

**THE ROLE OF SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN AVERTING XENOPHOBIA IN SOUTH
AFRICA**

by

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DECLARATION

I declare that **THE ROLE OF SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN AVERTING XENOPHOBIA IN SOUTH AFRICA** is my own work and that all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

Signature

(W.W. MPOFU CHIMBGA)

Date

DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to those who have lost lives through the acts of xenophobia. May their souls rest in peace and guide those who live to love and cherish one another irrespective of colour, creed, race, language or origin.

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- Above all, I thank the almighty God for keeping me in excellent health throughout the entire academic marathon.

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to investigate the causes and effects of xenophobia in South Africa. The study also aimed at focussing on tracing whether there are any programmes in place to counter xenophobia. The ultimate goal was to establish ways in which secondary schools can play a role in averting xenophobia in the country. The research centred on gathering information through a review of literature, the use of questionnaires and conducting interviews. The literature reviewed highlighted a pattern of xenophobic tendencies since the dawn of independence in South Africa in 1994 which ultimately reached alarming levels in May 2008. Foreigners are accused of 'stealing' jobs and women from locals, committing crimes, accessing government grants, accepting wages below the minimum laid down and enjoying better living standards than many locals. The foreigners' way of life is not acceptable to some South Africans in terms of their language, lifestyles and personalities. Poverty seems to play a big role as most of the xenophobic acts occur in densely populated urban townships and squatter camps. The study did not come across significant efforts either from government or civic organisations aimed at countering xenophobia in South Africa especially in light of the extreme 2008 attacks on foreign nationals.

The questionnaires were administered on 241 South African learners and the interviews were conducted with 15 African foreign learners in South Africa. The information gathered through questionnaires and interviews was summarised and analysed leading to conclusions that mostly corroborated the findings of the literature review. Some of the responses to the questionnaires are worrying as they clearly reveal some xenophobic tendencies whilst some responses to the interview questions recount some disturbing experiences that the participants encountered.

Some of the recommendations made include the introduction of strict measures against name calling in schools, dealing with any xenophobic incidents in schools no matter how small the incident might be and organising regional sporting events together with educational exchange programs such as Mathematics Olympiads with schools from neighbouring countries. It is hoped that the implementation of the suggested recommendations may reduce the occurrence of xenophobia in South Africa.

KEY CONCEPTS

Xenophobia, causes of xenophobia, effects of xenophobia, social justice, and Peace building programmes.

LIST OF TABLES

Table 2.1	International hostility to immigration.....	21
Table 2.2	Crime statistics for 1997.....	37
Table 2.3	Percentage of negative references to migrants and immigration in the media..	46
Table 2.4	Visitors' visa spending during the 2010 Soccer World Cup in South Africa.....	57
Table 4.1	Socially just and socially unjust terminology.....	114
Table 6.1	Total number of participants.....	161
Table 6.2	Number of participants per grade.....	161
Table 6.3	Gender of participants.....	162
Table 6.4	Participants' ages.....	162
Table 6.5	Participants' home language.....	162
Table 6.6	Participants' understanding of the term xenophobia.....	163
Table 6.7	Responses as to whether participants have ever been in contact with people from another African country.....	163
Table 6.8	Number of foreigners in South Africa in the participants' opinion.....	164
Table 6.9	Participants opinions on who commits more crime: foreigners or locals.....	164
Table 6.10	Responses on whether foreigners should be given the same rights as citizens.....	164
Table 6.11	Responses on whether it is fair for foreigners to get government grants.....	165
Table 6.12	Responses on whether South Africa should return the favour it received from fellow African countries that helped to fight Apartheid by allowing their nationalities to come and stay in the country.....	165
Table 6.13	Responses to the issue of whether legal foreigners should have free movement within South Africa.....	166
Table 6.14	Responses to the issue of deporting foreigners.....	167
Table 6.15	Responses on whether participants are aware of foreigners accessing government grants.....	167
Table 6.16	Responses on whether foreigners are responsible for the high rate of unemployment in South Africa.....	168

Table 6.17	Responses to the issue of whether foreigners contribute to the high rate of poverty in South Africa.....	168
Table 6.18	The issue of whether poverty is the main cause of xenophobia.....	169
Table 6.19	Participants' views on what causes of xenophobia.....	169
Table 6.20	Participants' views on the effects of xenophobia.....	170
Table 6.21	Responses as to whether participants would become friends with a person from another country.....	171
Table 6.22	Participants' opinions if they were to be called ' <i>kwerekwere</i> ' when they visit other countries.....	171
Table 6.23	Responses on whether participants support the introduction of African studies.....	172
Table 6.24	Responses on whether participants are interested in exchange programmes with other countries.....	172

LIST OF PHOTOGRAPHS

Picture 1	Police stopping, spread-eagling, strip-searching and questioning suspected foreigners.....	30
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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AIDS	Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
ANC	African National Congress
CBD	Central Business District
COP	Congress of the People
DA	Democratic Alliance
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
DOH	Department Of Health
DHA	Department of Home Affairs
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
HSRC	Human Sciences Research Council
ID	Identity Document
IFP	Inkatha Freedom Party
IOM	International Organisation for Migration
MEC	Member of the Executive Council
MP	Member of Parliament
OAU	Organisation of African Unity
PASSOP	People Against Suffering, Suppression, Oppression, and Poverty
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
RRP	Refuge Rights Project
RSA	Republic of South Africa
SABC	South African Broadcasting Corporation
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SAHRC	South African Human Rights Commission
SAMP	Southern African Migration Project
SAPA	South African Press Association
SAPS	South African Police Service
SAQA	South African Qualifications Authority
SGB	School Governing Board
REQV	Relative Education Qualification Value

NGO	Non Governmental Organisation
UN	United Nations
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UK	United Kingdom
USA	United States of America
WHO	World Health Organisation

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DECLARATION.....	i
DEDICATION.....	ii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	iii
ABSTRACT.....	iv
KEY CONCEPTS.....	v
LIST OF TABLES.....	vi
LIST OF PHOTOGRAPHS.....	viii
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.....	ix
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	xi

CHAPTER 1

Introduction, problem formulation, motivation and aims

1.1	Introduction.....	1
1.2	Motivation for the research.....	8
1.3	Formulating the research problem.....	10
1.4	Aim of the research.....	11
1.5	Research design and methodology.....	11
1.5.1	Literature review.....	12
1.5.2	Empirical investigation.....	12
1.5.2.1	Pilot study.....	13
1.5.2.2	Sampling and selection of participants.....	13
1.5.2.3	Data collection methods.....	14
1.5.2.4	Data analysis.....	14
1.5.2.5	Reliability and validity.....	15
1.5.2.6	Limitations of the study.....	15
1.6	Concept clarification.....	16
1.6.1	Xenophobia.....	16
1.6.2	Xenophobe.....	16

1.6.3	Foreigner.....	16
1.6.4	Immigrant.....	16
1.6.5	Asylum seeker.....	17
1.6.6	Refugee.....	17
1.6.7	Permanent residency.....	17
1.7	Outline of the study.....	17
1.8	Summary.....	18

CHAPTER 2

Causes of xenophobia in South Africa

2.1	Introduction.....	19
2.2	The role of Apartheid in planting xenophobic attitudes in people's minds.....	22
2.3	Methods of classifying individuals as foreigners or locals.....	26
2.3.1	Skin colour.....	26
2.3.2	Language.....	27
2.3.3	Dress code.....	30
2.3.4	Hairstyles.....	30
2.3.5	Walking style.....	31
2.3.6	Lifestyles.....	31
2.4	Causes of xenophobia.....	34
2.4.1	Crime.....	34
2.4.2	'Stealing' jobs.....	38
2.4.3	Accepting below minimum wages.....	43
2.4.4	The media.....	45
2.4.5	'Stealing' women.....	54
2.4.6	Accessing government grants and housing.....	55
2.4.7	Poverty.....	58
2.5	The position of government departments with regards to foreigners.....	60
2.5.1	The Department of Home Affairs.....	61

2.5.2	The South African Police Service.....	73
2.6	Other issues around xenophobia.....	80
2.6.1	The 2010 Soccer World Cup in South Africa.....	81
2.6.2	The attitudes of xenophobes.....	82
2.6.3	Foreign entrepreneurs versus local entrepreneurs.....	83
2.6.4	Communication problems between foreigners and locals.....	85
2.7	Summary.....	85

CHAPTER 3

Effects of xenophobia and peace building programmes

3.1	Introduction.....	87
3.2	The effects of xenophobia.....	88
3.2.1	Violence as the main effect of xenophobia.....	88
3.2.2	Death as a result of xenophobic acts.....	92
3.2.3	Physical effects of xenophobia.....	94
3.2.4	Psychological effects of xenophobia.....	94
3.2.5	Effects of xenophobia on tourism and the economy.....	100
3.3	Programmes launched to cultivate peace building and awareness on xenophobia.....	102
3.4	Conclusion.....	105

CHAPTER 4

Theoretical framework of the study

4.1	Introduction.....	106
4.2	What is social justice?.....	107
4.3	Early proponents of social justice.....	108
4.4	Modern theorists on social justice.....	111
4.5	Pertinent issues concerning social justice.....	113

4.6	South African government policies that relate to issues of social justice.....	116
4.7	Issues of social justice and foreigners in South Africa.....	120
4.8	Links between social justice and xenophobia.....	127
4.9	Conclusion.....	131

CHAPTER 5

Research design and methodology

5.1	Introduction.....	132
5.2	Research design.....	132
5.2.1	Triangulation.....	132
5.2.2	Literature Review.....	133
5.2.3	Empirical investigation.....	134
5.2.4	Pilot study.....	137
5.2.5	Permission.....	139
5.2.6	Research ethics.....	140
5.2.7	Selection of participants.....	141
5.3	Research instruments.....	143
5.3.1	Questionnaires.....	143
5.3.1.1	Administration of questionnaires.....	144
5.3.2	Interviews.....	145
5.3.2.1	Administration of interviews.....	146
5.4	Data analysis.....	147
5.5	Reliability and validity.....	147
5.6	Limitations of the study.....	150
5.7	Summary.....	151

CHAPTER 6

Presentation and discussion of findings

6.1	Introduction.....	152
6.2	Findings from the literature review.....	152
6.2.1	The role of Apartheid in planting xenophobic attitudes in people's minds.....	153
6.2.2	Crime.....	153
6.2.3	'Stealing' jobs.....	154
6.2.4	Accepting below minimum wages.....	154
6.2.5	The media.....	155
6.2.6	'Stealing' women.....	155
6.2.7	Accessing government handouts.....	155
6.2.8	Poverty.....	156
6.2.9	The position of government departments with regards to foreigners.....	157
6.3	Effects of xenophobia.....	157
6.4	Peace building programmes.....	158
6.5	The theoretical framework.....	158
6.6	Findings derived from the empirical investigation.....	160
6.6.1	Overview of the questionnaire responses gained from South African learners.....	160
6.6.1.1	Section A: Geographical information.....	161
6.6.1.2	Section B: General issues around xenophobia.....	163
6.6.1.3	Section C: Participants' attitudes towards foreigners.....	164
6.6.1.4	Section D: Causes of xenophobia.....	168
6.6.1.5	Section E: The effects of xenophobia according to participants.....	170
6.6.1.6	Section F: Education for tolerance issues.....	171
6.6.2	Overview of the interviews conducted with immigrant learners.....	173
6.6.2.1	Section A: Geographical information.....	174
6.6.2.2	Section B: General concerns relating to xenophobia.....	175
6.6.2.3	Section C: Issues of whether participants have encountered xenophobia.....	179

6.6.2.4	Section D: Causes of xenophobia.....	183
6.6.2.5	Section E: Effects of xenophobia.....	183
6.6.2.6	Section F: Education for tolerance.....	184
6.7	Data analysis and interpretation.....	186
6.7.1	Analysis and interpretation of literature review.....	187
6.7.2	Analysis and interpretation of responses to questionnaires for South African learners.....	189
6.7.3	Analysis and interpretation of interviews conducted with foreign learners.....	191
6.7.4	Analysis and interpretation of the theoretical framework.....	194
6.8	Summary.....	196

CHAPTER 7

Conclusions and recommendations

7.1	Introduction.....	198
7.2	Conclusions from the literature study.....	198
7.2.1	Causes of xenophobia.....	199
7.2.2	Jealousy.....	200
7.2.3	Poverty.....	200
7.2.4	Foreigners 'stealing' jobs meant for locals.....	201
7.2.5	Competition for resources.....	201
7.2.6	Foreigners being responsible for the high rate of crime.....	202
7.2.7	Communication problems between locals and foreigners.....	202
7.2.8	The media.....	203
7.2.9	Foreigners' rights.....	203
7.2.10	Effects of xenophobia.....	204
7.3	Conclusions from the theoretical framework.....	204
7.4	Conclusions from the empirical investigation.....	205
7.4.1	Social relationships.....	205
7.4.2	Language issues.....	205

7.4.3	Crime.....	206
7.4.4	Labelling.....	207
7.4.5	Causes of xenophobia.....	207
7.4.6	Grants.....	208
7.4.7	Xenophobia within the school context.....	209
7.4.8	Constructive aspects.....	209
7.5	Conclusion of the whole study.....	210
7.6	Recommendations.....	210
7.6.1	General recommendations for curbing xenophobia.....	211
7.6.1.1	Recommendations for inclusion of television and radio programmes from other African countries.....	211
7.6.1.2	Recommendations on more positive reporting about foreigners.....	211
7.6.1.3	Recommendations on building more RDP houses.....	212
7.6.1.4	Recommendations on laws discriminating against foreigners being revisited.....	212
7.6.2	Recommendations meant for schools to curb xenophobia.....	212
7.6.2.1	Recommendations of placing strict rules in place to deal with name calling in schools.....	212
7.6.2.2	Recommendations on putting in place ways of dealing with xenophobic incidents no matter how small they may be.....	213
7.6.2.3	Recommendations on organising learners' exchange programs with neighbouring countries.....	213
7.6.2.4	Recommendations about organising regional schools sporting events need to be considered.....	213
7.6.2.5	Recommendations for education for tolerance to form a major part of the curriculum.....	214
7.6.2.6	Recommendations on more emphasises on multicultural education.....	214
7.6.2.7	Recommendations on more diverse cultural days in schools.....	214
7.6.2.8	Recommendations on inclusion of foreigners' specific curriculum needs to be considered.....	214
7.6.2.9	Recommendations on bringing motivational speakers from other African Countries.....	215

7.6.2.10	Recommendations on mathematics Olympiads regionally.....	215
7.6.2.11	Recommendations on more studies of African history and geography.....	215
7.7	Concluding remarks.....	216
References.....		217
Appendix 1	Research request form for official approval to conduct research.....	233
Appendix 2	Approval letter from the Department of Education Head Office to conduct the research within schools.....	245
Appendix 3	Declaration by supervisor/promoter/lecturer.....	247
Appendix 4	Declaration by the language editor.....	248
Appendix 5	Questionnaire for South African learners.....	249
Appendix 6	Interview schedule for foreign learners.....	254
Appendix 7	An example of interview notes with one learner participant.....	256

CHAPTER 1

Introduction, problem formulation, motivation and aims

1.1 Introduction

In May 2008 something very unusual happened in South Africa that left many people with a lot more questions than answers as to how it all started and what exactly were the motives behind such unreasonable acts. The acts were later to be referred to as xenophobia. In essence, the xenophobia was brutal attacks mainly on foreigners from other African countries and their property. The Encarta World English Dictionary (North American Edition 2008) defines xenophobia as, 'Fear of foreigners: an intense fear or dislike of foreign people, their customs and culture, or foreign things.' Manser and Turton (2000:482) explain that, the word xenophobia comes from two Greek words, that is, *xenos* meaning stranger and *phobia* meaning fear. The Daily Sun (2010:46) state that: "If a person has fear of something, it means they are very scared of that thing." The paper goes on to explain that phobia is a fear so strong that it can stop a person from living their life normally.

Although there have always been xenophobic attacks in South Africa, the above mentioned attacks lasted for almost a month, that is, from 11-28 May 2008 to be specific, and had sixty-two confirmed casualties. One incident that will forever be remembered by the whole world about xenophobia in South Africa is that of a Mozambican immigrant, Ernesto Alfabeto Nhamuave. Nhamuave, was a 35-year-old father of three, and was set on fire in the middle of a street and burnt to death in Reiger Park in Johannesburg on May 18, 2008, in front of a large cheering crowd. The incident was beamed live on satellite around the whole world to the horror of many.

The then President of the Republic of South Africa, Thabo Mbeki, had the following to say about the xenophobic attacks, "Today we are faced with a disgrace, a humiliation as a nation in that we have allowed a handful of people to commit crimes against other Africans living in our country." Mbeki was quoted in the Mail and Guardian (23 May 2008) on a visit to a mission school in the Eastern Cape. This means that in the highest echelons of government, xenophobia was considered to be very unfavourable.

According to Hassim, Kupe and Worby (2008:6), the perpetrators of the violence explicitly targeted *amakwerekwere*, people regarded as foreigners in the derogatory sense of being intruders in South Africa. Hassim *et al* (2008:79) explain that, darker skin is believed to betray foreign African origins which invite persecution by some local black South Africans who perceive being light skinned as a mark of authentic South African citizenship. They (Hassim *et al* 2008:7) explain that, the poor locals made scapegoats of foreign blacks as a way of venting their anger about failing to meaningfully enjoy the fruits of the freedom that South Africa secured in 1994. Hassim *et al* (2008:7) also point out that, the post-Apartheid state (government) has been unable to provide even basic entitlement of safety, health and the right to secure the means of life for South Africans. People feel abandoned by the state and thrown back onto their own resources for survival, whereby they are forced to dwell in a shack, without any prospect of regular employment.

Gelb in (Hassim *et al* 2008) notes that, the residents in the areas where xenophobia mainly occurred, pointed out issues including crime, lack of work and lack of housing and basic services in South Africa as some of the reasons that triggered the violence to occur. Mbikwana (2008:22) concurs with Gelb when he comments that, "SA 'men' are attacking other Africans who found a place they could call home. These perpetrators are accusing foreigners of sabotaging their 'beloved country' by stealing the fruits of democracy: jobs, Reconstruction and Development Programme-sic RDP houses and women."

Zondi (2008:27) suggests that three perspectives dominated the public debate that followed the xenophobic attacks. According to Zondi (2008:27), the first perspective solely puts the blame on criminal elements in the community for hijacking people's vulnerabilities to commit crimes against foreign nationals. Zondi (2008:27) suggests that the second perspective surmises that, these attacks were not spontaneous, but were orchestrated by *agent provocateurs* with clear political motives, principally to discredit the African National Congress (ANC) and its government. The third perspective according to Zondi (2008:27) which is believed to be the most popular view is that, xenophobia has been developing in South Africa over a period of years, and that it is intensified by poorly managed immigration policy. For the three perspectives Zondi (2008:28) however notes that, each of them

contains an element of truth but is inadequate on their own to explain this complex issue satisfactorily and a more comprehensive perspective needs to be built.

What the turn of events in South Africa seem to be proving is the fact that, xenophobia is there to stay especially with the recent developments in 2010, which point to the fact that some South Africans have xenophobic tendencies deeply rooted in their minds. As the excitement was building up in South Africa to host the first ever Soccer World Cup on African soil in 2010, so were tensions also rising as foreigners were being warned about imminent xenophobic attacks soon after the soccer showpiece. There were several media reports about the eminent attacks on foreigners after the Soccer World Cup.

A letter was penned threatening the expulsion of all African foreigners in Samora Machel informal settlement in Cape Town (The Cape Times 2010). The authors of the letter claim that, "Our area is dirty because the *kwiri-kwiris* (another form of *amakwerekwere*, the derogatory term for Africans from outside South Africa) are taking our jobs. On March 21 we'll take up our rights and ask that they leave." According to the same report, Samora Machel happens to be one of the areas in Cape Town badly affected by the outbreak of xenophobic violence during the 2008 attacks. The irony of the matter is that apparently that area (Samora Machel) was named in honour of one of the continent's greatest statesmen (a Mozambican) which suggests that there must therefore indeed be some camaraderie amongst all Africans.

Masombuka, Hweshe and Majavu (2010:10) report that, a 47-year old Mozambican who runs a spaza shop in Mamelodi East near Pretoria, said he would not wait to see if the threats were acted on, as he says he was attacked in the 2008 attacks and knew how it felt to be attacked for nothing other than your nationality. The 47-year old Mozambican went on to mention that people were boasting about how they were going to kill foreigners and rape their wives once the final whistle was blown. The 47-year old Mozambican's sentiments were echoed in the same report by a Somali national Mohammed Osman, who said he was attacked and his shop looted in April 2010, so he was taking the threats seriously and wanted to leave rather than die in a foreign country.

A good deal of negative sentiment has been expressed about South Africa's foreigners. As an example, it was reported that the locals in De Doorns in the Western Cape did not want to hear anything about integrating with the foreigners that were displaced during the 2008 attacks (Lewis 2010). In that report, a so called Pastor who was on his way from church told the Cape Argus that, "We will braai them and turn them into KFC (Kentucky Fried Chicken—sic) if they come back." The same article quotes other residents accusing Zimbabweans of being dirty and practising witchcraft.

