/> Issuing of permits	1 response
	Participant 14	<input type="checkbox"/> Tighten security measures at border gates	1 response
	Participant 17	<input type="checkbox"/> Improve service delivery	1 response
	Participant 13, 16 & 22	Campaigns by community members	3 responses

5.3.6.1 Sub-theme 1: Government interventions

Many participants are of the opinion that if the government can play its part, the incidents of xenophobic violence can decrease. Some recommended that community members should do awareness campaigns. Participants recommend awareness campaigns by the government and its officials as a measure that can help in reducing xenophobic violence. Furthermore, the government should promote awareness campaigns that will teach people about xenophobic violence and its effects on the community *“There should be campaigns whereby people can be taught of xenophobia and its effects” (P 3)*. Kang’ethe and Wotshela (2016:163) state that the government should establish campaigns to educate families about xenophobia and xenophobic dynamics. The above-mentioned scholars suggest that the department of social development during their home visits should also educate people about xenophobia (Kang’ethe & Wotshela, 2016:163).

Some participants added *“The government must intervene and take an action, like doing awareness campaigns which will teach people about xenophobic violence and its effects as well as the benefits of having immigrants in the country” (P12).*

“I think what can be done to reduce this kind of things is when people get informed or taught about the importance of togetherness. Awareness should be done whereby people more especially youth can be taught and reminded that foreigners are also human beings they have a right to live just like other people” (P 19).

“I think the South African government should do awareness campaigns whereby people can be taught about xenophobia and its negative impacts, as far as I know, many people engage themselves to xenophobic activities just because a friend is engaged” (P 20).

“Government should arrange for awareness campaigns whereby people can be taught of effects that xenophobia has on the country as a whole” (P 21).

Tshabalala and Roelofse (2018:150) support the above illustrations by recommending that there should be anti-xenophobic campaigns across the country where people will be taught about the effects of xenophobia and how they should interact with people from other countries. In addition, some of the participants recommended that the government should bring immigrants back to their homes of origin. They believe that deportation of immigrants back to their country of origin will help to eliminate xenophobic attacks in South Africa. They believe that if immigrants go back to their country there will not be any form of xenophobic violence in the future *“We can eliminate xenophobic violence in this way, the government must intervene; more especially to people that you find that they are here without permits to make sure that they go back to their countries of origin. And they should make sure that they tighten security at boarder gates, if a person is found without a permit, that particular person should be sent to jail for the rest of his life” (P 1).*

Participants 2, 5 & 7 added *“They should be sent back home and the rand is decreasing because they take South Africa’s money when they go home” (P 2).*

“They must be brought back home more especially the undocumented ones; I think that will calm the South Africans citizens” (P 5).

“We should make an agreement as South Africa’s citizens that when we find foreigners in our areas we chase them away” (P 7).

Participants are of the opinion that undocumented immigrants are the most dangerous criminals who commit crimes knowing that it will not be easy to trace them. This is in line with the literature by Simelane (1999:4) and Landau (2007:72) who postulate that illegal immigrants are believed to be encouraging antisocial behaviour as well as criminal activities. South Africans believe that if these people go back to their country of origins, xenophobic attacks will be eliminated because their presence triggers the acts. The Gauteng government initiated the campaign which is called “Operation *Fiel*” to get rid of undocumented immigrants in their province. Gauteng Community Safety MEC, Sizakhele Nkosi-Malobane, says that the province has decided to re-launch the campaign to deal with the influx of undocumented immigrants. She further says *“Undocumented individuals, we are actually going to make sure that we get rid of undocumented individuals in this province, whether by arresting and sending them home”* (Tsotetsi, 2018:np).

According to the study by Ngomane (2010:61), the police participants claimed that illegal immigrants should be handled in a tough way, for example, they should be arrested to discourage them from coming back to South Africa. As a participant puts it *“Those who kill people during xenophobic attacks should be arrested” (P 4)*. Some have recommended that the government should issue identity documents and permits to immigrants to become legal residents so that they can be known when they try to commit some sorts of crimes *“Eh if it was possible, the Department of Home Affairs would issue permits so that when they commit a certain crime can be known like us. So those people commit crimes knowing that they cannot be found” (P 8)*. Participants claim that foreign nationals should be given permits so that it can be easy for police to trace them after they committed certain crimes.