Whoever thought the negative sentiments to be just that and no more was rudely awakened when the attacks started on the 9th of July 2010 when a Somali owned shop was ransacked in Khayelitsha near Cape Town by residents as reported by Majavu and Nyelenzi (2010:12). Elsewhere, Germaner (2010:14) reported that a meeting that was meant to unite residents of Ramaphosa informal settlement 30km from Johannesburg city centre turned ugly when some locals voiced their hatred of foreigners. One man received some rousing cheering from the thousand strong audience when he shouted into the microphone that, "Why should I suffer in my country? They should all leave and f*** off". It was reported in The Times (13 July 2010) that the madness was back and was worse as attacks flared up in Cape Town.

At the time of writing this account, that is, between 2009 and 2012, the xenophobic attacks were a daily feature in several forms of media, that is from daily newspapers, weekly papers, magazines and the radio and television just to mention a few. The Secretary General of the Gauteng Civic Association Themba Ncalo in a report by Masombuka, Hweshe and Majavu (2010:10) said that xenophobic attacks would not stop until the government sorted out service delivery challenges.

Eiseev (in Hassim *et al* 2008:31) comments that, during the 2008 attacks, the attackers were a fearless, faceless mob accusing their victims of stealing their jobs and went from door to door sniffing out the foreigners. The perception that foreigners take or 'steal' jobs away from the locals seems to be the most repeated sentiment in many discussions on xenophobia and was also repeated almost in every news broadcasted in connection to the attacks. The only lacking link to this idea is that there are no elaborations as to how

foreigners 'steal' jobs from the locals as the country's current labour laws seem to insulate the locals from foreigners trying to 'steal' what rightfully belongs to them.

An example of how citizens or locals are fully protected from foreigners stealing their jobs in the education sector is the Department of Education Circular 42 (2009:12) section 3.3.2, which states that all educators who have worked for three months in a vacant substantive post must be absorbed and become permanent. The same section clearly states that this absorption excludes foreign nationals from being absorbed even if they have also been appointed in a substantive post for a period of more than three months. This therefore means the foreigners may occupy posts on temporary basis meaning that their contracts can be terminated at any time to give way for the locals if the post is advertised as locals always have first preference for a job as long as they have the pre-requisite requirements for the post.

Another example of how citizens or locals are fully protected from foreigners 'stealing' their jobs in the education sector is the DOE Circular 24.2007 under Section 5.6. which explicitly state that, non-South African citizens cannot be appointed as marking officials or continuous assessment moderators for the senior certificate examinations and in bold letters it states that, any such marker who is inadvertently appointed will not be remunerated. This makes such jobs exclusive to South Africans.

Steinberg (2008:7) goes on to note that according to a study by the Centre for Development and Enterprise, many foreigners are what development economists call survivalists, working long and difficult hours to earn a wage equivalent to that of an unskilled labourer. In addition to working very hard and for long hours, the same study also noted that, in Johannesburg alone, foreign nationals employ 100 000 South Africans.

McConnell (2008:34) contends that the poor response by government and the lack of welcoming immigration policies have reinforced public perceptions as revealed by a study by the South African Migration Project (SAMP) in 2006 that, South African nationals are "particularly intolerant of non-nationals, and especially African non-nationals." McConnell (2008:34) further explains that, the recent history of South Africa's xenophobia can be

traced to the transition from Apartheid to a democratic government whereby the freedom felt within South Africa came with the ideology that the country must be protected from 'outsiders'.

The Human Rights Commission supports SAMP's assumption that government's slow response to take action about the attacks led independent observers to conclude that government had decided that the matters would sort themselves out without state intervention. According to a Human Rights Commission report released in March 2010, government inertia contributed to the May 2008 xenophobic attacks (Mail and Guardian May 2010). The commission notes in the report that the government, from the police to the presidency, responded too slowly to the attacks and did not have adequate plans to deal with them. In a related angle to the slowness of government to react to the xenophobic attacks, Mail and Guardian (May 2008) notes in its timetable of what transpired that, the then President, Thabo Mbeki, spoke out for the first time to condemn xenophobic attacks only on the 19th of May 2008. That was nine days after the start of the attacks.

The then President would also fly out of the country in between the attacks, that is, to Maputo on the 14th of May 2008 and to Tanzania on the 21st of May 2008 as noted in the Mail and Guardian (2008). Such trips led people like Mbikwana (2008:22) to comment that, "Everybody asks: where is our President when we need him? Overseas? We need him here to stop these barbaric activities."

The above-mentioned report notes that the targeting of non-nationals is not a new phenomenon in post-Apartheid South Africa and the government should have learnt from past incidents. The Department Home Affairs (DHA) said the displacements of 2008 were merely the climax of a social problem that had existed for the past fourteen years in its submission to the investigation carried out by the South African Human Rights Commission. At the release of the report, the South African Human Rights Commission chairperson, Lawrence Mushwana (Mail and Guardian 2008) deplored the country's culture of violence and noted that, "Despite our formal transition to equality and democracy, violence is often still viewed as a legitimate means of resolving issues."

Zondi (2008:27) asks the following question, “How could it be then that these people who had lived for such a long time among the local black population, can suddenly become victims of such rage and violence as seen in places like Alexandra, Atteridgeville and Diepsloot in May 2008?” This question arises from Zondi’s assertion that, in spite of the politicisation of ethnicity under Apartheid, displays of hostility towards black immigrants from neighbouring countries were limited and these immigrants were readily assimilated into the local population. Whatever the reasons given or assumed for the ethnic violence, it was universally condemned by civil society, business and government who all joined forces to help the displaced survivors of the orgy of violence.

A disquieting fact of the xenophobic violence is that, most of the perpetrators were young people including those of school going age usually living in poor and crowded settlements on the outskirts of towns and expressing dissatisfaction with their living conditions, for which they blamed foreigners. They decried unemployment, poverty and neglect whilst blaming foreigners for the deterioration of their circumstances.

In light of the above it becomes necessary to focus on how the youth can be assisted to gain a different perspective so that their vigour can be spent in more useful ways.

Although a lot of studies, workshops, seminars and lectures have been done on xenophobia, it seems most of them do not go an extra mile of outlining possible ways of ensuring that, such heinous acts are not repeated again ever or how best to try to improve the relationship between South Africans and the many foreigners that live amongst them. It is therefore seen essential to dig deeper and try to establish ways in which educational institutions can be used to inculcate a new culture of oneness as opposed to that of Apartheid. It is very apparent that, educational institutions were some of the vehicles that were used to further Apartheid and hence the author’s strong conviction that, the reverse effect can also be furthered through them (educational institutions).

1.2 Motivation for the research

As someone who is involved in many ways with the youth, the author was greatly disturbed to learn that, most of the violence of May 2008 was perpetrated by the youth as earlier on pointed out. A statement by the then Deputy Minister of Police, Fikile Mbalula (Mbalula 2010) was noted with particular concern by the author when he pointed out that, “We are fully aware that in most cases these acts of criminality are led by criminals and aided by and abetted by locals, particularly the young people who enjoy the looting and pillaging of foreigners’ businesses.” On raising the matter with young people, it appeared that they had not the least qualms about it and narrated some of the atrocities with unbridled savage glee. The callous brutality exhibited by young people convinced the author that something had to be done about it, particularly given the author’s day to day interaction with the youth both at work and at church.

The study under review attests the author’s concern in this regard and a desire to bring about constructive change so as to redirect young people’s mindset into constructive pathways by bringing to the attention of the youth how evil such attacks are and try to show them that they will definitely not enjoy it if they were to encounter such violence in their lives. The conviction formed in the author’s mind was strengthened by the following statement of the Institute of Development Research and Policy (2008:1) after the attacks, “In contrast to the degree of xenophobia in the country there is a deficit of South African xenophobia research and, in particular, empirical cause analyses are virtually non-existent. There is hardly a study that refers to sociological or social-psychological prejudice theories to explain xenophobia. Most of the publications available are without any theoretical foundation and if they use quantitative methods, they restrict themselves to univariate, or at the very most to bi-variate statistical analyses.”

The author also drew inspiration from an article by Mona (2009) titled ‘Changing people’s mindset a first step to tackling SA poverty’, in which she expresses the conviction that poverty of the mind is the crucible of all other types of poverty. She points out that people who look up to relatives and government for assistance should not be reliant on such

assistance continuously being there but to be enabled to see things differently to influence a possible mind set shift about how they think. It is indeed one of the envisaged outcomes of this research whereby it will assist the youth to refocus their perspective of the country's foreigners and focus their energies on being self-reliant rather than seeing the foreigners as a major source of their misery.

The author drew further encouragement from a Human Rights Commission workshop on Racism and Xenophobia on the 15th of October 1998 which concluded that, "Fighting xenophobia is not an easy task. It is a huge complex problem with manifold dimensions. But it is not an intractable problem. Indeed, it can be rolled back and vanquished from the society. However, it is going to be a protracted struggle, which requires energy and drive, and above all, the sustained efforts of all democratic South Africans. It will require a concerted and co-ordinated effort linking all actors, ranging from governmental and non-governmental organizations, labour, the business community, the media as well as affected communities, and the refugees themselves."

As an educator the author naturally considers educational intervention as an essential way of dealing with this matter. On the same note, the comment of the Herald (15 November 2006) also states that, "In the shorter term, perhaps the only solution (to xenophobia) lies with education and inculcating in learners at school the principles of a culture of human rights. This will allow them to see refugees not as enemies but as fellow Africans who they must join hands to build a brighter and more prosperous future for all people of this continent."

The author believes there are strong links between the pre-independence status quo and such acts as xenophobia. Steps were taken by the government of South Africa soon after gaining independence in 1994 from Apartheid rule aimed at revamping the country's education system, which points to the assumption that, things were not ideal for a sovereign state. This thesis will attempt to outline aspects of Apartheid with special reference to the field of education that are presumably linked to having planted the seeds of segregation in people, which are deeply entrenched in some individuals. A number of

reforms have been implemented to the curriculum in South Africa, and this thesis seeks to trace those reforms and highlight areas that can still be improved on.

1.3 Formulating the research problem

From the 11th to the 28th of May 2008, in South Africa, there were horrible attacks that were aimed mainly at people of foreign origins. The attacks were later linked to xenophobia, which is a great dislike of foreign people, their customs and culture. Various sections of the South African society including government officials and the then President condemned the xenophobic attacks. Around seventy people lost their lives, a large number suffered grievous bodily injuries, shops and shacks were looted, thousands were displaced and ended up at community halls, police stations and temporary shelters and a very large number of foreigners who had settled in South Africa for varying periods fled in terror across the borders.

In light of the xenophobic attacks of 11-28 May 2008, this research seeks to address the following question:

What should be the role of secondary schools be in averting xenophobia in South Africa?

In an effort to address the above-mentioned problem, the following sub-problems have been formulated:

- What are the causes of xenophobic attacks?
- What are the effects of xenophobic attacks?
- What are the recent theories and practices regarding education for tolerance?
- What can be done in secondary schools around the eastern suburbs of Johannesburg to instil a culture of tolerance in South Africa?
- What can secondary schools do towards averting xenophobic attacks in South Africa?

1.4 Aim of the research

The major aim of this research is to investigate the role secondary schools can play to avert xenophobic attacks in South Africa. The main objectives of the research are:

- To establish the causes of xenophobia.
- To outline the effects of xenophobic attacks.
- To establish the recent theories and practices regarding education for tolerance.
- To develop guidelines on what can be done in secondary schools in the eastern suburbs of Johannesburg to instil a culture of tolerance in South Africa.
- To determine and propose measures that secondary schools can implement as deterrents that may avert xenophobic attacks in South Africa.

1.5 Research design and methodology

According to Ary, Cheser, Jacobs, Razavieh and Razavieh (2002:17), educational research is the application of a scientific approach to educational problems. They (Ary *et al* 2002:17) explain further that, educational research is a means to gain dependable and useful information about the education process that educators use towards solving problems. The ultimate goal would be to gain insight into an issue they don't understand and to discover general principles or interpretations of behaviour that people can use to explain, predict and control events in educational situations.

The theme at issue, namely, the role that secondary schools can play with a view to averting xenophobia in South African schools, will be researched by means of a literature review and an empirical investigation.

1.5.1 Literature review

Gay, Mills, and Airasian (2006:39) explain that, a review of relevant literature involves the systematic identification, location and analysis of documents containing information related to the research problem. As a prospective researcher sifts through such literature, the extent to which the intended topic has been covered will become clear, thus reducing the risk of overlap with existing coverage. Gay *et al* (2006:39) note that the literature review reveals what has been done and what needs to be done. Literature can be sourced from primary and secondary sources that include books, journal articles, magazines, completed research reports, reviews, newspaper articles and electronic media.

1.5.2 Empirical investigation

Ary *et al* (2002:22) divide research into two broad categories or paradigms: qualitative and quantitative research each with its own terminology, methods and techniques. Broadly speaking, a qualitative researcher focuses on exploration or theory generation using qualitative data whereas a quantitative researcher focuses on testing hypothesis using quantitative data such as standardised tests as explained by Johnson and Christensen (2004:18). More insight on qualitative and quantitative research methods will be outlined in chapter 5, but now, it is necessary to mention that, this study used a mixed method approach by using the quantitative non-experimental survey method of employing questionnaires to collect data and qualitative data collection through interviews.

According to Gay *et al* (2006:11), a survey research determines and reports the way things are through the collection of numerical data to test the hypothesis or answer questions about the current status of the subject of the study. Gay *et al* (2006:11) also explain that, survey research involves assessing the preference, attitudes, practices, concerns, or interests of some group of people. In the present instance, as noted, a questionnaire and interviews were used respectively to determine the attitudes, concerns and interests of participants in the study with regards to African foreigners living among South Africans. The questionnaires were administered to South African learners at five secondary schools to the

east of Johannesburg where xenophobic attacks had been most intense. The interviews were carried out with fifteen foreign learners at three different schools also located on the eastern suburbs of Johannesburg.

1.5.2.1 Pilot study

According to Gilbert (2001:2), “A pilot study is a pretesting or ‘trying out’ of a particular research instrument.” Trial runs of the questionnaire and the interview schedule were done with selected participants at the workplace of the researcher in an effort to establish their validity in terms of appropriateness and usefulness as tools of data gathering. Opinions of the participants were also solicited in terms of what could be added, removed, edited or improved on both the questionnaire for South African learners and the interview schedule for foreign learners. The piloting of the questionnaires and interview schedules was carried out with trusted individuals so that if there were any offensive issues in light of the sensitive nature of the topic of the study, they could be removed before the final run of the questionnaires and interviews.

1.5.2.2 Sampling and selection of participants

Ary *et al* (2002:17) defines a population as all members of any well-defined class of people, events or objects whilst Wiesma and Jurs (2005:295) describe a sample as a subset of a population to which the researcher intends to generalise the results. A researcher has a choice of carrying out research by either including the entire population concerned or by selecting a sample from the relevant population so that inferences about that population can be drawn from the sample population’s responses to the questionnaires and the interviews.

Random sampling and stratified random sampling were the methods employed to select participants for this research. Wiesma and Jurs (2005:295) explain that, a random sample means that, all members of the population have some chance of being included in the sample. Wiesma and Jurs (2005:295) also explain that, stratified random sampling takes

place when participants are geographically scattered and stratification is therefore employed so that appropriate proportions come from different areas.

In the first instance stratified random sampling was used to select the schools that the participants were to be drawn from. The areas concerned were the townships of Alexandra, Tembisa and Diepsloot. Random sampling was then conducted at the five selected secondary schools to identify 250 South African learners who were to respond to the questionnaires. Fifteen semi-structured interviews were conducted with fifteen foreign learners identified from three other schools with the assistance of the Life Orientation departments. The researcher intended to recruit three assistants to assist with the challenges encountered in fieldwork such as interpreting of languages.

1.5.2.3 Data collection methods

Research is typically divided into two broad categories: quantitative and qualitative research, with each category having its own methods, techniques and terminology. Johnston and Christensen (2004:30) point out that quantitative research is research that relies primarily on the collection of quantitative data while qualitative research relies on the collection of qualitative information. In the course of the research it became clearer that each of the two categories had its own advantages and disadvantages. Babbie (2004:113) further more mention that a study becomes more vulnerable when a researcher uses only one data collection method, hence the researcher decided to select one method from each of the two categories that would be most advantageous. The aim was to use the two collection methods namely questionnaires and interviews to complement each other in the sense that the results obtained with one method could be validated by the other.

1.5.2.4 Data analysis

The responses from the questionnaires and interviews were interpreted, generalised and summarised in order to make deductions that helped to conclude the research. Ary *et al* (2002:17) note that tables and figures present numbers and statistics more clearly and more concisely than would be possible by presenting the same information in text form. For that

reason, it was prudent to use tables to present and analyse the data and derive conclusions from the analysed data. The interviews were also critically analysed by transcription so that information gained in this way could be compared with that gained by means of the questionnaire and literature study thus enabling conclusions based on data corroborated by various methods used for cross checking purposes.

1.5.2.5 Reliability and validity

Reliability and validity can mean different things at different stages of a research process. Mills (2007) refers to various types of validity. Process validity is concerned with how the study was conducted, that is, whether its methods can be described as dependable and competent. Dialogic validity refers to validation by peer review. Outcome validity is a measure of the extent to which action emerging from the study leads to successful resolution of the problem. Democratic validity can be used to check whether multiple perspectives of all who participated as subjects in the study were accurately represented and finally, catalytic validity which is a measure of the extent to which the study has been a catalyst of action. When it comes to reliability Denscombe (2007:334) mentions that, "A good level of reliability means the research instrument or instruments produces the same data time after time on each occasion that it is used". Various techniques were used as checks and balances to ensure the reliability and validity of the research as outlined in chapter five of this research.

1.5.2.6 Limitations of the study

Whilst efforts were made to deal with any limitations that could have compromised the quality of the study, the researcher feels that a wider geographical landscape can be covered in a similar study to corroborate the findings of this study. This surmise seems justifiable given that the research only covered one district due to limited resources.

1.6 Concept clarification

1.6.1 Xenophobia

Xenophobia is defined as the intense dislike, hatred or fear of others perceived to be strangers (Nyamnjoh 2006:5). As earlier on explained, the etymological roots of the word xenophobia are from two Greek words, that is, *xenos* meaning stranger and *phobia* meaning fear.

1.6.2 Xenophobe

The Pocket Oxford Dictionary (2008:309) defines xenophobes as people who commit xenophobia.

1.6.3 Foreigner

According to Manser and Turton (2000:275) the word foreigner comes from the word foreign which means, from another country or other countries. In the context of this study, foreigner(s) will be used to refer to Africans coming into South Africa from other African countries unless otherwise stated to mean other foreigners from the rest of the world.

1.6.4 Immigrant

According to Manser and Turton (2000:347) an immigrant is a person who has moved out of his country to go and settle in a foreign country. Immigrants can be divided into two categories, that is, illegal and legal immigrants. Illegal immigrants as Harris (2001:20) put forward, are people who are employed or search for employment within a country (besides their native country) without possessing the legal right to do so, engaging in temporary work. Reitzes and Simpkins (in Harris 2001:20) note that, illegal immigrants are increasingly deemed as attractive to potential employers since their unprotected status makes them more exploitable. On the other hand, Harris (2001:21) considers legal immigrants as those who offer “desirable skills” which in turn lead them to obtain legal documents to take up employment in a foreign country. It is worth to note that for the purpose of this study, both legal and illegal immigrants will be referred to as immigrants since the way they are treated

by locals does not take their status into consideration, but simply emanates from the fact that both are not natives of this country.

1.6.5 Asylum seeker

Asylum seeker is a person who from fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion, social group or political opinion, has crossed an international border into a country in which he or she hopes to be granted refugee status (Collins English Dictionary 2009).

1.6.6 Refugee

A refugee is defined as someone who flees his or her home country when having a substantial fear for one's life and safety due to the political situation in one's native country, thus a person seeks refuge and security in a country that is not his or her own native country (Hornby 2000:109).

1.6.7 Permanent residency

The Oxford English Dictionary (2007:1165) states that permanent means, remain to the end and residency as a place of abode, implying that, a person who acquires permanent residency status is someone who is legally allowed to stay indefinitely within a country of which he or she is not a citizen. A person with such status is known as a permanent resident.

1.7 Outline of the study

Chapter 1 is a general overview of xenophobia. It also includes the motivation of the research, formulation of the problem, research design and methodology and clarifies certain concepts used in the study.

Chapter 2 covers the review of literature, which gives an insight into the causes of xenophobia and related matters while aiding understanding required to place the topic within a logical framework.

Chapter 3 outlines the effects of xenophobia and traces whether there are programmes that raise awareness of xenophobia and cultivate peace building.

Chapter 4 puts the research within a theoretical framework, which shed more light on the topic.

Chapter 5 explains in depth the research design and how data were collected, analysed and interpreted.

Chapter 6 presents collected data, together with a discussion and interpretation of the same.

Chapter 7 is a summary of the whole research process and the conclusions arrived at. The chapter also contains some recommendations.

1.8 Summary

This research centres on the causes of xenophobia with a view to determining the role that secondary schools can play towards averting xenophobic attacks in the future. The purpose of the first chapter is to provide a logical framework in which to cast the problem formulated. The specific problem consequently led to the specification of the aims of the study. The research design and methodology are briefly explained as Chapter 5 is entirely dedicated to this subject. The chapter also delineates the thesis as a whole by specifying the content of the various chapters.

CHAPTER 2

Causes of xenophobia in South Africa

2.1 Introduction

This chapter contains a review of literature on xenophobia in South Africa with a view of highlighting its causes, its reach and why it merits consideration as a matter of grave concern. In light of the first aim of this research, which is to establish the causes of xenophobia, the literature review focused on the whole social fabric and not on any specific interest group or context. The main objective was to open the widest possible perspective on the subject of xenophobia in South African society, to consider the effects of this malaise on society and how secondary schools provide remedial assistance. It was the intention of this research to also understand the negative attitudes towards indigenous Africans at a national level before narrowing down to focus on how secondary schools can play a role in averting xenophobia in South Africa.

The rationale behind the investigation into the problem of xenophobia was that, no matter what causes it and no matter how much justification one can try to offer for xenophobic acts and attitudes, it can be morally challenged. Mnyaka (2003) notes that, in light of the African principle of *ubuntu* and Christian moral values position, it can be demonstrated that xenophobia is morally indefensible since it is inhumane, selfish, racist/ethnocentric, discriminatory, and often violent. The Teacher (2008:35) comments in relation to the 2008 xenophobic orgy that, "To any decent South African, this is a sort of a history we are reluctant to revisit because it includes embarrassing and morally reprehensible moments of madness."

The Sowetan (2009) in reference to the 2008 xenophobic attacks states that, "... most South Africans would rather wish away the blight caused by this embarrassing episode." Likewise, Piliso (2008:13) wrote an article titled; 'Attacks mark a 'shameful episode' in SA history' where the attacks were condemned in various sectors of the society. There is evidence of

xenophobic attacks on people of foreign origins in South Africa especially those from other African countries from the onset of democracy in 1994, which therefore makes it a matter of concern that needs solutions before it escalates to levels that are even more deadly than the scenes of 2008. What is more worrying is the fact that from recent researches after the 2008 xenophobic acts, xenophobic attitudes appear to be deep rooted among the South African population especially in the Gauteng Province. Bega (2010:9) notes that, according to the results of a research conducted by the Gauteng City Region Observatory together with Wits University, a disturbingly high percentage of respondents, that is, 70% agreed that foreigners are receiving benefits meant for South Africans. Such a high percentage is considered worrying as the issue does not have proven statistical backing.

As highlighted earlier, this study focused on the role of secondary schools in averting xenophobia, but the literature review searched wider to find as many facts as possible which seem difficult to come by. Particularly elusive are identities and factors initiating the violence. Xenophobia in South Africa seems to have no boundaries as it is basically unleashed against all blacks from other African countries other than South Africa living within South Africa. All the literature reviewed was examined and arranged so as to give the research its theoretical framework, which is based on the assumption that, xenophobia in South Africa has reached an alarming level that requires remedial attention.

Matsinhe (2009:13) says, "South African xenophobia has attracted a number of scholars, activists and journalists alike, all of whom have offered their piece of mind about its occurrence." Most academics, scribes, analysts, politicians, researchers and many people who have taken their time to say something on xenophobia have taken xenophobia as a phenomenon that is deeply entrenched in the general populace of South Africa. Marais (2009) poses two questions, "Why now?" and "Why at all?" Marais (2009) goes on to point out that, although the ferocity and scale of the 2008 xenophobic attacks was new, the sensibilities driving them are familiar and not something new.

Marais (2009) further notes that, xenophobia directed against migrants and refugees from elsewhere in Africa as well as Asia in some cases has been reported since the mid 1990s in surveys, focus group studies and other research. A research project called 'Building on a

World Values Survey on International Migration' conducted by Southern Africa Migration Project (SAMP), revealed that, South Africa held the harshest views on foreigners among the 29 nations surveyed (Philip 2008:4). The results of research to determine whether countries should prohibit foreigners from visiting their territory as shown below, clearly show the sentiments of South Africans about immigrants entering South Africa and compares such sentiments with those measured in other countries in response to the same question.

Hostility to immigrants: Prohibit people from coming at all										
COUNTRY	SA	RUSSIA	G. BRITAIN	ARGENTINA	CHINA	BOTSWANA	USA	MOZAMBIQUE	JAPAN	AUSTRALIA
PERCENT	22%	18%	13%	13%	11%	10%	4%	4%	3%	3%

Source: Sunday Times 25 May 2008

Table 2.1 International hostility to immigration

It is important to note that xenophobia is not spread out evenly across South Africa but is mainly confined to Gauteng (especially Johannesburg) and Cape Town although it has been known to flare up in other parts of the country too.

The 26 major xenophobic incidents recorded during the 2008 attacks occurred in the following area: Diepsloot, Zandspruit, Hillbrow, Johannesburg, Soweto, Katlehong, Thokoza, Germiston, Reiger Park, Primrose, Cleveland, Alexandra, Tembisa, Eastrand, Itreleng, Vereeninging, Vanderbijlpark, Atteridgeville, Mamelodi, Tshwane, Choba, Capetown, Umbilo, Leslie and Secunda. These details were outlined on the incident map for the May 2008 xenophobia attacks in Mail and Guardian (2008). The first eighteen listed areas are in and around Johannesburg, the next four areas are in Tshwane, which is Gauteng again, and the last four are the only incidents outside Gauteng province. In light of the above facts, it becomes apparent that, when discussing issues on xenophobia in South Africa in this research, the main focus would be Gauteng province and at times the city of Cape Town.

The lowest incidence was recorded for the three provinces that share boundaries with South Africa's neighbouring countries namely, the Northern Cape, North West and Limpopo province as shown on the incident map in Mail and Guardian (2008). In light of the fact that South Africa's provinces sharing borders with its neighbouring countries did not experience

any noticeable xenophobia as compared to the other provinces, it becomes apparent that the local population's attitudes towards foreigners become more indifferent further away from the northern border.

2.2 The role of Apartheid in planting xenophobic attitudes in people's minds

Though this study's main concern is xenophobia, there seems to be a strong link between the characteristics of Apartheid and those issues that seem to lead people to be xenophobic. McMahon and Schulman (1999:2) note that white people wanted separation as a means of protecting white identity hence in 1948 the National Party began to implement policies to divide the South African population racially thus raising a newly prominent ethnicity among different ethnic groupings in South Africa which had not been witnessed earlier on. The Population Registration Act of 1950 formalised racial classification which was further emphasised by the Group Areas Act of the same year which was aimed at providing separate living areas for each racial group as each individual was codified by the earlier legislation. McMahon and Schulman (1999:4) noted that the Acts were rigorously enforced.

The segregationist legislations were reinforced by the Bantu Authorities Act of 1951 which was enacted to promote the development of self governing ethnic homelands for black populations whose self-governments were to work in consultation with the white government. In 1953, the Bantu Education Act and The Separate Amenities Act followed in order to create further statutory distance between whites and blacks. Again, these statutes were rigorously enforced with the result that ethnic identities were emphasised as intended.

The above-mentioned Apartheid laws are just but a few of the many laws that really raised the consciousness of ethnic affiliation. The Apartheid conditions built anger in the indigenous African populace that led people to violently oppose the Apartheid government until it was eventually replaced by the democratic government in 1994.

Steinberg (2011) states that the perpetrators of the 2008 xenophobic attacks were asserting command over the city by sifting through its population and classifying it just like what happened during the Apartheid era. Those whose skin colour was too dark, or had a vaccination mark on their arm, or spoke Zulu with an unfamiliar accent failed to pass the test which resulted in homes being set on fire or looted. In relation to the various Apartheid government statutes mentioned above and the way the perpetrators classified the population, Steinberg (2011) asks the following question, “Who else once sifted through the populations of South African cities, classifying its black residents into those who belonged and those who did not? It was, infamously, what Apartheid state did. Indeed, for generations of people, the ordeal of being sifted and categorised and thrown out was the signature experience of being black.” Steinberg (2011) points out that, it is no coincidence that, in 2008, years after Apartheid ended, the people in the mobs were re-enacting Apartheid’s aggression and identifying with the most infamous bully tactics, the city had ever known. It therefore means the Apartheid tactics are now being disguised as xenophobia and unfortunately perpetrated by indigenous Africans versus fellow indigenous Africans who they consider as outsiders in the South Africa that was demarcated by colonial settlers.

In addition to the various laws enacted by the Apartheid government, it (the Apartheid government) also came up with several humiliating ways of classifying coloured people as whites or blacks. According to Ndlovu (2008), the Apartheid era officials used a pencil test in which they ran a pencil through one’s hair and if it slid out that would make you white and if it got stuck, then it made you officially black. In a similar fashion, today some South African mobs are using the same tactics of coming up with the so-called “tests” to establish nationality. In the same report, Ndlovu (2008) mentions that, as attacks on foreigners intensified and spread across Johannesburg, the mobs began pulling people out of queues and forcing them to take “tests” to establish their nationality. Though this perspective of identifying one’s nationality will be revisited later, it is mentioned here to prove how the Apartheid era planted certain philosophies in the general masses of South Africa.

The Teacher (June 2008) blames deficient literacy and poor skills levels in South Africa as a direct result of Apartheid’s under-education for leaving too many South Africans trapped in

abject poverty. This situation the article further opines that, “Not knowing how to escape this plight (of abject poverty), the blame game will always seek out easy targets.” The issue of poverty will further be probed elsewhere in this research.

Akikopari (2001:12) notes that the cruel and generally inhuman treatment usually meted out to suspected illegal African immigrants is in sharp contrast to the tender treatment given to say Europeans and Americans. Akikopari (2001:12) adds that, it seems certain that this is yet another manifestation of the seemingly indelible legacy of the Apartheid system under which the white skin colour was revered and of the persistence of the idea of white supremacy as an ingrained reality in peoples’ minds.

The imprints of the unjust Apartheid era will take a long time to erase from the minds of those who were oppressed for so long as their humanity was stretched to the limits and people were now prepared to face even a blazing gun. The violence that was generated in people by the Apartheid system has indeed been replayed in situations like the xenophobic attacks, which indeed appear to be a defence mechanism by those who feel threatened by outsiders who supposedly want to snatch away the hard-earned freedom from the legitimate beneficiaries. The Apartheid system helped South Africans to recognise each other differently in terms of ethnic grouping. The Apartheid Museum (2006:11) concedes that, the Apartheid government found it necessary to separate people in an unnatural and deliberate way. Solomon (2003:22) also mentions that, “Apartheid SA accorded privileged status to white immigrants and attempted to increase white immigration at the expense of prospective non-white immigrants.”

Livesey (2006:57) states that, Apartheid was based on ideologies of difference and exclusion and those issues such as race and ethnicity dominated policy decisions and actions. She believes that, it seems that the hind sets of exclusion that were created during Apartheid are still strongly contributing to xenophobic attitudes and actions. Livesey (2006:57) also believes that the culture of violence is a legacy of Apartheid as the 1980s decade was one of the most violent periods in the South African history and served as a foundation for the intense violence that has been targeting Africans from elsewhere in the continent. Bordeau (2008:43) shares the same sentiments when she also states that, “Apartheid was

responsible for a great deal of violence, turmoil and political unrest in South Africa for many years.”

The degree of violence sometimes displayed during xenophobic linked attacks can be equated to the violence of the eighties where the masses really displayed some sheer fearless determination against the Apartheid regime brutality advancing directly into blazing guns. In equally vicious acts of hostility The Herald (2006) notes that “Such xenophobia, as witnessed in the attacks on Somalis in both the Western and Eastern Cape and other parts of the country, cannot be allowed. Not only because it is at odds with the constitution, but also and perhaps more importantly, because it resurrects the kind of ethnicity fostered during the Apartheid years whose sole aim was to promote division.”

In conclusion Khadiagala (2008) notes that: “The most dangerous explanation for xenophobia is Apartheid-engineered isolation that persists, irrespective of rhetorical fealty to an African renaissance and other new-fangled ideologies. This is a structural component of the violence that the leadership across the country has yet to confront because there are no quick remedies. The internal isolation of racial and ethnic enclaves is now gradually reproducing itself in a primeval and militaristic onslaught against the new “barbarians” from across Africa.” Khadiagala (2008) further notes that the instinctual isolation that pervades all of South Africa’s races and classes, impeding genuine social amity and reconciliation can be cured by progressive socio-economic policies though it will not be obliterated for the next fifty years or so. In short Khadiagala’s sentiments simply point to the fact that, the imprints of ethnic overtones that were etched into the social fabric by Apartheid will take very conceited efforts to erase.

2.3 Methods of classifying individuals as foreigners or locals

A number of methods have been devised to identify suspected foreigners here in South Africa by the public and some law enforcement agents and will be discussed in this section.

2.3.1 Skin colour

It is widely believed here in South Africa that, a dark skin represents foreignness to this country. The belief that seems to prevail is that, the darker one is, the greater the chances that he or she is not a bona fide South African. This is one of the many methods that seems to be used by police to pick out individuals to randomly demand identity documents from, in public places or when they flag down taxis. It is rather unfortunate that, not all South Africans meet the lightness of the skin colour that one requires in order to meet the presumed bona-fide South African citizen qualities as many bona-fide citizens have suffered terribly after being mistaken for being foreigners.

Many South Africans have died after being mistakenly identified as foreigners because of their skin pigmentation and attacked to death. Nyar (2010) reports that, "Between May 11 and 25 May (2008), 62 people had died in Joburg, Cape Town, Durban and, to a lesser extent, in parts of the Free State and Eastern Cape. A third of the death toll included South Africans who erroneously had been identified as "foreigners" or who had simply been caught up in the maelstrom of violence." Nyamnjoh (2006:51) point out that, "People are arrested for being 'too dark'..." In his xenophobia timeline, Crush (2008:49) notes that, a fifteen-year-old South African boy was picked up by police that attempted to repatriate him to Mozambique, claiming that he was too dark to be South African. In a related issue, a South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC) report in 2000 claims that, as much as 20 percent of the detainees at Lindela deportation centre claimed that they were South Africans.

In light of the above given incidents, it becomes clear that, the complexities surrounding the issue of xenophobia sometimes makes other South Africans to suffer through the unfortunate and unnecessary tactics used to identify non South Africans.

2.3.2 Language

There are significant differences between languages commonly spoken by black South Africans and those spoken by black African foreigners. Attempts by the latter to speak the local languages are easily recognisable, therefore, with the result that they readily become targets of xenophobic aggression. Minaar and Hough (in Matsinhe 2009:14) describe the methods used by the Internal Tracing Units of the South African Police Service to search for foreigners when they mention that: In trying to establish whether a suspect is an illegal 'alien' or not, members of the internal tracing units focus on a number of aspects. One of these is language: accent, the pronouncement of certain words (such as Zulu for 'elbow', or 'buttonhole'). Some are asked what nationality they are and if they reply 'Sud' African this is a dead give-away for a Mozambican, while Malawians tend to pronounce the letter 'r' as 'errow.'

In the same vein, Ndlovu (2008) notes that, in practice that recalls the humiliating 'tests' used by the Apartheid officials to classify coloureds as whites or black, there were reports that South African mobs were using similar techniques to identify foreigners. In the report, Ndlovu (2008) points out that the language test was the main check used to identify foreigners as they were asked to label certain body parts in isiZulu. The parts which are popular with the so called 'examiners' include the elbow and fingers which the 'examiners' feel are the greatest litmus tests that can easily sell out someone whether the person is a citizen or a *mafikizolo* (a Zulu word used to describe someone who has just arrived in the country).

Even though some of the foreigners may have been around for some time to have learnt the local vernacular languages, the human detectors can still go further with their 'tests' to ensure that the 'tests' are full proof as language 'tests' can be followed up with

pronunciation tests. Ndlovu (2008) mentions that people were being ordered to say coke as it is believed that foreigners tend to pronounce the soft drink 'cok' or to say 'short left' a phrase used by people when they want to get off a taxi in which case foreigners are assumed that they always say "shorty left". In a nutshell, this is tantamount to taking the country backwards where the issue of human rights was not an issue at all. Surprisingly during Apartheid, everyone joined hands to fight against outsiders and today it is an African brother against another African brother.

The language tests are a very unfortunate exercise as they sometimes put citizens in a very precarious position when they are caught in the crossfire. Kwinika (2010) reports that Lizzie Baloyi from Giyani in Limpopo who was mistaken for a foreigner reported: "These men are targeting mainly Mozambicans, Malawians and Zimbabweans, but they can't tell the difference between a Shangaan person from Mozambique and one from Limpopo. In another incident, Jabulile Dayton who was born in United States of America to a South African mother who came back in May 2009 to establish a business here and obviously try to get to know her family. Because of her name, type of business (dog parlour business) and the fact that she is only fluent in English and Spanish, she finds it difficult to fit in as people are always trying to prove that she does not belong. Asked if there is something that she has come to loathe about SA, she said, "South Africans eager to prove I'm not from here. They want to place me in a box, or question my name or ethnicity and have an aggressive idea of who I should be, rather than who I am" (City Press 2010). According to the citizenship laws Jabulile is a bona-fide South African because she was born to a South African mother, though born out of the country, which means she must enjoy fully being here but because she does not fit the stereotyped description of a South African, she is made to feel an outsider.

Jabulile Dayton makes an interesting point when asked what infuriates her most about South Africa when she mentions that, "It's not come far enough from Apartheid, and that blacks and whites are still insistent about labelling. Putting people in boxes is a form of censorship, people are not interested in listening to you, they want you to stay in your box and shut up" (City Press 2010). This is unfortunately exactly how most of South Africa's immigrants feel and experience, as there are rarely opportunities for them to be listened to

and this makes them so alienated. Even people like Jabulile who are supposed to be treated just like any other citizen find themselves entangled in the anti-foreigner maze. It is very worrying that despite the efforts by the government and civil society to counter xenophobic violence and the conditions that foster it, the prejudice against foreign migrants remains 'alarmingly prevalent' in Gauteng (Bega 2010).

What is rather very unfortunate is that it is fellow African natives who tend to have an obsession of carrying out such so called foreigner detecting tests on fellow Africans as the 'other' because South Africans of western decent can find it difficult to differentiate between native South African vernacular languages and those from other African countries. Once an individual has failed the language test, in many instances, the horror begins. The next thing is to automatically be treated as a dangerous criminal and be made to either lie down or spread legs and hands on a wall and be searched presumably for weapons and drugs. If nothing is found on the person then the next exercise will then to be interrogated about one's papers as it is presumed most foreigners are here illegally. Even if one proves to be a legal resident, there has been hardly someone who has been offered a sorry for such dehumanising treatment as it is presumed that, in the first place what do you want in South Africa. Some have been so unfortunate to have their hard-earned legal papers torn to pieces and thrown into the dustbin whilst they are led away to the horrific Lindela Detention Centre en-route to their native countries leaving all their hard-earned property behind.

Matsinhe (2009:61), a Mozambican, who conducted a similar study on xenophobia, irately mentions that during his fieldwork in 2007 in South Africa he was stopped three times, spread-eagled, strip-searched and questioned and that in all cases the police did not express appreciation for his cooperation or apologise for the inconvenience and humiliation. Matsinhe's sentiments seem to be depicted in the picture below which shows exactly what he is talking about, that is, blatant inhuman treatment of individuals who are suspected to be not belonging to the country.



Source: Sowetan 14 July 2010

Picture 1 Police stopping, spread-eagling, strip-searching and questioning suspected foreigners

2.3.3 Dress code

The dress codes of some of the foreigners are very distinct and will definitely make them stand out wherever they go. An example is that of some Nigerians and Ethiopians who sometimes wear long robes that are easily identifiable. Matsinhe (2009:14) mentions some traits of those from Lesotho when he states that, "... those from Lesotho tend to wear gumboots, carry walking sticks or wear blankets (in the traditional manner), and also speak slightly different Sesotho." Indeed, it can be easy to identify the foreignness of some individuals as it is very rare to see locals donning such attires mentioned here.

2.3.4 Hairstyles

Though there are so many local hairstyles, it seems the general hairstyle of most South African indigenous men is a clean-shaven head which is normally known as a 'chiskop' while some of the foreigners have wide-ranging hairstyles that they display and are sometimes referred to as being funny by some locals. These hairstyles can also expose foreigners, as they will be easily identified as the 'other'.

2.3.5 Walking style

In one of the extreme cases of xenophobic tendencies, Nyamnjoh (2006:51) mentions that, "People are arrested for walking like a Mozambican" a humiliation which he notes that western progenies are unlikely to suffer, "since it is assumed that illegality is the stock-in-trade of the dark-skinned of the dark continent." He (Nyamnjoh (2006:51)) goes further to reveal that, the darker one is the more accursed by criminality one is perceived to be. A significant number of those arrested are said to be actually bona fide South African citizens. Ntyintyane (2009) comments that, "If you are a foreigner, you are guilty as charged" and that no evidence is required to back any claims.

2.3.6 Lifestyles

It is worthwhile to note that South Africa on its own has eleven official languages which are English, Sepedi, SiSwati, Setswana, Xhosa, Zulu, Ndebele, Tsonga, Afrikaans, Venda and Sesotho. This means that there are also eleven different tribes each with its own unique tradition. The advantage of South Africans is that, the eleven different languages can be grouped into two clusters in terms of the closeness of the various languages as they are very closely related. If you take for example Zulu, Xhosa, SiSwati and Ndebele speakers and group them together, they can easily understand each other. This can also be the case with the Sepedi, Sesotho and Setswana speakers who also can easily converse with one another as these languages are very close to each other. The implication being that if you know one of the languages in a distinct group, you will not have a problem of understanding the rest of the languages in that language group.