One participant suggested that there should be increases in service delivery so that South African born citizens can stop blaming immigrants for everything that goes wrong in the country. As a participant puts it *“The government should increase their services to its people, it should ensure that every citizen gets a fully service delivery” (P 17)*. Participants believe that if the government can improve service delivery, the rate of xenophobic violence can also go down in the country.

They claim that when the services to people is poor, people get more frustrated and attack the wrong people who are not responsible for providing such services. A participant suggested that the government should increase security at the border gates *“They should increase security to the border gates where they should not let everyone come to our country” (P 14)*. This statement corresponds with the study by SAMP 1998 that South African government should put more effort into monitoring such as increasing border patrols (Crush, 2008:13). Moreover, two participants proposed that the government should arrest the perpetrators of xenophobic violence.

From the study findings, South African citizens suggest various government interventions to be established. Residents believe that if the government intervenes to curb the scourge, there will never be xenophobic violence again in the country. Improvement on service delivery, improvement of services by the Department of Home Affairs, monitoring of border gates as well as awareness campaigns have been recommended. A study by Tshabalala and Roelofse (2018:150) suggest that the government should establish a policy which will reduce the growing occurrences of xenophobic perceptions in the mass media.

5.3.6.2 Sub-theme 2: Campaigns by community members

Participants suggest that the South Africa’s community can work together to alleviate xenophobic attacks. They recommend that campaigns by community members should be established where people can be taught of importance of having immigrants in the country, effects of xenophobic violence on victims as well as dangers of engaging in xenophobic attacks *“According to me, people who are at higher positions everywhere, any person who is a chairperson wherever he is, it might be at government offices, church or in the community should encourage his people to have love towards people from other countries. They should be the ones who make people understand that we will live together regardless of one’s nationality. If the ones with higher positions are the ones who start the hatred it will spread until it reaches the ones with lower positions. So they must teach people to tolerate foreigners” (P 16)*. Participants 13 and 22 added *“I think we as residents should group ourselves and do campaigns about xenophobic violence” (P 13)*.

“I think awareness campaigns by community members can help to reduce the scourge” (P 22).

The above illustrations are supported by Oyelana (2016:np) who states that campaigns by members of community are believed to play an important role in reducing xenophobic violence. The afore-mentioned author suggests that all South African community members should contribute by saying “NO” to xenophobic attacks. Moreover, Oyelana (2016:np) suggests that the society should also be ready to take charge to assist and protect their neighbours.

5.3.6.3 Section deductions

Participants mentioned government interventions such as awareness campaigns, arrests and deportation, tightening security measures at border gates as well as issuing of permits to immigrants and campaigns by community members as measures that can help in fighting the acts of xenophobic violence. They have indicated that the government should come up with something that can control acts of xenophobic violence. They recommended that government should make awareness campaigns whereby South Africans will be taught of xenophobic violence and its effects as well as the benefits of having foreign nations in the country. Study by Kang'ethe and Wotshela (2016:163) recommends that *“the department of Social Department should undertake family-based campaigns to address xenophobia as they conduct their routine programmes”*. The government must introduce public awareness to simplify and correct perceptions about immigrants stealing jobs and the number of foreign nationals residing in South Africa, as the number is often exaggerated (Masipa, 2015:671).

5.4. SUMMARY OF THE CHAPTER

The study comprised of 22 participants (Giyani Residents). The participants' age ranged from 18 to 50. Most participants understand xenophobic violence as violent attacks against immigrants. Xenophobic violence is reported to have frequently taken place between 2015 and 2016. With regard to attitudes towards immigrants, most participants have shown to be more tolerant over immigrants even though some seemed to be intolerant. A study by Khalo (2012:88) found that participants' view on how they feel about immigrants differed. The above-mentioned scholar further articulates that some South African citizens do not have problems with immigrants being in the country (Khalo, 2012:88). Several factors were perceived by the participants to be contributing to xenophobic violence.

These factors include competition over scarce resources, high rates of crime and influence from the media. Regarding the effects of xenophobic violence, participants believed that acts of xenophobic violence have negative effects towards the country of the host and its people. The above statement concurs with Mohamed (2011:10) who states that xenophobic violence poses a genuine threat to the lives of immigrants and to the global reliability of South Africa. These effects include death and injuries, loss of investments and the decrease of economic growth, poverty, loss of government properties loss of the country's reputation as well as imprisonment. FinMark Trust (2015:np) claims that the attack on immigrants in South Africa has extensive consequences on the social, political and economic relations with the continent and the rest of the world and is damaging the country's image globally. Most participants recommended that the government and community members should intervene in order to curb the scourge. They recommended that there should be campaigns where people will be taught about xenophobic violence. This statement concurs with Lombard (2015:98) who suggests that the South African government must provide awareness campaigns that will teach locals about the immoralities of xenophobic violence. The next chapter presents the summary, conclusion and recommendations.

CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter draws conclusions based on the research findings and literature review on the perceptions about xenophobic violence in Giyani, Limpopo Province. In this chapter, summary of all major findings of the study, conclusion and recommendations are presented.

6.2 SUMMARY OF THE STUDY

The aim of the study was to **explore Giyani residents' perceptions about xenophobic violence** associated with South African citizens. The study was undertaken in Giyani Municipality in the Mopani District. In this study, a qualitative approach was adopted. Semi-structured face-to-face interviews were used to collect data. Data was collected from Giyani residents, where participants were interviewed in their respective homes. Interviews were not fixed and more questions were asked based on their responses. The aim of adding more questions was to get some enclosed information about the topic. The study sample comprised of 22 participants both males and females. Purposive sampling was used to select participants. The researcher selected participants based on their particular features or characteristics. Thematic Content Analysis (TCA) was used to analyse and interpret the collected data. Findings of the study are explained and also supported by literature review and the theoretical framework.

6.2.1 SUMMARY OF THE MAIN FINDINGS

This chapter presents the findings and discussion. The first objective was to ascertain the mind set of residents toward immigrants. This objective was achieved by discussing attitudes of South Africans towards foreigners. The study found that most participants are more tolerant towards immigrants. Participants indicated not to have a problem when foreigners migrate to their country because they are also here for better living. They further stipulated that they must just embrace foreigners since they are all Africans.

The second objective of the study was to determine the residents' views about the causal factors that contribute to xenophobic violence. This section was achieved by describing factors that causes xenophobic violence in South Africa. The results of this study reveal that factors such as competition over scarce resources, high crime rates, and media broadcasting are the causes of xenophobic violence. Immigrants are accused of worsening crime rates in the country. Competition over scarce resource has been mentioned to be the core cause of xenophobic attacks taking place around the country. Pillay (2017:8) states that competition for scarce resources is the root causes of xenophobic attacks in South Africa.

Looking at the theoretical implication of the study, Scapegoating Theory argue that xenophobic violence takes place because the locals compete for resources with foreigners and as a result, they feel frustrated and direct their frustrations at foreigners. Moreover, media broadcasting has been reported to be somehow exacerbating xenophobic sentiments by South African citizens towards foreign nationals. The above statement is in line with the study by Tella (2016:11) that found that the media fuels xenophobic sentiments by portraying immigrants in a negative way. Looking at the theoretical implication of the study, the third objective of this research was to assess the residents' awareness on the collateral effect of xenophobic violence in South Africa. The objective was achieved through describing and discussing effects xenophobia has on people as well as the country as whole.

The study found that xenophobic violence has negative impact on the country as a whole and to the victims. Similarly, Mohamed (2011:30) claims that xenophobic violence affects the entire country, for example, it scares away potential investors which result in the decreasing of economic growth. Moreover, Ilesanmi (2008:297) postulates that xenophobic attacks and other violence against immigrants in South Africa have major negative impacts on the lives of the immigrants and livelihoods of their families. Participants indicated that effects such as death and injuries, decreasing of economic growth and investments, poverty, loss of properties, country's reputation and arrests of some citizens are the negative impacts that xenophobic violence pose to the country. The last objective of this study was to recommend actionable intervention measures intended to minimise xenophobic violence against immigrants. The research achieved this objective by discussing measures that can be used to minimise xenophobic violence.

Measures include the following: Government interventions and campaigns by community members. The study found that the government and its officials should take an action in order to eradicate xenophobic violence. It was also indicated that community members must work together to prevent future xenophobic attacks.

6.2.2 CONCLUSION

The aim of this study which was to explore Giyani residents' perceptions about xenophobic violence associated with South African citizens was achieved. The results of this study are consistent with the study of residents' perceptions about xenophobic violence by Mohamed (2011:np). From the results of this study, it can be concluded that immigrants more especially African immigrants become victims of xenophobic violence because they are perceived as bad people who came to the country to destroy lives of South African citizens. According to this study, participants are of the opinion that competitions over scarce resources and high crime rates are core factors that lead to xenophobic violence. This is an indication that the above-mentioned factors are the core factors of the scourge.