The same issue can also be said about the traditional way of the people of South Africa that, because of the links between different language dialects, there is also a lot that different societal groups share in the way they do their things. There are many occasions where South Africans gather and share each other's cultural ways. There are also some very common phrases that are used across board by most South Africans, which help build some form of camaraderie amongst the locals. Foreigners will therefore find it difficult to easily fit into the

ways of living of the locals as experience has proven that, the foreigners have their own totally different ways of talking and doing things. Most of the foreigners have their own languages that are very far away from the local languages, which lead to some locals calling them *Kwerekweres* on the basis that, all they hear is *kwirikwiri*. Foreigners also have their own mannerisms that are easily noticeable by the locals that a particular individual did not grow here in South Africa. Such differences indeed can work against an individual as they form the basis of the stigmatisation.

As earlier on alluded to, some locals have issues with people who are just different irrespective of whether they have done anything wrong to them or not. In sharp contrast to the tendencies shown by some inland and coastal areas of South Africa in May 2008, the situation has proven to be totally different in areas along the northern border, which demarcates South Africa from the countries that seemingly have the largest number of their nationals living in South Africa. As Mukhwa (2009) explains that, as Diepsloot, Alexandra, Ramaphosaville, Khayelitsha (areas with shanty dwellings) and many other slums bled, he realised that his fears for the country's most northern town were misplaced. According to him (Mukwa 2009), "Musina (a town twenty eight kilometres from the Beitbridge border post) lived up to its reputation of being a "home away from home" for thousands of immigrants for over a century."

Mukhwa (2009) explained that immigrants from Malawi, Mozambique, Zambia and Zimbabwe have always formed an integral part of the small town (Musina) and that, the Venda, Pedi, Tsonga and Afrikaner and many other ethnic groupings have formed a cultural mix which has become a successful blend. Mukhwa (2009) further points out that, the current generation of parents in Musina mostly have their roots spread all over the Southern Africa Development Community (SADC) region and no wonder how much the people there cherish their Africaness. Mukwa (2009) adds that, Musina is a relatively peaceful society with low levels of crime, thereby putting paid to the lopsided logic that a foreigner's presence is tantamount to a criminal presence. Positive perceptions of foreigners at Musina seem to outweigh the negative ones by far (Mukhwa 2009). Mukhwa's sentiments tally exactly with those of Captain Sydney Ringane, who was commenting in *The Star* (2010) during the time of the threats against foreigners just after the 2010 Soccer

World Cup in South Africa that, members of the Musina Social Crime Prevention Unit had been visiting communities to spread a message of peace and that during those visits, the general mood in the town had been one of tolerance.

Captain Ringane went further to explain that, the people of Musina are far from being xenophobic as they are used to being integrated with foreigners especially Zimbabweans and Mozambicans. He also mentioned that, most of their local community members are married to foreigners and visit each other from time to time, which is the reason why it was not possible for xenophobia to happen there. These sober minded comments coming from such a well-respected senior member of society shed some light on how people with different levels of contact with foreigners tolerate or not tolerate them. In the same report authored by Musetha, it is explained that, Musina is a city at the Beitbridge border post which is known as the gateway to Africa and has a high number of both documented and undocumented foreigners from Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Zambia, Nigeria, the Democratic Republic of Congo and even Pakistan and India.

In a related issue, Jacob Matikane, an International Organisation for Migration (IOM) official was quoted by Rossouw (2008) as having said, "Zimbabweans could still find refuge in Limpopo, where no xenophobic attacks had been reported." This statement was issued in connection with the pressure that the organization was facing at Beitbridge border post where it assists returning refugees and deportees on the Zimbabwean side of the border post. The case of Musina is proof that people of different African nationalities and different ethnic identities can live together peacefully in the same community provided they have patience to take time to understand each other's ways and find common ground to operate from. This insight can indeed be a springboard on which other researches can explore ways of how South Africans can learn to take time to understand the ways of living of foreigners amongst them and find a common ground to operate from.

2.4 Causes of xenophobia

A number of issues have surfaced in various sources of information which include the print and electronic media as the causes of xenophobia and these issues will be outlined in this section.

2.4.1 Crime

South Africa is awash with literature that suggests that foreigners are criminals or harbour criminal thoughts for that matter. According to Steinberg (2008:21), "The notion that foreigners are both responsible for crime and are parasites on resources that rightfully belong to South Africans cuts deep in South African society." Neocosmos (2010:1) mentions that: "... South Africa has experienced a massive problem of xenophobia since its liberation in 1994, a problem which is particularly shocking given the massive international support for the struggle against Apartheid. The xenophobia is directed overwhelmingly at Africans from all over the continent while some nationalities, e.g. Nigerians and Mozambicans are singled out, particularly in the press, as being associated with illegal activities (drugs and illegal immigration respectively)." Neocosmos (2006:2) explains that migrants who come to the country for political or economic reasons are regularly associated, particularly in the public media with crime and criminal activities and their attempts to secure economic survival are criminalised.

According to Neocosmos (2006:2) the term 'illegal' is often employed in conjunction with 'immigrant' to intensify their dehumanisation. Turner (2000) notes that, "African migrants, perceived by South Africans as responsible for unemployment, disease and crime, are the focus of negative sentiment." The Mail and Guardian (2010) reported that, in the South African parliament, politicians from all parties lashed out at illegal immigrants ... calling them a threat to the reconstruction and development programme (RDP), a drain on South Africa's resources and branding them potential criminals, drug smugglers and murderers. In view of the sentiments aired above, Maharaj (2002) notes that, there has been a tendency to stigmatise immigrants, particularly those from other African countries as criminals, as

people who undermine economic development and take jobs from locals. Majodina (2001) points out that, the deliberate association of refugees and foreigners with crime and the continued use of terms such as “bogus asylum seekers” and “illegal aliens” effectively takes away their legal rights and places them outside the ambit of the rule of law. In the same article, Majodina (2001) further points out that, the impression created that every asylum-seeker is a potential criminal makes it difficult for the average South African to distinguish between who is in this country legally and who is not, and consequently, the difference between a migrant, refugee and asylum-seeker becomes obscured.

In one of the worst xenophobic tendencies, a foreigner was reportedly arrested in Sunnyside suburb of Pretoria by police for nursing criminal intentions. Neocosmos (2006:105) gives the account of the unfortunate man who was so flabbergasted as to how the police could arrest him and his friends based on the grounds of mere suspicion that they nursed criminal intentions. Even when his wife and lawyer presented his passport and other documents to prove that he was here legitimately, he still was refused freedom and had to serve five months for being a possible criminal simply because of his foreign status. His ‘accomplices’ in ‘crime’ were detained for a further five months for simply looking like criminals. The state did not find anything against the three and obviously, there was no compensation for being wrongfully incarcerated for such a long period of time.

Very recently, a thirty eight year old doctor from Nigeria was denied access into an upmarket restaurant in Port Elizabeth as the staff at the cafe are said to have stated that, Nigerians were not welcome in the establishment because they sold drugs. Nombembe (2010) reports that, the doctor who works at Port Elizabeth state hospital, Dr Anderson Anikwa, has permanent residence status and has worked for the Department of Health as a senior doctor since 2007. This unfortunately is not the first time that such a thing has happened as Crush (2008:51) reports that a pub in the same city of Port Elizabeth banned all Nigerians from entering its premises.

As early as 1994, xenophobia based on assumptions that foreigners are criminals reared its dreadful head in Alexandra Township in Johannesburg when gangs of South Africans tried to evict Mozambicans, Zimbabweans and Malawians from the township. Crush (2008:44)

mentions that the violent campaign that lasted for several weeks was named “*buyelekhaya*” (go back home) and was based on foreigners being blamed by the gangs for increased crime, sexual attacks and unemployment. Crush’s (2008:45) xenophobia timeline state that, the then Defence Minister linked the issue of undocumented migration to increased crime in a newspaper interview.

The Paris based International Federation for Human Rights published a 48-page document, which mentioned that, the migration policy in South Africa was still like that under Apartheid, with much harassment of so-called illegal immigrants. According to the federation’s document, the policy not only criminalized migration, but also fuelled xenophobia as reported by Johwa (2008) just less than three months before the mayhem of May 2008 against foreigners. The report states that, the focus on population control is aided by the enforcement role of the police and the tendency to confuse undocumented migrants and criminals, citing a police raid on Johannesburg Central Methodist Church a week before the document was launched in Pretoria. The church is a shelter for hundreds of homeless foreigners and the police who claimed to have been looking for criminals rounded up 1500 people during the raid. The very same raids were again repeated early in 2010 and as always, all the arrested people were released without a single one of them having been convicted or charged for any crime whatsoever. At the report’s release, the federation’s deputy president said government migration policy focussed on rendering South Africa inhospitable for undocumented migrants through arrests, restricting access to jobs, services and temporary residence.

Hemson (2008:8) also comments about the raids that, “The police raid on the Central Methodist Church in Johannesburg reminds one only too clearly of the police handling of internal migrants under Apartheid. To treat migrants primarily as potential criminals is a grossly unfair way to respond to their presence.” Hemson (2008:8) goes on to mention that, “Police resources spent harassing migrants are being diverted from legitimate police work.” It is also very unfortunate that the raid took place only less than three months before the shocking attacks of May 2008, as it will appear as if these police actions against migrants added some weight on the idea that the migrants are not welcome in South Africa. The fact

that there was no one who was charged for committing any crime adds weight to the fact that the raid was simply a futile exercise.

The media at large has not helped the situation at all since it has sensationalised issues and blown things out of proportion in a manner that legitimises the general myths and stereotypes about foreigners. Turner (2000:4) mentions that, according to a report released that year, the coverage of international migration by South African press has been largely anti-immigrant and un-analytical “uncritically reproducing problematic statistics, stereotypes and assumptions about cross-border migration.” The article goes on to mention that, by adding to the myths and stereotypes about foreigners, the media have, at worst, contributed to xenophobia by the subtle use of the terms illegal and aliens.

Whilst there are so called ‘reliable’ statistics from unnamed or suspect sources suggesting that South Africa’s foreigners are criminals, official statistics derived from credible sources show the opposite. Mnyaka (2003:18) quotes statistics provided by the South African Police Service (SAPS) to the effect, suggesting instead that although some foreigners commit crimes, the numbers are negligible. The table below shows the facts on Crime statistics in 1997 as reported by the SAPS and presented by Jody Kollapen at the University of Venda during a conference on xenophobia in 1998 (though new statistics need to be released to verify the position reflected by Kollapen).

TYPE OF CRIME	No of arrests	% of South Africans	% of Zimbabweans	% of Mozambicans	% Unknown
RAPE	20 480	98.8	0.1	0.3	0.5
BURGLARY	37 949	98.6	0.1	0.4	0.6
VEHICLE THEFT	8486	97.4	0.1	0.6	--
OTHER THEFTS	70 712	97.2	0.2	0.6	1.2
COMMERCIAL CRIME	11 308	91.0	1.0	1.1	4.8
ILLEGAL FIREARMS	9 162	97.3	0.2	0.2	1.2
DRUG RELATED	37 104	96.2	0.1	0.2	1.5

Source: Mnyaka (2003:18)

Table 2.2 Crime statistics for 1997

The facts presented in table 2.2 above clearly paints a different picture to that which the general populace has of foreigners. South African Press Association (SAPA) reports in the Citizen (29 January 2007) that, though the common myth is that Nigerians are dealing in drugs and prostitution, Zimbabweans are responsible for cash heists and Mozambicans commit burglary, there is no statistical proof to back such claims and that the official records show that only 3% of SA's prison population are non-nationals. These statistics are supported by sentiments mentioned elsewhere in this study, that, during several raids to cleanse the nation of criminals, the law enforcement agents have failed to produce proof to crime committed by foreigners.

2.4.2 'Stealing' jobs

One of the most repeated reasons given for xenophobic aggression in South Africa is that African foreigners supposedly 'steal' jobs meant for South African citizens. The opinion and analysis column of the Business Day (2011) comments that, "The common denominator is localised poverty, allied with a belief that the economic pie – jobs and housing in particular is small and shrinking, so outsiders who access those resources are benefiting at your (the locals) expense." This seems puzzling given the weekly advertising of over a thousand jobs in the local press. Some posts are re-advertised for lack of suitable candidates. It can be argued that, citizens who have issues with foreigners tend to be those who have given up on life in terms of bettering themselves academically so that they strategically position themselves in the job market, which is very user friendly to citizens and very hostile to outsiders.

There are researches that have suggested that, a number of South Africa's African foreigners are educated and possess good educational qualifications. Steinberg (2010) mentions that, "Congolese refugees in South Africa are extraordinarily well educated." Foreigners are not stealing jobs but providing valuable service by filling in the huge voids in the country. Take for example a report by Nkosi (2010), which confirms that the Limpopo Province alone recruited a massive six hundred Maths, Science and Technology teachers from Zimbabwe because of the scarcity of such qualified educators in South Africa. The

Limpopo Province Member of the Executive Council (MEC) Namane Masemola conceded that, there is a huge shortage of qualified teachers for the mentioned subjects and says that was the reason for looking north for those scarce skills. Nkosi (2010) quotes him (Masemola) as having said, “Zimbabwean teachers are the best and are sought after all over the world.” The argument here simply being that these are the very same people someone is saying are dirty and practice witchcraft. It is rather unfortunate that such articles are tucked inside the paper on page thirteen, instead of making them first page news headlines in order for all to read and get enlightened on the value of foreigners to South Africa.

As another example of the serious shortages in the education sector, Matekane (2010) reports that, of the 34 968 science and mathematics teachers in Kwazulu Natal 229 are unqualified, a staggering 9 229 of them have no qualifications at all to teach the subjects while 925 teachers only have matric with one or two years of further training. Another 7 174 teachers, the report says they only have a bachelor’s degree but without the required postgraduate diploma in education. The Provincial education spokesperson Muntu Lukhozi admitted that the teacher shortage in the province is a massive problem. In light of the massive shortage of qualified teachers in Kwazulu Natal, the complaint that foreign Africans are “stealing” jobs in South Africa seems puzzling as it lacks substance.

On arrival most of South Africa’s foreigners have next to nothing and end up in the slums where they get free or very cheap accommodation. This can be based on the fact that, the foreigners do not have any relatives or contacts that have established themselves in South Africa. It is common for new arrivals to seek refuge in Shack settlements where rates are not an issue and it is common to find many foreigners in these settlements.”

They eventually get some form of work because of their education, industriousness and unselectiveness. Foreigners take up employment of any nature including those areas shunned by the locals. Once they start earning some money, they start carrying grocery paper bags and boxes of household goods, alas all in the eyes of locals. A Mozambican vegetable vendor, Benny Sithole, interviewed by Steinberg (2008:3) mentions that, “The young unemployed South African men of Dark City (Part of un-electrified Ramaphosa, a shantytown of about 30 000 people about 30km from Johannesburg city centre), people I

knew very well, people who sit and play dice all day long, started to take things from our stalls.” The foreigners also use the little they get to fax curriculum vitae and phone around for jobs and eventually get employed within the areas that they are qualified for. Even those foreigners with no formal qualifications will take up any job so that they earn a little bit which they save and buy tools and eventually start their own businesses like roadside garages, roadside carpentry shops, roadside barbershops, vegetable stalls, spazas (small backyard supermarkets), hair saloons just to mention a few. These businesses usually grow and become very thriving enterprises. This is one of the areas where foreigners differ from the locals as the latter are too proud to do what are normally referred to as ‘dirty jobs’ to get a start in life. Steinberg (2005:11) mentions that, in a study carried out in 1998, it was discovered that, foreigners were willing to work for as little as between R4,50 and R6,00 a day, a wage that no South African would ever work for.

In support of the view that no one really steals a job, but foreigners go for those jobs that are shunned by locals who harbour dangerous feelings for foreigners, Nyamnjoh (2006:2) contends that, “When unskilled migrants are reluctantly accepted, they are expected to fill the menial jobs which even the most destitute nationals reject.” The Star (2001) also point out that, “African immigrants flock to the mining and farming industries, two fields not popular among South African workers because of poor working conditions and low pay. Nearly 40% of the nation’s more than 500 000 mining employees are migrants working legally in those fields”. This really means that, foreigners mostly occupy either those jobs that are shunned by locals or go for those jobs that are out of reach qualification wise for those who end up having the idea that jobs are being stolen away from them.

Mukhwa (2009: 14) concedes that, “Foreigners are a source of recruitment for rare skills such as artisans, engineers, technical, management, financial, applied professions and IT skills, among others.” This is especially true as the Department of Home Affairs (DHA) issues quota work permits to non-citizens who have qualifications in the professions listed in the above quotation by Mukhwa (2009: 14) which fall under the category of scarce skills under the Home Affairs quota work permit schedules. As of the 7th of July 2010, the Republic of South Africa government gazette (2010) with the schedule for the appropriately named ‘scarce skills’ had 36 600 available posts for a wide range of professions. These included

teachers, economists, various engineering fields, astronomers, atmospheric physicists, space scientists, agricultural and forest scientists just to mention a few, which non-citizens could apply for. The home affairs department was therefore making available quotas to non-South Africans to occupy these posts, as there were no suitable candidates locally. This only goes to prove that, it will remain a fallacy that, non-citizens are stealing jobs but on the contrary, the truth is that, they are actually covering gaps that are proving very difficult to fill from the local work force base or taking up jobs that are shunned by locals.

It is worthwhile to note that, South Africa has abundant opportunities, which will always attract foreigners with the required skills. Take for example Gauteng Department of Education alone advertised in the government gazettes of July 2010 that it had 821 vacancies for Heads of departments, deputy principals and principals' posts, 556 educators' posts and 307 support staff posts in its schools. Another 70 Senior Education Specialists posts and 84 Principals' posts were gazetted as from the 1st of February 2011. This adds up to a total of 1838 vacancies readily available only in the education sector in Gauteng alone for those who believe that South Africa's foreigners are here to steal their jobs. Lungile comments in the Mail and Guardian (2010) that, "They say foreigners are taking their jobs. They refuse to understand that the country has many opportunities for South Africans, but the only way to grab them is to educate oneself and be disciplined."

Adam Moyo refutes the idea of jobs being stolen from anyone in an article by Mongoai (2004) when he states that, "Immigrants cannot take jobs because many of them are self-employed. They own hair salons, Internet cafes and cell phone shops and very few South Africans operate such businesses." The same article also mentions that other people attribute South Africa's high unemployment rate to a syndrome of dependency and quotes Mulalo Nemavhandu who believes that, some locals would much rather beg than create opportunities for themselves. Nemavhandu of the Kara Institute is quoted as having said, "There is a strong culture of dependency in this country. You hardly hear of a foreigner begging on our streets. Only sons and daughters of this country beg."

The same article also quotes Mohamed Abdelsatir from Sudan who finds it very strange that South Africans claim they cannot find jobs and is adamant that this country is flowing with

opportunities, which he has, taken advantage of. He (Abdelsatir) is quoted as having said that, "You are likely to find a person surviving on more than one job. There are jobs in this country. People are not doing enough to get jobs." Apparently, he (Abdelsatir) arrived here in 2000 to study for his honours degree in Agriculture and was offered a bursary after a year, which was followed by another award of a bursary to study towards a second degree in Environment and Society at the University of Pretoria. Abdelsatir goes further to state that, "South Africa has world class universities with very low tuition fees. Bursaries are available to every student who performs well."

Madywabe (1997:6) also mentions Balla Papa Sisoko from Mali who came to South Africa after the 1994 elections and established a panel-beating garage in Berea, Johannesburg and employs five South Africans who he says is training and giving experience that no one will ever take away from them. One of his employees mentions that, "When he employed me I had been looking for a job for more than 11 years... I am grateful because he teaches us a lot of things and we will use that experience in future."

In a related subject, a Congolese refugee was cited by Amisi and Ballard (2005) as having lamented that, "The South African government should teach the population to work for themselves and avoid a paternalistic attitude. Since Mobutu we have learnt not to expect anything from the government. We know we are refugees we just want to survive here." Crush (2008:33) has found it to be a mere stereotype myth with no real bases that immigrants steal jobs from South Africans as research has so far proven. A research carried out by Southern African Migration Project (SAMP) in 2006 established that, as high as eighty-five percent of the population that participated in the research did not experience any job loss to a non-citizen. As much as two thirds of the population did not know of anyone that had personally lost a job or even heard of anyone in their community who had lost a job to a non-citizen. It therefore will remain just an allegory in many people's minds that non-citizens 'steal' jobs unless maybe the so-called thieves are exposed and charged of 'stealing'.

In light of the above facts, it seems on balance that foreigners who live and work in South Africa have a beneficial, rather than a deleterious effect on conditions in South Africa.

2.4.3 Accepting below minimum wages

There are those who believe foreigners take up jobs and accept below inflation salaries, like an unnamed Alexandra resident who was quoted in the Alexandra News (2008) saying, "We are fed up with these foreigners. These people come here and take our jobs and accept below inflation salaries. We cannot compete with them because we have families while they only have themselves to look after." From this person's point of view, it becomes apparent that, if someone is being paid below what is expected, then the problem is not the employee, but the employer. It therefore means that it is the perpetrator (the one who is abusing an employee) to be pursued rather than the victim.