Xenophobic violence is said to be having negative effects on both immigrants and local citizens as well as to the country as a whole. People lose their lives, their loved ones as well as properties. Most buildings are vandalised, while foreign owned shops are burnt down. In addition, the country as a whole loses foreign investments as well as its reputation. The above findings make it clear that the government should intervene and fight the issue of xenophobic violence throughout the country.

6.2.3 RECOMMENDATIONS

The recommendations of this study are based on the findings of the study and the literature review. The researcher suggests the following recommendations: government should ensure that perpetrators of xenophobic violence are arrested to discourage future acts of the attacks. If no action by the SAPS is taken, people will continue with violent attacks against immigrants. Public education and awareness campaigns should be made available, whereby government officials teach people about the effects of xenophobic violence as well as the importance of immigrants' availability in the country. Furthermore, there should be development of the number of police and prosecutors that have been trained to investigate and take legal action on cases of xenophobia.

Most South African citizens believe that all immigrants came to their country illegally and are also here to compete with them. However, the citizens should be made aware that not all foreign nationals are here for what they think, but some are here to benefit the country as well. That can be done through public awareness campaigns. Moreover, most communities have programmes such as Community Police Forum (CPF). CPF should also come with strategies that can be used to monitor and prevent acts of xenophobic violence in their communities. In addition, more studies on the perceptions of residents about xenophobic violence should be done in order to find more perspectives of xenophobic violence from citizens.

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ANNEXURE A: CONSENT LETTER

DEAR PARTICIPANT

An exploratory study on the perceptions about xenophobic violence in Giyani, Limpopo Province.

My name is **Ntwanano Goodness Shiviti**, Master of Arts in Criminology student at the University of Limpopo. I am carrying out this research towards completion of my dissertation, titled; **“An exploratory study on the perceptions about xenophobic violence in Giyani, Limpopo Province”**. I am requesting you to participate in this study.


For your participation in the study, please note the following:

- There are no wrong answers, all answers are correct.
- Your participation is voluntary; you are allowed to withdraw from the study without penalties at any time if you do not wish to continue.
- The information that you will provide will be treated as confidential and your name will not be recorded anywhere.

Thanking you in anticipation for your co-operation.

Yours sincerely

Shiviti N.G



(201209358)

ANNEXURE B: CONSENT FORM

I, the undersigned, confirm that (please tick box as appropriate):

1.	I have read and understood the information about the project, as provided in the Information Sheet dated _____.	<input type="checkbox"/>
2.	I have been given the opportunity to ask questions about the project and my participation.	<input type="checkbox"/>
3.	I voluntarily agree to participate in the project.	<input type="checkbox"/>
4.	I understand I can withdraw at any time without giving reasons and that I will not be penalised for withdrawing nor will I be questioned on why I have withdrawn.	<input type="checkbox"/>
5.	The procedures regarding confidentiality have been clearly explained (e.g. use of names, pseudonyms, anonymisation of data, etc.) to me.	<input type="checkbox"/>
6.	If applicable, separate terms of consent for interviews, audio, video or other forms of data collection have been explained and provided to me.	<input type="checkbox"/>
7.	The use of the data in research, publications, sharing and archiving has been explained to me.	<input type="checkbox"/>
8.	I understand that other researchers will have access to this data only if they agree to preserve the confidentiality of the data and if they agree to the terms I have specified in this form.	<input type="checkbox"/>
9.	Select only one of the following: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> I would like my name used and understand what I have said or written as part of this study will be used in reports, publications and other research outputs so that anything I have contributed to this project can be recognised. 	<input type="checkbox"/>
		<input type="checkbox"/>

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> I do not want my name used in this project. 	
10.	I, along with the Researcher, agree to sign and date this informed consent form.	<input type="checkbox"/>

Participant:

Name of Participant Signature Date

Researcher:

Name of Researcher Signature Date

ANNEXURE C: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

SECTION A: BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

1. Gender

FEMALE	
MALE	

2. Age

--

SECTION B: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

How would you explain xenophobic violence?

.....
.....
.....

How do you perceive immigrants?

.....
.....
...

When did xenophobic violence take place in your area?

.....
.....
.....

What do you think are the factors that lead to xenophobic violence?

.....

.....
.....

What do you think are the impacts of xenophobic violence in the country?

.....
.....
.....

What do you think can be done to reduce xenophobic violence?

.....
.....
.....

XIYENGENKULU XA D: PAPILA RA MPFUMELELO

EKA VANGHENELERI

“An exploratory study on the perceptions about xenophobic violence in Giyani, Limpopo Province”

Vito ra mina i Ntwanano Goodness Shiviti, muchudeni wa “Master of Arts in Criminology” eyunivhesithi ya Limpopo. Ndzi endla ndzavisiso lowu ku hetisisa dizithexini ya mina leyi yi nga thyiwa; **“An exploratory study on the perceptions about xenophobic violence in Giyani, Limpopo Province”**. Ndzi kombela leswaku mi nghenelela eka ndzavisiso lowu.

Tekelani enhlokweni leswi landzelaka eka ku nghenelela ka nwina eka ndzavisiso lowu:

- Ti nhlamulo hikwato ta amukeriwa
- Ku nghenelela ka nwina i ku tinyiketela; ma pfumeleriwa ku huma loko mitwa mi nga ha ri na ku navela kuya emahlweni ehandla ka nxupulo
- Mahungu la wa mi nga ta ya vulavula ya ta khomiwa ta ni hi xihundla naswona mavito ya nwina aya nga tsariwi

Ndzi khensa ndzi ri karhi ndzi langutele ntirhisano wa nwina

Wa nwina la tshembhekaka.

Shiviti N.G

(201209358)

XIYENGE-NKULU XA E: FOMO YA MPFUMELELO

Ndzi, mbhoni, ndzi pfumelela leswaku (ni kombela mi hlawula bokisi leri ri nga fanela):

1.	Ndzi hlayile ndzi thlela ndzi twisisa mahungu mayelana ni ndzavisiso, ta ni hi leswi nga hlamuseriwa eka xibukwana xa mahungu_____.	<input type="checkbox"/>
2.	Ndzi nyikiwile nkarhi wa ku vutisa hi mayelana na ndzavisiso xikanwe ni ku teka xiave.	<input type="checkbox"/>
3.	Ndza ti nyiketela ku teka xiave eka ndzavisiso lowu	<input type="checkbox"/>
4.	Ndza twisisa lesweku ndzi nga tshika kuva xiphemu xa vulavisis eka nkarhi wunwana ni wunwana, handle ko nyika swivangelo na leswaku ani nge xupuriwi loko no tshika kumbe ku vutisiwa xivangelo xo tshika	<input type="checkbox"/>
5.	Nongonoko mayelana ni xihundla swi hlamuseriwe kahle (xikombiso, ku tirhisiwa ka mavito, mavito yo ka ya ngari ya ntiyiso, xihundla xa hungunyana, ni swinwana)	<input type="checkbox"/>
6.	Loko swi fanerini, milawu yo hambanyisiwa ya mpfumelelo wa nkambela-vutivi, odiyo, vhidiyo kumbe tinxaka tinwana taku hlengeleta hungunyana ndzi hlamuseriwini ndzithlela ndzi nyikiwa.	<input type="checkbox"/>
7.	Ndzi hlamuseriwini ntirho wa hungunyana eka ndzavisiso, ku kumelerisa, ku avelana.	<input type="checkbox"/>
8.	Ndzi twisisa leswaku va lavisisi vanwani va ta va na ndlela eka hungunyana leri tsena loko va pfumela ku va na xihundla xa hungunyana ni loko va pfumelelana ni milawu leyi ni nga yi hlamusela eka fomo leyi	<input type="checkbox"/>
9.	Hlamula xinwe eka leswi swi landzelaka: <input type="checkbox"/> A ndzi ta tsakela leswaku vito ra mina ri tirhisiwa ni leswaku ndza sisa leswi ndzi nga swi vula kumbe ku tsala loko xiave xa dyondzo leyi xa ta tirhisiwa eka ti rhipoto, vuhumelerisi na vulavisisi leswaku hikwaswu	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>

	swi ninga hoxa xiave eka ndzavisiso lowu swi ta lemukiwa <input type="checkbox"/> A ndzi lavi leswaku vito ra mina ri tirhisiwa eka ndzavisiso lowu	
10.	Ndzi, ku longoloka ni mulavisisi, pfumela ku sayina ni siku papilla ra mpfumelelo.	<input type="checkbox"/>

Mungheneleri:

Vito ra mungheneleri

Sayino

Siku

Mulavisisi:

Vito ra mulavisisi

Sayino

Siku

XIYENGENKULU XA F: NONGOLOKO WA NKAMBELO-VUTIVI

XIYENGE XA A: MAHUNGU YA MATIMU YA MUNHU

- Rimbewu

Wansati	
Wanuna	

- Malembe

XIYENGE XA B: SWIVUTISO SWA NHLOKISISO

- Xana unga hlamusela njhani dzolonga ra rivengo eka tinxaka ta matiko mambe?