Jureiden (in Nyamnjoh 2006:2) mentions that, "In general, when 'cheap' foreign workers are readily available from countries desperate to alleviate unemployment and generate foreign currency, the dirty dangerous and difficult jobs become racialised as they are associated with foreign workers to such a degree that nationals of host countries refuse to undertake them despite high levels of poverty and unemployment." In view of the above sentiments, it seems as this is true to South Africa, as the foreigners are willing to do any job irrespective of its standing in society and without considering the financial returns. The fact that, you rarely here of workplace violence between citizens and foreigners, simply imply that, it is really not a case of the foreigners taking up employment and accepting below minimum standard wages, but it is mostly a case of foreigners taking up the crumps that are not worth enough for most locals. One citizen commented during an informal church discussion that, most of her friends from outside South Africa have very good saving skills no-matter how little they make per month. She said she admired a lot how much goods these friends of hers managed to buy with the meagre earnings from washing clothes for several families. She ended the discussion by mentioning that, she would never have the patience exuded by her friends who spent months and months working for peanuts but at the end of the day reaped something.

Migrant workers in South Africa take up the risk and are man enough to take up employment in the most dangerous and labour intensive areas such as security jobs in highly dangerous environs, the laborious construction and agriculture industries, which are

shunned by many locals. In support of this view, Taruvinga (2010) points out that, "... foreigners contribute to the well-being of the economy and they bring with them scarce skills which are in short supply in SA. Some do odd jobs such as construction and farming, which are not popular with South Africans, who seem to dislike manual and strenuous jobs."

It is obviously one thing to be working and complaining about low wages and another to sit at home and complain about low wages that you hear about on the streets. Since the Labour act clearly states that, a migrant worker can only be employed when there is no citizen in sight, the honours still remains in the hands of citizens to simply avail themselves and replace foreigners if at all they are guilty of taking that which does not belong to them. Migrant workers are mostly employed on temporary basis so that if a citizen shows interest in the position occupied by a foreigner, he or she can easily replace them. It appears as though many citizens are not aware of their many advantages when compared to foreigners, because if at all they were aware of their upper hand position in the labour market, they are no foreigners that were going to be employed at all, as they always have first preference. On the other hand, citizens can be aware of such privileges but choose to turn a blind eye on them when it comes to life threatening or laborious jobs.

When the researcher travelled to one of the host South African cities during the World Cup Soccer tournament in 2010, he had a conversation with some local girls who were working as volunteers. They mentioned that they wished they were foreigners in their own country because all the foreigners they knew were all working and earning good salaries because they had qualifications. They went on to say that, it appeared the foreigners were a chosen group as even those who did not have any form of qualifications, were gifted with various skills ranging from repairing cars, computers and even boats, weaving baskets and wire miniatures, hairstyling and many other skills such that, they rarely suffered as they did. They further said they were amazed with the ease they (foreigners) set up businesses within short spaces of time after arriving and make it in life at her expense as a citizen. They said though they do not support any xenophobic acts, it had always bothered them why foreigners seemingly always managed to make ends meet no matter how all odds were against them. They went further to explain that, one of the victims of the May 2008 xenophobia violence had all his property looted and dispossessed of his house, but what

surprised them most was that, within less than six months, he had already set up any even bigger *spaza* (backyard tuck shop) in an adjacent suburb.

When asked what their view was on allegations that the foreigners stole jobs from the locals, they said they do not understand how jobs could be stolen, as it was fellow South Africans who gave the jobs to the foreigners who they said seemingly always had the required qualifications and skills. In relating the above mentioned story to a colleague at work, the colleague said, she was also astounded as to how foreigners always made it in business despite all the language barriers they faced which lead them to being referred to as *kwerekweres* because of their inadequacies in the local languages.

2.4.4 The media

It is common cause that the media are a powerful tool that can sway public opinion and cement certain issues as facts. Danso and McDonald (2000:1) see media as a powerful vehicle for social transformation and development. When it comes to the issue of xenophobia and the media in South Africa, there is evidence that shows that the media are portraying foreign Africans who live in South Africa as undesirable elements. Most of the issues that appear in the media contain statistics that are questionable and are not based on any reliable bases.

There are studies that have extensively followed issues pertaining to the portrayal of foreigners in the media and have concluded that, there is a tendency of portraying foreigners mostly in a negative way. Danso and McDonald (2000:1) argue that, the coverage of international migration of people by the South African press has been anti-immigrant and unanalytical. Danso and McDonald (2000:1) conclude their report by stating that, the coverage of cross-border migration by the press in South Africa leaves much to be desired as it is highly sensationalised, Africanised and negative fraught with superficial, and sensational articles that do little to inform the reader about the complexities of migration. In their study, Danso and McDonald (2000:20) found that, as high as 56% of the many articles they sifted through, contained at least one negative reference to foreigners. The table below

shows the results of the research that they (Danso and McDonald 2000:20) carried out based on media coverage and the way it handles issues on xenophobia in post-Apartheid South Africa.

PERCENTAGE OF NEGATIVE REFERENCES TO MIGRANTS AND IMMIGRATION	
TYPE OF NEGATIVE REFERENCE IN ARTICLE	PERCENTAGE OF SAMPLE
Make reference to migrants as job-stealers and/or as general burden on the South African economy	24%
Associate migrants with crime	25%
"Nationalises" and/or "Africanises crime"	11%
Refers to non-citizens as "illegals"	38%
Refers to non-citizens as "aliens"	24%
Uses negative metaphors to describe migration into South Africa (e.g. floods, hordes, waves)	9%
Presents negative images of other African countries	12%
Uses inflated statistics on the number of (im)migrants in South Africa	17%
Uses sensational headline(s)	26%
Percentage of articles that use at least one negative reference	56%
Percentage of articles that use two or more different negative references	36%
Percentage of articles that use four or more different negative references	20%

Source: Danso and McDonald (2000:20)

Table 2.3 Percentage of negative references to migrants and immigration in the media

On the same note, Laher (2010:13) pinpoints that, "Throughout the years, the media has failed in creating coverage that is critically balanced and adequately reflective of the issues around African immigrants." Take for example the following headlines that have appeared in the South African print media in recent years: 'JUST GET OUT OF TOWN', 'FOREIGNERS ARE LOOTING 'SA COFFERS'', 'Zimbabweans pour into SA', 'Floods of Zimbabweans descend on SA border', 'The blood bath is coming', 'South Africa turns screws on foreigners'. Other suspect headlines include 'SA hospitals inundated with Zimbabweans', 'Terrified fugitives on the run again', 'Keep migrants out of SA' or 'Human 'tidal wave' threatens to swamp SA: '2000 to 3000' Zim refugees a day'. Whilst there is indeed a need for the media to inform the nation about issues in a democratic way as enshrined by the constitution, it can also be argued that, the selection of terms need to be sensitive to its effect in society. Different people who read the articles, definitely interpret the headlines given here, differently and

considering the xenophobic nature of South Africa, they may cement certain stereotypes that already exist within certain quarters of the society and consequently inflame xenophobic attitudes towards foreigners. In short, these headlines can be considered to be very inflammatory in nature.

In an article titled *Inflaming Xenophobia*, Hoeane (2010:4) questions the use of nationalities to identify suspected criminals and gives an example of media reports about, 'Nine "Nigerian" men arrested for drug dealing'. Hoeane asks whether it is even newsworthy to point out that the arrested men were Nigerians, as you never read stories of German, white, Zulu, Jewish, Afrikaner, Xhosa, Sotho etc criminals being arrested. The appending of one's nationality when reporting on crime is seen as nationalising crimes, that is, linking a particular crime to a particular nation. It seems again that, it is believed that, the reporting will become more appealing when reporting on crime as it will cement the wildly believed perceptions within the South African population which include linking Nigerians to drug dealing.

In the vein of trying to understand the jargon used to refer to foreigners in the media, the author checked the meaning of the most frequently used term, that is, alien, and words such as space invader, creature from outer space, extraterrestrial, strange, unfamiliar and unknown have been given as having the same meaning with the term. These words are a matter of concern to be used to refer to people simply because they come from a different politically defined space. It is also worth to note that, some foreigners have suffered due to different reasons such as earthquakes, wars and even hunger such that, all they may need is just some mercy from an *ubuntu* point of view. It is also worthwhile to note that, South Africa has over a million of its own citizens living in other countries for various reasons that include but not limited to plying their soccer skills at foreign clubs, for diplomatic services and peacekeeping purposes and above all as economic immigrants seeking greener pastures just like many foreigners in South Africa. One really wonders as to how South Africans will react if they wake up to the news that, one of the foreign based soccer players has been necklaced in an act of xenophobic linked violence.

The print media have been playing a role in the throwing around of very worrying and inflated figures of the number of immigrants in South Africa, which the Centre for

Development and Enterprise in its 2006 report of a study in Witbank say vary from half a million to eight million. Take for example an article in the Saturday Weekend Argus (2007) by Peta, Webb and De Lange titled Human 'tidal wave' threatens to swamp SA: '2000 to 3000' Zim refugees a day, which quotes a nameless border official claiming that, 2000 to 3000 illegal Zimbabwean immigrants are entering South Africa every night. If one takes these figures seriously, then simple mathematics will give one a total of nearly two million Zimbabweans having entered South Africa illegally on an annual basis and translating to over five million between the date of the article up to 2012. Such figures are bound to raise alarm with the reader and make some locals feel really swamped.

Though there is indeed a significant movement of people in and out of South Africa, there are those who would report on such movements in a neutral or professional manner. An example is that of Davies (2010) from Forced Migration Department at the University of Witwatersrand who in a way acknowledges the presence of foreigners in South Africa without proper papers. Davies (2010) writes that, "First there are not five million illegal immigrants in South Africa, most of these people are not here illegally but are in the country awaiting determination of an asylum application or they are trying to exercise mobility rights in accordance with South Africa's SADC convention obligations." In the above quotation, Davies (2010) first distances himself from the fictitious statistics on immigrants in South Africa then goes further to explain the position of the so-called illegal immigrants in a way that is not prejudicial. The article circumspectly titled 'Embracing foreigners in SA' is perceptibly coming from someone whose profession is to dig deep into reasons behind forced migration and provide pragmatic information on such issues. The article was written in response to an earlier article by Holmes in the same paper on the 9th of July 2010 on xenophobia, which seemed to suggest that, the removal of 'foreigners' is a satisfactory and meaningful way to address fear and hatred of others. To such beliefs, Davies (2010) notes that, "Resolving xenophobia by removing foreigners is analogous to solving bank robberies by closing all the banks." Davies (2010) finds such an idea to be flawed and notes that, "The problem is not 'foreigners' but those attitudes that sit within those who choose to hate others because they are 'foreign'."

Though since after attaining its independence in 1994, South Africa has indeed witnessed a significant increase in the number of foreigners who come here for various reasons and

motives, there has been no official head count to establish the actual figure of foreigners at any given time. Madywabe (1997) correctly states that, “Everyone knows why immigrants from other African countries come to South Africa, but no one knows how many live in this country or what they do. Although the number runs into tens of thousands it is nowhere near the estimated 4 million as the census conducted earlier this year showed.”

The DHA had to dispute claims by a Democratic Alliance (DA) delegation to the Beit Bridge border post on the 23rd of March 2007, which concluded that a whopping 3000 Zimbabweans crossed into South Africa on daily basis as reported by Ngalwa (2007). Contrary to these astounding statistics from a nameless border official, the Department’s spokesperson, Cleo Mosana said on that particular day, there were a total of 2 741 arrivals in the country and that number included all nationalities coming through the Beitbridge border post. For the same day, Mosana said there were 1 635 departures, which covered for all nationalities and not just Zimbabweans. Despite these official figures from the relevant department which electronically captures all the statistics, the Head of the delegation stood by his conjured figures which gives a total of 2 190 000 Zimbabweans entering into South Africa in a normal year and 2 196 000 during a leap year. If such fictitious figures were to be taken seriously, then by now, the country to the northern border of South Africa would be virtually empty by now.

These are however very worrying statistics since the amnesty for illegal Zimbabweans, which ended on the 31st of December 2010, officially proved that, only a paltry population of Zimbabweans are in South Africa illegally. According to the DHA website’s media release on 28 February 2011, only 275 762 applications were received by the deadline of 31 December 2010. This figure therefore proves that, such headlines as ‘Zimbabweans pour into SA’, ‘Floods of Zimbabweans descend on SA border’, ‘Human ‘tidal wave’ threatens to swamp SA ‘2000 to 3000’ Zim refugees a day’ were exaggerations that aimed to sensationalise issues. If one was to be modest with figures, then this number can be taken up to 300 000 by adding almost 30 000 to cater for those who had no passports which was the stumbling block to some of them. The number would still be modest as compared to the imaginary millions that we were always meant to believe in.

It is very unfortunate that there has hardly been a time when foreigners have been given acres of space in the mainstream media channels to openly present their side of the story as much as they are vilified and crucified in the same media spaces. It is also not common for someone to stand firmly and defend the rights of the foreigners as what has happened in the country recently. The Star (2011) reports that, “Minister in the Presidency Trevor Manuel had blasted his controversial government colleague Jimmy Manyi for his “racist remarks” and accused him of the ‘worst-order racism’ and tribalism.” This was contained in an open letter to the latter (Manyi) who had said that there were too many coloureds in the Western Cape and they (the coloureds) had to spread to other parts of South Africa. Imagine a government senior official drawing the ire of a Minister for what may appear to be a simple comment. The point here is that, if someone labels Nigerians drug peddlers, Mozambicans immigration fraudsters and Zimbabweans prostitutes or armed robbers not a single soul will raise his or her voice, as the foreigners do not deserve any acre of space of good writing in the media. The notion is that, ‘that is what they deserve after all, what do they want in South Africa in the first place’.

The same paper referred to above on page two under its news flashes reports that, Kuli Roberts’s Sunday World column, Bitch’s brew had been discontinued with immediate effect as announced by the newspaper’s editor Wally Mbhele the Monday before. This was after the journalist, Kuli Roberts, had penned an article in which she described coloured women of South Africa “as hard-drinking, drug-taking sex fiends with no front teeth and a penchant for eating fish like they are trying to deplete the ocean.” Indeed these were some mouthfuls of accusations, which led to drastic action being taken and were to be followed by an investigation to be instituted by the South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC) as reported in the article.

In its statement on the Kuli Roberts’ column Avusa Media wrote; “AVUSA Media and Sunday World acknowledge the outcry over the Kuli Roberts’ column that appeared in the February 27 2011 edition of Sunday World. The column, headlined *Jou Ma se Kinders* (Your mother’s children-sic), made derogatory generalisations about Coloured people, which were in clear violation of the South African Press Code and Avusa Media’s internal codes. The column was also not in keeping with Avusa’s commitment to building a non-racial and non-sexist

society.” Avusa Media Editor-in-chief Mondli Makhanya said the company had already begun an internal inquiry into the matter. Makhanya continued by stating that, “As a leading media company and a responsible corporate citizen, Avusa Media will not allow any of its titles to disseminate prejudicial commentary that re-enforces divisions and entrenches racial stereotypes. We are totally committed to the values and principles enshrined in the Constitution.”

In view of the above stated issues it is puzzling why Foreigners have been accused of spreading diseases such as HIV/AIDS, being thieves, fraudsters, hijackers the list of the nasty references is just endless without anyone being reprimanded for tarnishing the image of so many hardworking foreigners who are contributing to the economy of this country under very strict immigration regulations. The implication therefore means that, if foreign people are bad-mouthed in the media, it does not constitute a clear violation of the South African Press Code. Take for example Carter and Haffagee who state in the Mail and Guardian (1998) that, “Malawians control Johannesburg’s suburban gardening, Moroccans run the Cape Town’s bouncer circuits, Nigerians control the cocaine trade. ...” I wonder what the reaction would have been if in the sentence above, the author had put say Zulus or Xhosas instead of Nigerians.

Kuli Roberts, whose article was discontinued because of its offending content against coloureds of South Africa, also wrote earlier on in the same column about people of foreign origins. In her column in the Sunday World dated 9 May 2010, she wrote the following, “Meeting beautiful Italian studs and taking them to your home is stupid, dangerous and tiring to hear about. Taking home exotic seeming Egyptians is even more stupid. I mean, really! Have you ever visited that country? ... Oh and what about bathing habits? Do you know that many Brits don’t bathe daily? What about Egyptians?” Not a single soul voiced concerns about these derogatory generalisations since they referred to foreigners who presumably are not covered by the ethics codes of the paper and the press codes at large.

Other tacit tactics to bad mouth foreigners would be to write articles quoting faceless sources or to hide behind what is believed to be myths and stereotypes about them such as someone who wrote that; “The common myth is that Nigerians are into drugs and prostitution, Zimbabweans are responsible for cash heists while Mozambicans stage

housebreaking.” These are eyebrow-raising accusations that have appeared in the daily newspapers without anyone giving a hoot about it. In a nutshell, it can be concluded that, many journalists get away with it when it comes to writing derogatory statements and myths about the country’s foreigners as it is seemingly taboo to write positively about them.

It is a known fact that, indeed, some of the foreigners commit crimes in South Africa but what is of concern are the generalisations of issues when some foreigners commit crimes then it is generalised for everyone who comes from the country of the accused. Mnyaka (2003:17) rightfully points out, “It may be true that some of these nationals may have been caught committing such crimes, but to make claims and generalisations based on a few observations is dangerous.” Dr Oyedele also points out in the Sunday Times (2010) that, “The truth is that there are good and bad people in every ethnic group. And the sins of a few members of the tribe should not be visited on the whole tribe.” A South African Press Association (SAPA) report in the Citizen (2007) mentions that, “Official records show that only 3% of South Africa’s prison population are non-nationals.” This is a clear indication of just how off target many of the statistics happy journalists would like the nation to believe as facts yet it is fiction.

As tension mounted three days before the end of the 2010 Soccer World Cup tournament in South Africa on the 11th of June 2010 and days that followed, the rumour that had been spreading around the country turned out not to be just rumour at all but reality as the attacks duly started all over again. Papers like the Daily Sun (2010) screamed with half a page front-page headline, which read, ‘JUST GET OUT OF TOWN’ in big capital letters. Such front-page headlines, which are also pasted on walls, tree posters and anywhere where they can attract attention of passer-bys raise eyebrows considering it to be inciting tensions in an already tense atmosphere. After reading the article with such a title, one would have thought, it would have been better with a different title since its contents really do not justify such a sensational title.

Academics and scholars have aided the media in its quest to paint foreigners as undesirable elements by coming up with studies that have unfounded insinuations and exaggerated statistics especially about the ills of foreigners. Consider Solomon (2003:108) who rightfully notes that, the South African government is trying to provide services and upgrade facilities

in squatter areas and to provide houses for all South Africans. Solomon (2003:108) then declares that, "However as Shuttle notes, it is difficult to distinguish between an alien and a citizen in a squatter community. Thus illegal immigrants are benefiting from the facilities and housing provided under RDP at the cost of the South African taxpayer." One wonders how it can be difficult to distinguish people from squatter camps, as they need to come out in the open and state their story. The point here being that RDP houses are distributed formally in government or municipality offices, where individuals have to produce several documentation that prove beyond reasonable doubt that, they are bona-fide South African citizens. There is evidence from the respective offices' records and even from a number of investigations carried out by recognized government elected officials that prove that, not a single foreigner has ever received the RDP houses directly from government officials as established elsewhere in this research.

The television channels in South Africa, which are part of media, find it better to revisit 20th century movies such as the Rambo series, Chuck Norris' yester year adventures (or misadventures) and Arnold Schwarzenegger's old school action movies rather than play latest movies from other African countries that relate more to the African way of life. The striking absence of programmes, dramas, movies and poetry from other African countries and the over-subscription to western repeats can be interpreted as meaning that, there is nothing worth broadcasting from other African states. This in a way appears to be an intentional ploy to blackout African content from other African countries and make sure it does not 'contaminate' the nation and dose them with the western culture, which is easily accepted without any qualms. The only times that news from other African states strongly feature on the television is when there are civil wars or unrests and rarely anything positive about them. It can therefore be argued here that, the white superiority that dominated the Apartheid era will be here for a long time to come as the revered western products including outdated material dominate the nation at the expense of those from the rest of Africa.

This point is supported by a SAPA article in the Citizen (2007) which notes that, after 1994 xenophobia started manifesting itself but excluded those from Europe due to the classic

Apartheid stereotyping which saw whites as people who bring in skills, money and investment and the others as threats.

2.4.5 'Stealing' women

One of the issues cited by some authors as a reason for xenophobic violence in South Africa is that foreigners 'steal' their women from the locals. Mnyaka (2003:21) writes: "African immigrants have not only taken over the streets of South Africa but, it is alleged, its women as well." He (Mnyaka: 2003:21) goes further to write that, "Aliens can afford to spoil local girls with gifts ... aliens do feel the need for acceptance and love. They just cannot afford to be alienated by everybody." Gqola in Hassim *et al* (2008:218) notes, "Negrophobic xenophobia sentiment is often couched as a battle between two sets of men. This is very evident in the oft-heard retort: 'These guys come here and steal our women and jobs'...: Black South African women and jobs are the entitlement of Black South African men (only)."

In a related issue, Zilwa in an interview with Fisher (2007:140) states that; "Nigerians and Moroccans have a reputation for being involved in criminal activities. They come into our countries and marry our sisters once they are married, they dump them and go fetch their wives. All they want is citizenship. These young girls fall pregnant and get treated very badly."

Though the accusations mentioned above can be true for very few individuals, it cannot be conclusively be generalised for every person who comes from the mentioned countries as these can indeed be some isolated incidents that do happen once in a while and are not so prevalent as to make such harsh conclusions about the nationalities of the particular countries.