.....
.....
.....

- Xana u va tekisa kuyini vahlampfa?

.....
.....

- Xana dzolonga ra rivengo eka tinxaka ta matiko mambe ri humelele rini eka ndhawini ya ka nwina?

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

- Xana u ehleketa leswaku hi swihi swivangelo leswi swi endlaka leswaku kuva na

dzolonga ra rivengo eka tinxaka ta matiko mambe?

.....
.....
.....

Xana u ehleketa leswaku hi swihi swita ndzhaku swa dzolonga eka tinxaka ta matiko mambe?

.....
.....
.....

Xana u ehleketa leswaku ku nga endliwa yini ku herisa dzolonga ra rivengo eka tinxaka ta matiko mambe?

.....
.....

ANNEXURE G: ETHICAL CLEARANCE LETTER



University of Limpopo
Department of Research Administration and Development
Private Bag X1106, Sovenga, 0727, South Africa
Tel: (015) 268 4029, Fax: (015) 268 2306, Email: Abdul.Maluleke@ul.ac.za

**TURFLOOP RESEARCH ETHICS
COMMITTEE CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE**

MEETING: 02 November 2017

PROJECT NUMBER: TREC/359/2017: PG

PROJECT:

Title: An exploratory study on the perceptions about xenophobic violence in Giyani, Limpopo Province

Researcher: NG Shiviti

Supervisor: Prof J Barkhuizen

Co-Supervisor: Ms OR Chabalala

School: School of Social Sciences

Degree: Masters in Criminology and Criminal Justice


PROF TAB MASHEGO
CHAIRPERSON: TURFLOOP RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE

The Turfloop Research Ethics Committee (TREC) is registered with the National Health Research Ethics Council, Registration Number: **REC-0310111-031**

Note:

- i) Should any departure be contemplated from the research procedure as approved, the researcher(s) must re-submit the protocol to the committee.
- ii) The budget for the research will be considered separately from the protocol.
PLEASE QUOTE THE PROTOCOL NUMBER IN ALL ENQUIRIES.

ANNEXURE H: LANGUAGE EDITORIAL LETTER



University of Limpopo
Private Bag XI 106, Sovenga,
0727, South Africa Tel: 015 268
2502

Email: valery.mashiane@ul.ac.za

31 January 2020

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

RE: RESEARCH REPORT EDITING

This serves as proof and confirmation that the study entitled: "**An exploratory study on the perceptions about xenophobic violence in Giyani, Limpopo Province**" by Shiviti Ntwanano Goodness, has been edited by me and that unless further changes have been effected after me, I am content that all grammatical and technical errors of this report have been eliminated.

Yours faithfully

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Mashiane', is written over a dotted line.

Mrs M. V. Mashiane
(Editor)

ANNEXURE I: TURN-IT-IN REPORT

Turnitin Originality Report

Processed on: 04-Feb-2020 11:54 SAST
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AN EXPLORATORY STUDY ON THE PERCEPTIONS ABOUT XENOPHOBIC VIOLENCE IN GIYANI, LIMPOPO PROVINCE by NTWANANO GOODNESS SHIVITI (201209358) MASTER OF ARTS in Criminology in the FACULTY OF HUMANITIES School of Social Sciences at the UNIVERSITY OF LIMPOPO SUPERVISOR: Prof J. Barkhuizen CO-SUPERVISOR: Ms O.R. Chabalala DATE: February 2020 DECLARATION I, Ntwanano Goodness Shiviti declare that "An exploratory study on the perceptions about xenophobic violence in Giyani, Limpopo Province" is my original work and that all sources that I have used have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references and that this work has not been submitted before for any other degree at any other institution. Ms Ntwanano Goodness Shiviti Date i DEDICATION I dedicate this work to my daughter (Ntsako) and my mother (Tsakani Rose Shiviti) for their sincere inspiration. ii ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS ? Firstly, I would like to thank the Almighty God who gave me the strength and wisdom throughout my study. ? My sincere gratitude to my supervisor Professor J. Barkhuizen and my co- supervisor Ms O.R. Chabalala for the support, encouragement and guidance they have given me. ? A special thanks to