2.4.6 Accessing government grants and housing

It is apparent that foreigners are one of the many groups that are most loathed and discriminated against in South Africa and such discrimination stems or emerges from South African citizens who believe that they have rights to all that South Africa has to offer. On the 21st of July 2010, the Sowetan carried an astounding story titled: FOREIGNERS ARE LOOTING 'SA COFFERS'. The story claimed that, foreigners posing as poor South Africans who applied for social grants had robbed the government of South Africa of billions of rands. This was according to a very senior government official, a Provincial MEC for social development, (name was given but withheld here) who went on to state that, people from Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Lesotho and Swaziland were collecting grants fraudulently every month. This he said led to the rightful recipients, having to pay bribes to receive the grants that were legally theirs.

In view of the above report and its timing, it again left many wondering the aim of such a damning story at such a critical time. The story did not make matters better, as it added to the notion that, foreigners are parasites that survive on fleecing what they do not deserve and are outright fraudsters. Joubert (June 2008) quotes a certain Western Cape member of parliament as having accused foreigners of buying government subsidised houses and forcing South Africans to live in shacks. The official is quoted as having said the following: "With no apology, I must say, in what many would regard as being xenophobic, when laying bare the dangerous problem that is creeping into our democracy ... many houses in various localities are owned by foreign nationals whose refugee status is unknown to us as citizens of this country." He went further to state that: "Foreigners are taking over, three quarters of Du Noon is owned by non-South Africans. Phillipi is another area in Samora, Delft and many others are areas where government delivery is turned into misery for those who are supposed to be recipients. What this means is that government resources that were meant to restore dignity to our people and rid the country of slums and informal settlements go next door and as citizens we are at the mercy of foreigners."

The paper went further to quote the Member of Parliament (MP) as having said, "It might be undermined now, but later our democracy will suffer serious setbacks as we will become foreigners in our own country in the not so distant future. If we keep on hiding the truth behind xenophobia as we do, we will wake up one day being slaves of other people in our own country." These words coming from a very senior member in society are worrying as it may have serious implications with regards to the attitude of locals towards foreigners. The fact of the matter is that, the same article points out that after such strong allegations, the Provincial Minister of housing of the area in concern instituted a door-to-door fact finding mission in Du Noon where the MP claimed that, foreigners owned as much as three quarters of the houses.

Thirty-two officials conducted the door-to-door investigation. The officials found out that, of the 505 houses that were piloted, 225 were occupied by the rightful South African owners according to the official database and another two hundred and thirty houses were occupied by South Africans but not the rightfully owners as per official database. Only one owner was a foreigner and had all the proof that he bought the house. The above allegations and the evidence on the ground are just but some of the many fallacies that both the public and some people holding very high offices have about foreigners and are fuelled on daily basis making the xenophobic situation and attitudes to worsen.

Similar claims were made about Alexandra township of Johannesburg where the 2008 attacks began from. According to the City Press (2008), the government swiftly conducted an investigation in reaction to the allegations of improper allocation in Extension 7, Alexandra. The government probe again did not come across any such case whereby a foreign person was allocated a house. The report by the office of housing MEC Nomvula Mokonyane to the Gauteng legislature's portfolio committee on housing during that week stated that, the allocation process of the new houses was fully in line with the national housing code as all the allocated houses were occupied by the rightful recipients. The Housing MEC Nomvula Mokonyane is quoted as having added that: "We want to put it on record that the information at our disposal outlines all details of occupants for each house and status thereof. Not one case can be classified as a house being occupied by an illegal immigrant as has been widely reported."

Mbanjwa states in the Star (2010) that, in an address to the President's Coordinating Council, President Jacob Zuma questioned foreigners who forged documents to gain access to services meant for South African citizens, and locals who received government houses and chose to sell or let them and move back into shacks. With regard to the issues he raises, it seems that the belief that foreigners are swindlers run very deep in the South African society up to the highest office bearers of government even though several investigations have always proven otherwise.

The President's remarks also points directly to citizens being architects of their own demise as they choose to sell or lease the decent housing they receive free of charge from government and choose to go back to shanty towns where they live under very squalid and unbearable conditions. The President in the same article quoted above rightfully mentions that: "We are aware that some people receive their houses then rent them out and move back to the informal settlements. We are therefore chasing moving targets." Therefore these issues may require serious follow-ups as it can be argued that, such follow-ups can unearth issues that can offload the pressure being pointed at foreigners. In stark contrast to allegations that, foreigners shunt resources to their countries of origin, the graph below proves otherwise. During the 2010 Soccer World Cup event in South Africa, two of South Africa's neighbouring countries namely Mozambique (whose nationals are some of the most loathed in South Africa) and Botswana ranked top ten out of all the world's countries in terms of visa spending. This was despite the fact that they were not even competing in the event.

POSITION	COUNTRY/TERRITORY	TOTAL SPENT (\$)	TOTAL SPENT (\$)
1	United States	34.5	261
2	United Kingdom	33.8	256
3	Australia	8.8	67
4	Brazil	6.5	49
5	France	6.4	48
6	Germany	5.3	40
7	Mexico	4.9	37
8	Mozambique	4.9	37
9	Canada	4.7	36
10	Botswana	4.3	32

Source: The Star's Business Report 30 June 2010

Table 2.4 Visitors' visa spending during the 2010 Soccer World Cup in South Africa

In view of the facts presented here and in many other instances elsewhere in this study, it seems the facts on the ground indicate that, the picture that South Africans have about foreigners especially from other African states is far off the target.

Instead of being a drain on the South African economy foreigners seem to be a net asset to the local economy. For example, foreigners employed in South Africa total approximately 3 000 000 at present, which represents a considerable source of tax revenue even though they (foreigners) do not earn South Africa citizens' fiscal benefits.

2.4.7 Poverty

It became headline news when presumably at last President Jacob Zuma came face to face with the bare reality that most South Africans have to bear with every single day of their lives. Many newspapers reported on the surprise discovery that the President made during his visits to various areas around the commercial capital of South Africa, Johannesburg. SAPA (2010) reports in the Citizen (Exactly two years after the May 2008 xenophobic attacks) that, the President visited the shanty towns and informal settlements such as Orange farm, Sweetwaters, and Madelakufa all in Johannesburg. In his report back to the President's Coordinating Council in Pretoria, he stated that; "It is not every time I feel like crying during my visits ... you could swear no one lived in that shack." He made this comment in reference to the living conditions of a family in a shack he visited in Orange Farm. He is quoted in the same article saying that, the family living in that shack had been destroyed and adding that the owner's daughter had left home to become a prostitute (presumably because of poverty) and returned when she fell pregnant.

About the same visits, Mbanjwa quotes the President in The Star of the same day as the Citizen quoted above, that is, the 19th of May 2010 as having said; "One lady lives in a place that when you come in, you may believe that people left this shack ten years ago. People are sleeping like pigs." Seleka quotes him in the Sowetan of the same day on the same issue, as having said; "Any attempt to explain why people were still living 'like pigs' when the country was nearly celebrating twenty years of freedom would be meaningless." Seleka

goes further to state that, the President visited Busisiwe Mlotjwa's mud ramshackle which had no window and door that could probably fall off at any time.

These conditions that nearly made the president cry are the living conditions of millions of South Africans especially in and around Johannesburg and are indeed the hotspots of xenophobia. Fikile Mbalula, the then deputy Minister of police made the following statement in this regard (Sowetan 14 July 2010): "According to some of the findings by the government, the locus of these tensions is mainly driven by criminal elements in areas where there are high levels of poverty and unemployment." Another trip might even make him come across far more worse conditions where raw sewerage flows on daily basis in front of shacks and have become playfields for children and other areas without any sign of sanitary facilities like toilets. Ho (2010) states the following in reference to the poverty of some citizens, "... Setswetla, a section of Alexandra where a graveyard fence serves as a washing line and where shacks flank dangerously eroded banks of the Jukskei River..." The river has swept away many people and their belongings but people continue to live near it with nowhere to go.

The Times (2011) reports that, the Minister of Education, Angie Motshega said the government had set aside money to eradicate mud schools in Eastern Cape, Mpumalanga, Limpopo and Kwa-Zulu Natal. The report states that, 60% of the money would be allocated to the Eastern Cape because it had the highest number of mud schools, that is, a staggering 395. If a single province has 395 pole and mud schools, it means the country as a whole may have having a very high number of such schools and it really poses serious worries to the number of learners and educators who have to bear these conditions for more than ten years. It will also be not speculative to think aloud as to how a mud school product will react when he encounters a well-established 'foreigner' driving one of the latest 4x4s and sending his children to private schools. It is also difficult to convince such people that, they are in a first world country, which is revered as the economic powerhouse of the Africa.

Rassool (2010) reports that a single mother in Philipi told her friend that she ordered her nine-year-old son to leave their shack and fend for himself on the streets because she could not afford to feed and care for both him and his baby sister. The same report also refers to a

single unemployed mother of four living in a shack in Samora Machel informal settlement who puts a little pot of water on a tiny two-ringed gas stove and just stands there stirring, to create in her young children the impression that they are about to enjoy a meal. The report mentions that she feels it will somehow make their hunger a little more bearable. Though these two scenarios can sound far-fetched to someone who is out of touch with the reality of so many shack dwellers, it is however a true reflection of the pain and agony faced by so many South Africans who live daily with poverty staring at them without any hope of it fading away. An article in The Herald (2010) notes that, "... unless we tackle the twin evils of unemployment and poverty, addressing the challenge of xenophobia remain difficult, if not impossible."

Whilst there was so much pomp and fun around South Africa's successful hosting of the World Cup Soccer tournament in 2010, the costs incurred are said to be something that the poor will always rue for the rest of their lives as they believe their plight was more of a concern than the hosting of the tournament for foreigners and those who could afford to go and have fun. This is a sentiment that Nyar (2010) puts across when she writes that, "It is plausible to imagine that social tension and frustrations will increase particularly in the knowledge of the R33 billion invested in the tournament, which has not materially benefited the poor. 'Foreigners' as a vulnerable grouping in society and an easy scapegoat may expect further vicimisation."

2.5 The position of government departments with regards to foreigners

The conduct of some officials in government departments such as the DHA and the South African Police Services (SAPS) has afforded the ill treatment of foreigners in South Africa some form of justification. The institutionalised vilification of foreigners and the way they are sometimes hunted down in 'anti-crime' raids has but only acted as officially legitimising their harassment. Two government departments are singled out as the ones that need a lot of effort to improve their conduct concerning the treatment of foreigners, that is, the aforementioned two Departments, the DHA and SAPS.

2.5.1 The Department of Home Affairs

It would be a mammoth task to try to describe how the DHA has been accused of short changing members of the public both foreigners and citizens, with newspapers like the Daily Sun 'officially' referring to the department as the 'Department of Horror Affairs' whenever it reports on issues related to the department. The Daily Sun has dedicated a column chronicling how many citizens have had their lives messed up or put on hold for as many as ten plus years by the DHA and always chronicles wide ranging challenges that people who visit the department have to endure every time they visit it. The attitude of quite a number of the department's officials has been described as very unfriendly to the public at large more especially to foreigners, which many believe is tantamount to being xenophobic in nature as the issues discussed in this section will reveal.

Some of the department's policies are said to really border on treating non-citizens as not welcome to settle in the Republic unless they offer what the department categorically refers to as exceptional, extraordinary or scarce skills. One such policy is the Immigration Act, 2002 (Act No 13 of 2002), which states the following with regard to permanent residence permits: "The Republic of South Africa can accommodate only a certain number of immigrants. There are valid reasons for this. In the first instance South Africa has a vast reserve of unskilled and semi-skilled workers who are entitled to employment opportunities and to an economically viable lifestyle for themselves and their families. For this reason no one in the unskilled and semi-skilled categories will normally be accepted as an immigrant worker in South Africa." This is just but one of the issues that will be further highlighted in this section where particular aspects will be pointed out. Some of the policies which have restrictive aspects that are under review include the Refugees Amendment Bill, Immigration Amendment Bill, Citizenship Amendment Bill, Birth and Death Registration Amendment Bill.

Before delving much on issues relating to the DHA or any other government department, it is worthwhile to note that, all the concerns to be noted, do not apply to everyone in those departments as they also have many individuals who are dedicated to offer services to the public fairly without any prejudice, favour or humiliations. It is rather unfortunate that quite

a high number of inconsistencies in terms of the treatment of foreigners have been reported and it is these incidents that tend to over-shadow the excellent work done by those who are dedicated to serve with honour, pride and justice.

In an article titled 'Foreigners contribute to growth', Khan and Rasool (2011:14) begin by highlighting the fact that, of the 100 researchers that have won the most prestigious honour in scientific research in America, that is, the Nobel Prize, almost half of the Nobel laureates were foreign born or descendants of first generation immigrants. They also note that, "Very highly skilled immigrants have provided the USA with an unparalleled advantage for maintaining its supreme economic position in the global economy." They list countries like Canada, Australia, the UK, United Arab Emirates, Taiwan, South Korea, and Germany as countries that have established progressive skills immigration regimes to pursue the ideal of global economic competitiveness. Such a philosophy being arrived at after the countries have realised that, in a knowledge economy, the resource in the greatest scarcity is human capital.

After the above insight, they then compare the above scenario with the local position where the attitude is vastly different. Khan and Rasool (2011:14) state that, "The situation in South Africa is vastly different. Not only have we acquired a dubious reputation in recent years for being unfriendly to immigrants through a spate of recurring xenophobic attacks, but our Immigration Act appears to impede skilled foreigners from entering the labour market while failing to control the influx of unskilled people pouring through our borders." Khan and Rasool (2011:14) further note that, the proposed new Employment Services Bill put additional restrictions on businesses wanting to recruit skilled foreigners. The Bill if passed into law will require employers to submit reasons to the director-general why they cannot employ locals with relevant profiles on the proposed Public Employment Services database and provide proof of testing the local labour market through recruitment campaigns before recruiting foreigners.

The restrictive nature of the proposed Employment Services Bill and the current Immigration Act will lead to local employers simply losing skilled foreigners to other attractive destinations whose policies are geared to lure high-level skills immediately with

an array of “cannot refuse” incentives as Khan and Rasool (2011:14) explain. They further state the following flaws about the existing Immigration Act and the proposed Employment Services Bill;

- Our policy perspectives reflected in the Employment Services Bill and Immigration Act are based on a misconception that employing foreign workers adversely affects employment opportunities, labour standards and rights of local workers. In fact, the opposite holds true.
- Our policies are punitive, unfriendly, bureaucratic, and costly.
- It serves as an impediment to growth and job creation.
- South Africa’s skills immigration policies and laws require dynamism, innovation and reconfiguration to make it a tool for economic and social development.
- There is need to reform and relax the terms of admission for the highly skilled because such changes are urgent from a supply-side perspective.

Contrary to the above stated flawed aspects of the Immigration Act and the Employment Services bill that are based on the misconceptions explained earlier on, Khan and Rasool (2011:14) also state the following contrasting views about skilled migrants:

- Skilled immigrants bring much-needed skills and expertise to their new countries.
- They grow existing businesses and create new ones.
- They transfer skills, create employment, foster entrepreneurship and make tax contributions.
- They bring new networks, technologies and innovations to the local environment.
- They bring new lease of life to areas long discarded by the local population.
- They contribute to the rich fabric of social and cultural life.
- Several countries have decided to fast-track the exchange of skills for citizenship and immigrant recruitment countries are no longer passive gatekeepers.

In agreement with what Khan and Rasool (2011:14) point out above, Eisenberg (2009:18) also note that, while on one side the DHA concedes that there is indeed a shortage of skilled labour and has put in place a system to lure foreign personnel, the system is paralysed because its regulatory requirements are in practice impossible to satisfy. Eisenberg

(2009:18) avow that, “The Department of Home Affairs recently acknowledged this and has compiled a quota list of occupations for which skills may be sourced abroad – among others, actuaries, engineers, agricultural and science technicians, health and education professionals. But even this immigration scheme is paralysed because its regulatory requirements are in practice impossible to satisfy.”

The DHA’s proposed Immigration Amendment Bill has been subjected to considerable criticism in its current form through the submissions made to its parliamentary hearings. The criticism is mainly about its restrictive nature and the requirement that, if foreigners want to change the terms of their work permits or residence visas, this has to be done outside the country unless special permission is obtained. This assertion was noted in the Opinion and Analysis column of the Business Day (2011:10) which also notes that, “The proposal that refugees be pre-screened at points of entry, seem on the face of it to be clear violations of South Africa’s obligations under international law. The subtext of the proposed changes appears to be: “beware, the foreigners are coming!” The article closes by noting that; “It is unfortunate that the government has bought into the popular belief that foreigners are primarily responsible for high unemployment among locals. What is needed is a policy review leading to carefully crafted law that achieves the identified goals, not thinly disguised xenophobia.”

Nyembezi (2011) believes that a national debate on foreigners is vital, as he believes that, “... we should be able to find the political will to humanise our immigration policies. Right now, any person wanting to lawfully immigrate to South Africa has to wait a minimum of two years to get the necessary permit. Children of legal immigrants petitioning to join their parents often wait longer. Those who argue that applicants “just get in line” ignore the fact that there simply is no line. Instead, there are an arbitrary set of processes that even the most educated, or the most deserving applicants from strife-torn regions, have difficulty negotiating.” Nyembezi (2011) notes that, the various legislative amendments including the Refugees Amendment Bill, Immigration Amendment Bill, Citizenship Amendment Bill, Birth and Death Registration Amendment Bill currently before parliament, reveal an increasingly insular trend, that instead of constructively dealing with the realities of immigration, seek to

restrict migration patterns and impose punitive penalties on those who contravene the law. In light of these issues raised, Nyembezi (2011) therefore suggests that instead of the restrictive nature of the immigration policy of the country in its present form, “South Africa should adopt a progressive immigration policy and be as welcoming as possible to immigrants. For many decades, the country has dealt with immigration in an ad-hoc manner. Now President Zuma must lead us beyond that era and set in motion a transparent consultative process to devise a progressive immigration policy based on our own values of *ubuntu* (humanity).”

The DHA’s restrictive immigration laws issues spouses of those deemed to qualify for quota work permits with accompanying spouse permits, which do not allow them to seek employment in South Africa even if they are qualified in some professions. This simply implies that only those people who are qualified in fields deemed to be in short supply in South Africa can be issued with temporary work permits that must be renewed annually at the issuing Home Affairs office. The renewal entails the holder to produce a current confirmation letter from the employer confirming that one is still employed by the same employer in the same category that the work permit was issued for.

Under the above mentioned stipulations from the DHA, it simply means the job market is really a tough territory to penetrate for foreigners, as those who are considered to be of use to the labour market in South Africa must adhere to stringent conditions. Those who are deemed to be of no value to South Africa’s labour market can forget about ever getting any form of permit to work here and will find it difficult to have a break through into the labour market. The spouses of those lucky enough to obtain the temporary work permits can only come and stay in the country without working unless they themselves also have qualifications in the professions classified as scarce skills.

These are examples of legislations that exclude foreigners from enjoying state entitlements and benefits that are available to citizens, which include but not limited to government subsidised housing, grants, free education and medication. Further to the above mentioned issues, The Immigration Act, No. 13 of 2002 states that, an application for a work permit is to be accompanied by an upfront non-refundable fee of R1520,00, a police clearance from

the applicant's country of origin, a passport size photo, a valid passport, a medical report and a radiological report. In addition to this, proof of a valid return flight/road reservation or written undertaking by the employer accepting responsibility for the costs related to the deportation of the applicant and his or her dependent family members, should it become necessary, provided that in the case of a cash deposit. Such deposit which shall be refunded to the applicant after his/her final departure or after a permanent residence permit has been issued to the applicant, a medical report which shall not be older than six months at the time of its submission and yellow fever vaccination certificate in some cases.

When all the above numerous expensive conditions have been met, that is only when an application can be launched at a DHA office which again will take some time to consider the application before taking a decision. In light of the above issues, it therefore becomes apparent that, it is not an easy task for a foreigner to be gainfully employed in the Republic, as some people would like to believe and end up claiming that, foreigners steal jobs from citizens. Besides the expenses, sometimes the time required for all the processes to be completed can really be too long for one to withstand the test of time and go through all the processes until finally obtaining the required documents.

An immigration expert, Attorney Chris Watters states in *The Business Day* (2008) that, "The principle behind the Immigration Act is that we need to take care of our own first." Watters goes on to point out that, "Research has shown that, contrary to the idea that these unskilled migrants take away jobs from South Africans, they end up being employers of about three people (mostly locals) each." In the same report, Watters makes an interesting point that, foreigners even when unskilled, are often more entrepreneurial than South African citizens and they send goods home, thereby creating a market for South African goods. This insight highlights the fact that, those who are well informed have a far better view of foreigners than those misinformed individuals who aim at wrong and vulnerable targets. Steinberg (2008:1) concurs with the view when he notes that, after the 2008 xenophobic attacks, most foreigners complained that they were just unlucky victims of misplaced anger.

The restrictive nature of the current Immigration Act has led to some members of departments that deal directly with immigration to be so obsessed with weeding out the so called 'illegals' much to the mortification of legitimate legal migrants and locals who 'look' like foreigners because of them having features associated with being foreign. Khambule (2010:7) chronicles the agony of Kenneth Maximbwe at the hands of the Home Affairs Department that has refused to assist him because he is a 'foreigner' according to officials at the department. According to the article, Maximbwe was turned away by the DHA telling him that, they did not assist foreigners, Maximbwe said, "They told me there's nothing they could do for a foreigner. And my identity document (ID) number belongs to Cedric Matome." Maximbwe's sentiments here sound as if he is a victim of a mix up at the DHA. Maximbwe continued by saying, "Because I look like a Zimbabwean doesn't mean I am one." As mentioned earlier, some South Africans have stereotyped light-skinned appearance as a major characteristic assumed to be for a bona fide South African citizen, which has indeed caused a lot of unnecessary inconveniences and stress to those who do not match the description, as they would quickly be labelled a foreigner.

In one of the worst cases of how the conduct of the DHA employees have been found wanting, a twenty year old young man, Douglas Skhumbuzo Mhlongo committed suicide for repeatedly being denied an identity document on several occasions as reported by Mdeletshe (2009). According to reports in almost all the newspapers in South Africa that included the Star, the Citizen, the Sowetan, the Witness just to mention a few, the young man's application papers were literally repeatedly torn to pieces because he was allegedly a 'foreigner'. The same reports also mention that he was being allegedly forced to pay a bribe of R400,00 to have his supposedly fraudulent application papers for a foreigner to be processed.

In apparent consternation, Mdeletshe (2009) quotes the then Head of the DHA, Minister Dr Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma who is said to have wept continuously during the young man's funeral as having said, "This department is a shame. It is rotten to the core, but I am committing that I will clean it up ...". In the same report in which the former Minister of the DHA is quoted above, the second minister of the same department before her, Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi is also quoted as having said that, the

way in which the young man died was an indication that the problems the department had ten years ago still existed. He also stated that the department was still riddled with the problems that he himself and his successor, Nosiviwe Maphisa-Nqakula were faced with and that with all the effort they put in, the problems were still much in existence.

Ntyintyane (2009) comments that all the desperate Mhlongo wanted was an identity document so that he could have a chance to live his dream but he was sent from pillar to post and then from post back to pillar again, but still to no avail as officials were just too lazy to help him or take their time to listen to his story. He scathingly mentions that, government offices are hell holes created to torture you and that you are made to feel stupid by unsympathetic bureaucrats. The young man was denied a chance to be 'proudly South African' just like every other citizen like him and even if his family was given a fully furnished house, they would have preferred him around in a shack than the fully furnished house without their beloved one. Ramdass points out in the Sunday Tribune (2009) that, "Mhlongo's is just one case we are aware of But ... there are thousands of other South Africans with shameful stories to tell about poor treatment at the Home Affairs offices."

Douglas Skhumbuzo Mhlongo's case was not tragic enough to unsettle some of the DHA officials to at least have a change of heart when it comes to their obsession of calling people "foreigners" even if they are bona-fide citizens. This is because another suicide followed fast on the heels of the case of Douglas Mhlongo. The Sowetan (2010) reports that, yet another young man, this time only a grade 10, eighteen year old learner also committed suicide after trying for the third time to apply for an ID at Ulundi DHA. This was after a Home Affairs official tore his application papers and accused him of being a "foreigner", a photo image of Douglas Skhumbuzo Mhlongo's case.

The way in which some of the DHA officials treat their clients remains a matter of concern, as there are serious consequences that can be as bad as death. In yet another issue of the shortcomings of the department, due to the endless period that it took to acquire asylum status papers, a Zimbabwean man also reportedly dropped dead of hunger near the Home Affairs asylum seekers centre in Cape Town. According to Majavu in the Sowetan (19 May 2010), the young man, Adonis Musati aged twenty three years, reportedly approached

construction workers and told them he had not eaten in two weeks to which the workers responded by offering him half a loaf of bread. Musati dropped dead on a traffic island just after eating the half loaf of bread the workers had given him. Braam Hanekom of the Zimbabwean refugee rights group, People Against Suffering, Suppression, Oppression, and Poverty (PASSOP) in the same report said that, "It is unbelievable that people were sleeping outside that centre for months and faced deportation to Zimbabwe if they left the queue."

As if the deaths are not enough to awaken people to the gravity of problems bedevilling the public at the DHA, one man used a very unorthodox method to have his ID after endless promises yielded nothing and he indeed got what he wanted within an hour or two. Kumalo reports in the Daily Sun (17 September 2010) that, the man, Kabelo Thibedi spent the whole day at the department and did not get any service. He went back again the following day and after spending hours waiting to be served, he was told repeatedly that he never applied for an identity document even though he had the cash slip to prove that, certainly he had applied for one. It is reported that Kabelo Thibedi snapped after hearing two of the department's officials talking to each other with one saying to the other he was sick and tired of the "annoying, irritating and sickening" people who came to get their documents every day. When Kabelo Thibedi got out of the DHA offices because he was so angry and he saw a vendor selling toy guns, it gave him an idea. He bought one and went straight back into the offices and held one of the officials, Lanelle Small, hostage. His antics indeed put some people to task as his ID was produced in a short space of time.

Though Kabelo Thibedi has started an organisation that aims to educate people on that guns are not the way, to him unfortunately (or fortunately for that matter) the barrel of a fake gun was undeniably the key for him to acquire the elusive document. Even if his intentions are very noble that he wants to start an organisation that will help people who cannot get their documents from home affairs, it really boggles the mind as to how his organisation will do that as they are only civilians who cannot have access to the department's system. On the other hand, the fact that the report mentions that his twelve member organisation will work hand in hand with the department of home affairs, this can be interpreted to mean that the department concedes that it needs outside help even from people whose credentials are really not known.

In another case where the DHA failed to help a member of the public, the Daily Sun (2010) reports that, due to repeatedly failed efforts to acquire an RDP house, Bomkazi Mgxebe (31) of Delft near Cape Town later discovered that the problem was that, she was 'married' to a man with the name Vukile Mbova which was not her husband. When she looked for help from the DHA to solve the problem, the department told her to go and 'find her husband.' Ntomboxolo Makoba mentions in the same report that it was only through the powers of the Daily Sun newspaper that the problem was solved. These are just but some of the many cases where scathing and painfully comments are offered to desperate people who sometimes act irrationally and even end their lives. It also implies that had it not been for the Daily Sun that took it upon themselves to help Bomkazi to 'find her alleged husband', her case was going to remain unsolved forever.

There are numerous reports which suggest that the processing of applications for foreigners who apply for refugee status is really a snail-slow moving process that can take several years of agony and can also end up with a denial. According to a report by Flanagan (2010), the following are the figures and timelines of the number of asylum or refugees status that have been dealt with in the stated years. In 2008 out of the 10 338 applications only less than 5% were processed and translated to only 19 being granted and 492 being refused leaving out 9 827 applications hanging in the balance. The previous year, that is, 2007 had 17 667 applications with only 10,7% being processed and leading to 271 applications being granted and 1 623 being refused. 2006's 18 973 applications had 10,3% processed leading to 103 being granted whilst 1878 were refused. Then for the period ranging from 2000 to 2005 a total of 19 600 applications were processed with only 317 granted and 47 refused. The statistics clearly leaves thousands and thousands of asylum or refugee applicants in limbo and subsequently translating to being illegal in South Africa.

When foreigners finally obtain the much revered 13 digit green bar corded ID book, some of them have issues with the part which states one's country of origin affixed to South Africa. In an interview contacted by Chadza (2011), a foreigner who acquired a South African identity document irately asked why the identity document had to have a double-barrelled nationality stating his country of origin and then followed by South Africa, that is, Mozambique-South Africa. He said that, even if you strive so hard to meet all the

requirements of the constitution, the stigma of being a foreigner would follow you like a bad smell wherever you go. He pointed out that, there was no need for his ID to have his country of origin stated in it as it implied that, everywhere he went, people still had to be made aware that he had the ID by default or that, he doesn't really belong. In his final complaint he mentioned that, such information needed to be for Home Affairs records only as the rest did not need to know of his origins as it had an effect of fermenting stereotyping and prejudice in whoever one dealt with (Chadza 2010).

One conspicuous fact about all the research and literature that the researcher has come across is that, most if not all of it, provides statistics of illegal immigrants, criminal acts committed by illegal immigrants, the amount of billions of rands being fleeced by illegal aliens to their countries or how much it is costing the government to host floods of foreigners. Statistics from the DHA on the number of legal foreigners who are working in South Africa profession by profession, the number of foreign teachers who have received awards for producing outstanding matric results, the number of foreigners coaching, captaining or plying their trades with local football clubs and so on have not been really part of the mainstream media as much as the ills committed by foreigners in South Africa. The immigration Act No 13 of 2002 in its preamble states in point (m) that, the Act aims at setting in place a new system of immigration control which ensures that xenophobia is prevented and countered both within Government and civil society. In that vein, it can be argued that the positive statistics with regard to foreigners can be a vital link that seems to be missing in the equation that always ends with pointing at them as unwanted excess burden to the South African government and the taxpayers.

Eisenberg (2009) affirms that previous attempts to get the DHA on track had failed with the director-general Mavuso Msimang telling parliament the previous year that 70% of top management in his department failed basic competency tests and could not be fired for incompetence in terms of the Labour Relations Act. Such statistics are worrying as it will not be far-fetched to ponder about the status of the junior staff which deals directly with the public if a colossal 70% of their bosses failed to make the grade of the competence levels required to be a suitable civil servant. In unprecedented circumstances, Skade reports in the Star (2010) that, "High levels of corruption detected at the Market Street Home Affairs

office in the Johannesburg CBD (Central business district) had forced the department to permanently close its doors to clients. Home Affairs spokeswoman Siobhan McCarthy said the office's closure that Friday had been pushed forward after a departmental probe found "a lot of corruption within the office." With so many reports of so much corruption by the department's officials, one wonders how many of its offices would be closed if ever such departmental probes were to be instituted nationally.

After all that has been said about the DHA, it would be unfair not to mention many positive things that the DHA has done for foreigners. Crush (2008:45) makes a note of the fact that the DHA has indeed spread an olive branch to foreigners and offered them permanent residence on various occasions. In 1995 a total of 51 000 miners from Mozambique, Lesotho, Botswana and Swaziland were granted permanent residence. In 1996 the DHA again offered permanent residence to SADC nationals who had been living illegally in South Africa for more than five years. Over 200 000 foreigners applied for the permanent residence and approximately 124 000 received permanent residence status. In 1999 South Africa offered permanent residence to Mozambican refugees who had been in the country for 10 to 15 years and approximately 90 000 applicants were successful. This amnesty brought the total number of Mozambicans legally in South Africa with permanent residence status to well over 200 000.

Between 5 September and 31 December 2010 all Zimbabweans who had been in South Africa illegally were requested to visit the nearest DHA office and apply for a free four-year work permit to allow them to work legally in South Africa and also to freely visit their home country using the legal routes and border posts. 275 762 applications were received by the deadline of 31 December 2010. Of these applications, 66 530 had been finalised as of the 28th of February 2011 while 209 232 were still receiving attention according to a media release on the DHA website on the same date. The media release states that over 20 000 applications were received without the necessary accompanying passports and/or copies thereof and, South Africa was awaiting the printing of these passports by the Zimbabwean authorities to enable the government to finalise the documentation process (Director General DHA 2011).

Though most of the issues discussed here in a way point to the fact that the DHA is a very inefficient department, as mentioned earlier, those officers within its structures that engage in illegal activities such as fraudulent marriages between foreigners and citizens without their consent tarnish the good work of their colleagues and the whole department's reputation. This section sought to discuss some of the issues that are related to the DHA with regard to the way it operates and how some of its policies have a bearing on how foreigners are treated in South Africa. It will be prudent to note that, despite all the issues discussed here, there are so many positive aspects that can be credited to the department which are not discussed here and that, the issues noted here can also be looked at with a view of further improving its operations.

Another government department that features whenever issues of foreigners are under discussion is the South African Police Service (SAPS) and will be discussed in the following section.

2.5.2 The South African Police Service

The media is awash with detailed accounts of how foreigners have been persecuted at the hands of police who are supposed to provide them with protection just like any other law-abiding person of the Republic. Marais (2008) states that, "But the conduct of the home affairs department and especially the police has afforded them (attacks of foreigners) a veneer of legitimacy, too. The institutionalised denigration of refugees and the routine rounding-up of foreigners in 'anti-crime' sweeps have helped amplify the common slur that they are thieves, impostors, and legitimate targets." This is just one of so many comments that seem to suggest that, foreigners are short-changed by both the home affairs and the police departments and do not get enough protection from the police as they would expect. Nicole Turner states in the Sunday Independent (2000) that, "Foreigners in South Africa face extortion and abuse at the hands of police and civil servants and widespread discrimination in other areas."

Majodina in the Sunday Times (2001) explains that, "though South Africa is a signatory to the 1951 United Nations convention relating to the status of refugees and the Organisation

of African Union (AU) convention governing the specific aspects of refugee problems in Africa, it has created its own barrage of restrictive policies targeted at asylum seekers. The restrictive policies include visa control measures and airline carrier sanctions that undermine the fundamental right to seek and enjoy asylum from persecution.” The restrictions at official level according to Majodina, translate to xenophobia towards refugees, in view of the state’s choice between the interests of nationals as against those of non-nationals. The restrictive policies have in turn led to several crackdowns to root out “undesirable foreign criminals” who threaten national security.

The issue of people deriving rights through being citizens of a country or state and struggling to have such rights when one is a non-national led the local law-enforcement agencies in South Africa to preoccupy themselves with trying to weed out the ‘undesirable’ elements of society, that is, the so-called aliens. The situation becomes reminiscent of the pass law era of the Apartheid period as pointed out by Majodina (2001) in the same article referred to above. Indeed, since the instalment of the post Apartheid government in 1994, there have been several operations aimed at weeding out ‘foreign criminals.’ These operations seem to have been largely exercises in futility, yielding scant evidence of rooted criminality amongst foreign communities.

Akikopari (2001:10) comments that, since some foreigners are able to speak some of South Africa’s languages, the police no longer use the inability to speak a South African language as the only criterion for determining illegal immigrants but now resorted to an arbitrary criterion based on skin colour because most Black South Africans are supposedly light in complexion. This Akikopari (2001:10) notes that, this has led to arbitrary arrest and detention of dark skinned South Africans under the suspicion that they are illegal immigrants, a process which placed many dark skinned South Africans at risk of arrest and facing the horror that suspected foreigners have to witness and experience. Akikopari (2001:10) notes that many locals including a South African journalist had to bear the full force of police torture before their identities were established.

In an article titled blacks ‘still humiliated by pass laws’, in an issue in the Sowetan (2008), Mashaba reports that, “Two South Africans spent time in jail after being arrested by police

on suspicion of being foreigners when they could not produce their identity documents.” The first unfortunate person, Zweli Mngadi aged 23 years spent time in jail at Kroonstad police station as police insisted he was Zimbabwean and tried to extort R300,00 from him but he ended up heading to prison because he only had R150,00 and could not satisfy police’s greed according to the article. The other person was Dan Mashaba aged 43 years who the article says is a dark complexioned South African who was returning from a weekend visit to his family in Guwela village in Giyani Limpopo. Mashaba was travelling in a taxi that was stopped at a police roadblock. The article states that, when he failed to produce his identity as expected, he was arrested.

According to the article, the South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC) condemned the arrests through its spokesperson Vincent Moaga who said, “If the police continue to behave in this manner it might unfortunately suggest that South Africa is being taken back to the Apartheid era when people always had to carry their *dompas* (pass/identity document).” Moaga is further quoted as having said, “The undesirable consequence of this is that poor black people will be disproportionately affected particularly foreign nationals. It is not a requirement for anybody to carry their ID all the time as one’s right of movement is not premised on your carrying your ID book.” Moaga quoted section 21 (1) which he said provides that everyone has freedom of movement regardless of whether one has an ID book or not. It therefore means a lot of foreigners’ rights have been violated as numerous round ups have been conducted and landed many in trouble as most of them sometimes leave their valid documents at home for safety reasons and would not be given a chance to go and collect them. It is also considered highly unfortunate for people to base their action on stereotypes that do not hold any water in a democratic country to wantonly arrest people based on their skin colour as this will continue to violate the rights of bona-fide citizens and legal foreigners.

Jacobs and Biyela report in the Witness (2009) that, police swooped on expatriates in Pietermaritzburg before dawn and arrested more than 200 people. A police spokesperson (name supplied but withheld here) confirmed the raids and said that 216 people had been arrested. What is of concern here is that the two reporters state that, this came only hours after an announcement by the DHA that it would provide a six-month “special dispensation”

permit to Zimbabweans that have entered South Africa seeking political asylum and employment. This therefore looks as if the two government departments were trying to undermine the efforts of the other instead of complimenting each other as the ideal situation was for the police to have waited for the DHA to complete its process then move in if ever it was necessary. At the end of the article quoted above the spokesperson is again quoted as having said, "An immigration officer will come in to verify their papers – those who have legal status will be released and those who do not will be deported." Generally, it is hoped that the job of the police is to investigate first where there is evidence then arrest and take suspects to court, but in this case the opposite is true where arrests are carried out and then verification follow maybe after two weeks.

Crush (2008:46) mentions that, "Six white police set attack dogs on three Mozambican migrants and insulted them with racist and xenophobic abuse. The incident was captured on video and aired to public outrage in 2000. The perpetrators were later tried, found guilty and imprisoned." The six police officers were beamed live on SABC inciting their dogs to attack three Mozambicans. The Cape Times (2001) reports that evidence given in court was that, "The dog handlers admitted that they went out in search of victims to allow a dog that was unwilling to bite to be 'taught' by more experienced dogs tearing into human beings. One of the policeman said in court that the 'training' instruction came from his chief instructor and did not regard it as unusual." These are quite shocking revelations which will be left without commenting to allow one to make his or her own judgement. In a related incident, Magardie (2000) notes that, police misconduct towards immigrants was highlighted the previous year when a Ghanaian research scientist was unlawfully detained by police for 'being illegal'. When the Ghanaian complained about his treatment at the police station, he was beaten unconscious and later on released just like that.

In a similar instance, a police dog attacked three Somalis in the course of pursuing a burglar. Crush (2008:48) mentions that, on being told to control their dog, one of the police responded with: "Don't tell me what to do you f....ing foreigners." Witnesses speak of the police officer claiming that they were checking to see if the dog could still bite. Other foreigners have complained of becoming suspects when they have gone to report issues at police stations by the interrogations they go through as if they are the accused. Others also

struggle to open cases and if ever a case is opened, they say that the investigation process is just as good as not having reported the case in the first place as one will make follow ups and be send from post to pillar then back from pillar to post. One such case where the police is said to have folded their arms is that being fought in the courts by the University of Cape Town Law Clinic's Refuge Rights Project (RRP) which is representing victims of the 2008 attacks who come from Somalia, Ethiopia and the Democratic Republic of Congo. Phaliso reports in the City Press (2011) that the plaintiffs are claiming compensation from the police based on their refusal to investigate the looting of shops owned by foreign nationals in Worcester and taking no action when they were chased out of the township of Zwelethemba by South Africans.

The Star (2001) states that, since the previous year the police had stepped up arrests of supposedly illegal immigrants, rounding them up by the hundreds in surprise raids on neighbourhoods and businesses. The same report mentions that, "Fuelled by the rising tide of xenophobia, overly eager police have often mistakenly arrested South Africans, thinking they are foreigners. One man was recently hauled into jail for looking 'too dark' to be South African." In the same vein, Akikopari (2001:12) points out that generally, policies such as raids on night clubs, the arbitrary arrest, detention and forced repatriation and the generally ruthless manner in which these operations are executed, send signals to the South African society at large that immigrants are unwanted spectre that must be exorcised. Akikopari (2001:12) further comments that, such migration policies and the signals they send provide a psychological green light to some sections of the South African society to exhibit open hostility towards other Africans.

The Cape Times (2009:1) reports a raid on Clanwilliam residents in which 250 people were arrested and 183 of them deported back to Maseru. A police spokesman Frederick van Wyk is quoted saying, "The raid started at about 1am..." A Clanwilliam farmer who witnessed the raid said they awoke to the sound of helicopters and when they looked outside saw the police and Home Affairs were "treating people like dogs". The farmer said, "Whatever the reason for the raid was, police had no right to treat the people the way they did as people were taken forcibly and placed in vans while the helicopter flew around with a bright light to make sure that no one got away." The above quoted police spokesperson also

acknowledged that people's shacks were taken down which suggests that the raided people's property was destroyed or taken away since all the police raids do not give anyone time to gather their belongings. It is important to note here that, the researcher does not in any way support illegal immigration but merely notes the way the supposed illegal persons are treated as it gives a picture of differential treatment towards those people who are considered the 'other'. It is also important to note that quite a number of the refugees in South Africa may not be necessarily here illegally but waiting for their legal papers they have applied for which takes quite some time that can run into several years.

Another worrying fact is the similarities between the ways and methods used to identify those who are supposedly not belonging by the police and the ways and methods also used to by the young perpetrators of the May 2008 mayhem. Steinberg in the Sunday Times (2011) points out that, one may wonder how the young perpetrators could behave in the same manner as that of the Apartheid passbook era officials when they were themselves very young to have carried a passbook. He then offers the following explanation. He mentions that, "... What Apartheid officials did was carried over into the democratic era in a scaled-down, modified form, by the police, who, by 2008, were deporting about 300 000 foreign nationals a year. They did so by examining the colour of people's skins and the vaccination marks on their arms and by listening to the way people spoke Zulu. All of this happened in front of large audiences of the urban poor from whose ranks the people in the mobs were drawn." Steinberg (2011) then explains the effect of the police's actions by noting that, "And so a strand of the Apartheid past was brought into the present by the actions of the police, a strand visible enough for ordinary, put upon people to see and absorb." What is worrying is that some police actions seem to tally with the actions of rowdy crowds who use unruly actions to deal with those that are perceived to be undesirable elements in society and seem to justify such actions.

Everson Luhanga wrote the following article in the Daily Sun (2010) under the heading, 'Foreigners harassed', "The police continue to harass our foreign brothers and sisters. Police have stopped responding to crime scenes because they are busy bothering and arresting these poor people. They even knock on the doors of private properties and ask if a foreigner lives on the premises. Why? These people don't do any harm but are thrown into cop vans

like criminals. The minister of police should review this problem. They must concentrate on fighting crime and leave Malawian gardeners and Zimbabwean maids alone. These people have families to look after in their home countries". Mngxitama in a story titled 'Minds of South Africans need to be decolonised' in the City Press (2008) mentions that, "The post 1994 state regularly sends the message that black Africans are undesirable; the media portrays black 'illegals' as criminals. The everyday public harassment by the police and home affairs department is part of a silent war against black Africans." He (Mngxitama) further notes that, there are no white *kwerekweres* and white immigrants who know the humiliation of being strip-searched in public.

Kadile (2006) notes that, it is very worrying and shocking news to hear that, within a matter of weeks the media reported 31 murders of Somalis in Cape Town. The murders being the ultimate expression of xenophobia against people who have merely learnt to transform their desperate situations into entrepreneurial activity. Kadale (2006) points out that; "More astounding is the failure of the police to get to the bottom of who is perpetrating these murders... If ever there seemed to be an easy case to handle it is this, yet the lack of political will speaks volumes of the police's own xenophobia and failure to treat these killings seriously. One would think that two murders would propel the South African Police Service into action, but after 31 deaths... there are still clueless as to who the killers are, only acknowledging that it must be xenophobia. The official lethargy is astounding and just demonstration of the state's own prejudices."

In the above issue Kadile (2006) thinks aloud and asks the following question, "Can we imagine the outcry if 31 Germans or French were killed in such a close proximity? There would be a national outcry and the police would find the perpetrators in no time." The implication here simply points to the fact that, the death of an African immigrant does not raise any eyebrows of the police and therefore needs not much attention. There have been many cases where South African citizens have been murdered or robbed and a whole army of the elite cops has been sent to turn every stone until the perpetrators were brought to book. The vigour of such investigations becomes very intense if ever the evidence points to a foreigner being suspected of having committed the crime.

Steinberg quotes a Somali refugee, Asad Abdullahi, in the Sunday Times (2010) as he narrates the fate of his fellow citizens in Cape Town at a discussion in Mowbray Town Hall titled "To Whom Does Cape Town Belong?" Abdullahi states the following; "In this settlement there are shops that fill each day with hard cash. Then night falls. Those who are armed know they can break into the homes of those with cash and point guns in their faces, and that they can do without consequence. Those who are bitter and need an object for their rage know that they can pour paraffin over a Somali shopkeeper and light a match, and that there will be no consequences." He (Abdullahi) even goes further to mention that, though occasionally, those who rob or kill foreign entrepreneurs are arrested, they (Somalis) remained unprotected as the friends and families of the accused begin to threaten the witnesses both verbally and with deeds once they are summoned to testify in court. These are some of the experiences that are common in the foreigners' communities that move the hearts of those who are sympathetic to their plight.

A related scenario in terms of the conduct of police towards foreigners is the statement that was issued by a police spokesperson after street vendors went on a rampage in central Johannesburg against vendors who originate from outside the country's borders. Madywabe quotes the police spokesperson who is a captain, in the Sunday Independent (1997) as having said, "It is not always necessary for policemen to intervene in crowd violence because they have to see first if there is enough manpower to deal with the crowd. If there is not enough then there is no purpose to act immediately, but to wait and make arrests later." These are worrying comments that leave a lot to ponder about as such statements have never been uttered during or after so many crowd violence that involve locals protesting for various different reasons time and again.

2.6 Other issues around xenophobia

The above stated issues seem to be the major issues that exacerbate the situation in as far as xenophobia is concerned in South Africa. There are however some issues that, even though they did not feature that much in the literature review, have some significance to be

mentioned here as part of trying to unravel the puzzling subject. The additional information is explained below under various sub-topics.

2.6.1 The 2010 Soccer World Cup in South Africa

Kruger stated in the Mail and Guardian (8 July 2010) that the World Cup had created an extraordinary opportunity for seeing South African patriotism at its best (then). He explains that it was an unforgettably loud and cheerful moment as for the first time in many years it felt like South Africa was one nation. He goes on to mention that the spirit of unity extended to the rest of the continent and South Africans tended to support African teams against all who came from outside the continent. This of course is the spirit that is wished would run in the veins of every African forever. What may really capture one's attention in the article, which has direct inference to this research, is the issue around the then South African soccer team coach, Carlos Alberto Perreira.

According to the article, the patriotic spirit fervour hit its peak just before the opening game against Mexico as that Friday the entire country seemed to grind to a joyous vuvuzela-fuelled halt. The South African team, Bafana Bafana's draw against Mexico sustained the national mood, but the dramatic loss against Uruguay caused severe damage as suddenly the team went from heroes to losers. The coach then came in for a roasting according to the article as some callers on radio now concentrated on the fact that Carlos Alberto Perreira was a foreigner and some simply wanted him to be fired and replaced by a South African as it was believed he had deliberately sabotaged the team because he is a foreigner.

The above scenario sheds some light on some of the platforms that xenophobia can either flourish in or disappear into thin air as the coach's nationality was not an issue in success but suddenly became the focus in times of failure. Every African team was also a team of comrades in success but before the tournament had even been concluded by teams from outside of Africa, the xenophobic tendencies reared their ugly head again and the siege against African immigrants flared up again.

2.6.2 The attitudes of xenophobes

There are some people who just do not care about what worthy foreigners have to contribute to the economy or any other way and would just want them gone. An example is a committee member of the greater Johannesburg Hawkers' Planning committee who said, "We don't care what the foreigners say, they must just leave this country. Our people don't have places to operate from because of them." (Sunday Independent 1997). These comments came after the local street vendors went on rampage attacking foreign owned stalls in central Johannesburg destroying and pillaging their businesses and chanting "*phantsi ngekwerekwere* " (down with foreigners). The president of the African Council of Hawkers and Informal Business also added his voice and said, "We support the action of local hawkers. Its long overdue. There is no other country where people just come in and do business."

Debbie Christen, a Chinese-Canadian woman who has permanent residence in South Africa and has lived here for the past 22 years was forced to write her ordeal in The Star (13 October 2010) under the headline 'Eyeball to eyeball with the face of xenophobia.' She narrates that, "I was in my car at the T-junction of Scott Road and Sterling Avenue in Waverley, Joburg, when a newspaper vendor came up to my window and shouted: "Hey you China, you must leave this place and go back to China! You must leave by January. You are taking our people's jobs – you are taking my job. I belong here not you!" To such blatant utterances, Debbie notes that, "It is both tragic and scary to think that people who look different (from some locals) do not have the freedom to walk down the streets, drive around, or simply be in public without being accosted." She then poses the following question: "Is this the new South Africa?"

Under the title 'Seething beneath the surface' Dibetle and Rossouw (2009) quote Phasha shouting that, "Xenophobia violence could happen today, tomorrow or next week, who knows." Phasha is cited as having further said, "Who can blame the community for behaving like this. The people of Brazzaville have lived here for 12 years without electricity, water and employment and are very frustrated. It is unfair to expect them to be pleased to

share the little space they have with Zimbabweans, Malawians, Mozambicans and Somalis under these circumstances.” Phasha who the journalists point out that he is a self-appointed community leader who handles more than 100 service delivery queries by Brazzaville residence each day, is said to have stated that, the attacks in May 2008 were meant to draw the government’s attention ahead of the 2009 elections. Phasha made the startling point that, “The government’s response to the attacks made us look like fools. Instead of addressing our concerns, they rushed to set up camps for foreigners using our tax money. They treated them like royalty and had the police guarding the camps day and night. Nobody ever says anything about our problems and the promises government always makes.”

The issues discussed above are really matters of concerns that may need serious attention of government and other stakeholders as they point to the fact that, the 2008 xenophobic attacks did not yield the desired results and left the perpetrators more angry than before and can plan some more severe acts in order to attract the attention they were looking for.

2.6.3 Foreign entrepreneurs versus local entrepreneurs

Hans (2011) reports that a political leader and tuckshop owners in an informal settlement in Pietermaritzburg demanded that an Ethiopian national shut his shop because he is a foreigner. The Ethiopian Firew Kelebor, from Addis Ababa, who has proof of being in the country legally built the shop after buying land in resident John Mahe’s yard and got written permission from the Ward (29) councillor Henry Ngubane to open and operate the small shop. Those against the Kelebor’s business however claim that, “You cannot move from another country to open a shop here” and another resident added “I know the Ethiopians in Free State province. They are very good at attracting customers. They are definitely using a strong *muthi* (traditional medicine).” What is of interest here that has direct implications to the issue of xenophobia is that, far from *muthi* being the main reason of attracting customers to their businesses, there is evidence that, it is simply business astuteness at work. In a related incident, shops owned by Somalis, Pakistanis, Ethiopians and Bangladeshis were forcibly shutdown after a row between South Africans and the foreign businesses in

Freedom Park, Johannesburg. Poloko Tau quotes one of the local business owners in The Star (14 December 2010) that the row erupted after they tried to talk to foreign shopowners over goods pricing, after complaints that, they were undercutting and killing local business. The local business owner stated that, “They buy in bulk and attract customers with lower prices, which is something we can’t afford to do.”

Another local business operator also added, “We can’t have too many foreign-owned shops when it is obvious that they’re killing local businesses. Local people own tuckshops and these people overstock their shops like supermarkets and their prices are very low, and if tuckshops match them, they won’t make any profits because they don’t buy in bulk.” The issue of *muthi* being in play therefore falls away as the above stated reasons for resentments towards foreign businesses are more plausible than the latter. This also lays to rest the idea held by others that, foreigners illegally import goods and sell them cheaper as it is more expensive to transport the goods especially groceries from their home countries either legally or illegally and sell them here at a profit. In support of the view that *muthi* is not the main issue but business acumen, Carter and Haffajee (2010) state that, “Many immigrants are better educated than South Africans, with greater savvy and training in the world of business. Zimbabweans, for example, are taught craft-making and marketing at school- that’s why they dominate South African markets.”

Carter and Haffajee go further and mention that, “From their home countries migrants identify new markets. They plan their trips, bring their own money and immediately find their brethren.” They (Carter and Haffajee) mention Ahmed a Somali refugee who trades in Adderley Street, Cape Town, who buys much of his wares at a wholesale dealer in Woodstock who through pooling resources with two relatives, has been able to put up more initial capital to buy stock than many local traders who sell goods near taxi ranks and stations. It is such acumen and business tactics of pulling resources together that in the end yield positive results without any grant or loans from banks and government that are then linked to the use of *muthi* when the foreigners’ businesses flourish.

2.6.4 Communication problems between foreigners and locals

Foreigners are called *kwerekwere* because some locals claim only to hear sounds that seem as if foreigners are just saying *kwirikwiri* repeatedly. Whilst it appears that some foreigners are willing to learn the local languages and do try as much as possible to learn them, it seems many locals despise so much languages from other African countries and would not entertain any thought of learning them. Fights can emanate from misunderstandings between locals and foreigners which often lead bystanders joining in to rescue a counterpart.

The communication problems have led some churches to introduce a chain of services held in different languages, which include foreign ones in an effort to cater for the ever-increasing numbers of foreigners especially the large numbers from countries such as Zimbabwe, Mozambique and the DRC. Though in a way, the services do cover a gap in terms of making foreigners to follow the services, they do not in any way, solve the problem of trying to actually close the gap created by people failing to meet each other half way and finding a common ground to operate from.

2.7 Summary

This chapter concentrated mainly in trying to shed some light on the causes of xenophobia and other related issues around the subject. The causes of xenophobia include the accusations that foreigners 'steal' jobs from locals, erroneously access government grants, 'steal' women from locals, commit crimes, accept below minimum wage salaries and enjoy better living standards than locals. The foreigners' way of life is sometimes irritating to the locals. A number of government departments' which directly or indirectly deal with foreigners have also been discussed with regard to how they handle foreigners and the subtle message that they seem to paint in terms of government's standpoint on the matter of foreigners within South Africa. Other issues discussed in this chapter include the tension between local small scale businesses and those owned by foreigners, and also several matters that transpired during the 2010 Soccer World Cup that was held in South Africa. It

is clear from the several dimensions that have been under discussion that, the issue of xenophobia is a complex one that has so many facets and dimensions intertwined together. What is however very clear about xenophobia is that its effects are far reaching and undesirable to both the country's image and the victims. The next chapter will focus on the effects of xenophobia and also finding out whether there are programmes in place to raise awareness on xenophobia and to encourage a peaceful relationship between South Africans and the foreigners that live amongst them.

CHAPTER 3

Effects of xenophobia and peace building programmes

3.1 Introduction

As explained in the previous chapter, xenophobia is a fear of strangers which lead to the identification of the outsiders and may then lead to various actions being taken against the strangers. The previous chapter has extensively highlighted the way people are identified and stigmatised as sources of trouble. Foreigners in South Africa according to the previous chapter have been accused of mainly depriving locals of several life essentials which include taking up employment meant for locals, erroneously benefitting from government handouts, snatching away women from locals, suffocating the locals and competing for services such as treatment at hospitals and clinics and taking up school vacancies at the expense of the South African learners. In view of the resentment that some locals have towards foreigners due to the listed matters of concern, some locals do not end at only resenting the foreigners but take actions in retaliation to the perceived invasion of their spaces and livelihoods. This chapter will outline the effects of xenophobia resulting from locals retaliating to the invasion of their spaces. Xenophobia has various effects on the various facets of society. The effects of xenophobia will be discussed with the focus particularly on aspects such as violence, death, physical effects, psychological effects and effects of xenophobia on tourism and the economy. The last section of this chapter will trace whether there are any recent theories and practices regarding education for tolerance.

3.2 The effects of xenophobia

This section outlines the effects of xenophobia.

3.2.1 Violence as the main effect of xenophobia

Violence is one of the (if not the) most evident effects of xenophobic tendencies. Alvarez and Bachman (2008:29) note that when violence is particularly brutal or heinous, people often have a hard time grasping how and why individuals could do such horrific things. Alvarez and Bachman (2008:29) further point out that when confronted by such violence most people often ask a very simple question: Why does it happen? The answer or answers to that question are unfortunately neither straightforward nor easy since individuals who engage in violence do so for a multiple reasons as noted by Alvarez and Bachman (2008:29). Alvarez and Bachman (2008:29) note that a number of factors that include human physique, psychology, history, socialisation and culture can influence a violent reaction. According to further explanations by Alvarez and Bachman (2008:29), no single reason can be the sole determining force that brings about violence in a given situation but instead, people need to understand that behaviour is typically a result of numerous elements that interact and sway people's actions in many complex ways.

Palermo (2004:6) says violence and victimisation have been part of collective life and daily relationships from time immemorial and that, the use of crude force instead of good reasoning is a long standing habit of humankind. Palermo (2004:6) explains: "Studies of violence indicate that its presence has reached a high peak at different historical periods, and it is common knowledge that at any given period violence has been felt by society." According to Palermo (2004:7), "... men and women, since the beginning of humankind, have been creatures of passion who easily become enraged and angered, that violence and anger is so powerful that often reason and goodwill can barely resist it. At times the violence may not only be expressed against a given individual, the intended target of the hostility but also against unrelated persons or innocent bystanders." According to the World Health Organisation (WHO) (2002), "Violence is 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, mal-development or deprivation.” Berkowitz (in Gross, McInneen, Coolican, Clamp & Russell 2004:241) use the word violence to describe an extreme form of aggression in which a deliberate attempt is made to inflict serious physical injury on another person or damage property.

Thomas (2004:13) suggests that violence may result from pervasive resentment and hatred, which may be harboured by ‘ordinary’ people and that may manifest in them through explosive, destructive behaviour. One such episode clearly illustrates the role of negative emotions and a person’s determination to destroy those they see as a source of frustration and disappointment (Thomas 2004:13). Thomas (2004:13)’s views here about violence do tally exactly with issues that have been noted elsewhere in this study, that foreigners are resented and hated by locals here in South Africa as it is believed that, they are the main source of frustration and disappointment for the latter. The foreigners are viewed as intruders in the locals’ territory who come to usurp the necessities from the locals who in turn live very miserable lives under very squalid situations, which easily breed anger and frustration in the latter. Alvarez and Bachman (2008:39) note that, the Frustration-Aggression hypothesis contends that, violence is one of the possible responses from individuals who feel as the name implies frustrated and thwarted in achieving something. The violence according to them (Alvarez & Bachman 2008:39), may be instrumental in the sense that, it is used as a way to achieving a goal, or it may be expressive in that, it is a way of venting that frustration or letting off some steam.

Alvarez and Bachman (2008:29) further explain that, “Research indicates that certain factors increase the likelihood of violent outcomes, such as when a person perceives their frustration as being intentionally caused by someone else and when they perceive the hindrance as being unfair.” Alvarez and Bachman (2008:29) corroborate what has been said earlier concerning perception of foreigners as a source of frustration. Palermo (2004:19) refers to Konrad Lorenz’s Hydraulic Energy Mode theory, whereby it is held that hostility is in a continuous flux and tends to accumulate, like the flow and accumulation of a liquid in a container. When the liquid reaches a certain pressure threshold, it would open a valve spout and a sudden flow of accumulated liquid would escape. Palermo (2004:20) mentions that

Lorenz then proposed based on that experiment that the force behind any instinctive behaviour thus, a force that energises aggressive behaviour accumulates, if not regularly discharged, it builds up and eventually finds a target on which to release itself.

Lorenz's theory as presented by Palermo (2004:20) is quite intriguing because it could explain how hostility builds up in people, often to the point of explosively acting out, which can possibly be the reason for the random violence that is often seen so frequently today. Palermo (2004:20)'s comments on Lorenz's theory are also very intriguing in relation to this study as such declarations seem to tally exactly with some of the issues discussed as causes of xenophobia whereby angry mobs act spontaneously in a violent manner due to frustration that has bottled up inside them. Thomas (2004:13) mentions a person's determination to destroy those they see as a source of frustration, in the case of xenophobia the targets become foreigners who are seen as intruders in the locals' spaces and steal away all the glamour. It is in light of these views that foreigners may be indeed taken as sources of frustration for the locals who in turn may repeatedly attack them (foreigners) as a way of venting their anger and to drive away the supposed source of their (locals) frustration. Alvarez and Bachman (2008:31) make a very interesting point that, many animals defend their territories vigorously from intruders and trespassers which are the same traits exhibited by perpetrators of xenophobic violence.

O'Neill (2011:374) notes that, "As South Africa enters the twenty-first century and tries to shake off its violent history, it carries with it an international reputation for violence as it remains a critical problem for the country." In the same vein, Alvarez and Bachman (2008:29) also note that "... we have evolved to inhabit a world in which violent behaviour has proven necessary for survival because it allows for a range of responses to the problem of staying alive." O'Neill (2011:376) also add that, "Socio-biological explanations of violence argue that human beings, like most other animals, have innate capacity for violence which enables them to hunt, to protect resources, and to respond to threats, all of which are fundamental to survival." O'Neill (2011:377) goes further to point out that, "Violence can occur at the level of the community for example when residents of a particular group target another group or tribe like in South Africa whereby in recent years, many non South Africans have been labelled *amakwerekwere* and have been victimised."

Xenophobic violence seems to be readily associated with poverty as a catalyst. Alvarez and Bachman (2008:40) state that many minority communities live among the ranks of the poor where they not only suffer from economic deprivation but also from discrimination and racism. Alvarez and Bachman (2008:40) further clarify their view when they say that, many minority populations (like foreigners) live in impoverished areas faced with more difficult life situations, where high levels of violence are experienced as a result of effects of chronic stress on individuals and groups of such neighbourhoods. According to Alvarez and Bachman (2008:41), prolonged stress has many adverse effects on the body and mind as it puts a tremendous strain on the various systems and organs, hence the high concentration of various forms of violence among the ranks of the poor compounded by many other forms of social problems.

Alvarez and Bachman (2008:40) mention the Strain theories, which contend that, the blocked or frustrated needs and desires of the poor may result in criminality and violence whereby people living in impoverished circumstances are placed under strain because their access to conventional and legitimate means of success is severely constrained. Alvarez and Bachman (2008:41) also explain that, poor people suffer daily strains and indignities of living with few resources within a society, which largely ignore their plight, and they struggle to get by, to survive and to make ends meet. Such circumstances tend to lead to stressful lives, which can be compounded by failing to provide for one's family. When individuals fail to cope with such stressful circumstances of economic deprivation, the consequences can be violence. People's inability to fulfil their appropriate functions in their families and communities and society at large is referred to as disempowerment and can in turn lead to violent tendencies (O'Neill 2011:377).

3.2.2 Death as a result of xenophobic acts

Many people have been killed as a result of xenophobic violence. Neocosmos (2010:120) explains that, “In May 2008, the country exploded into an orgy of killing, looting and burning. The outcome in Gauteng was 62 people dead of whom 21 were South Africans.” Since South Africa gained independence from the Apartheid regime in 1994, numerous xenophobic related deaths have been reported in various media and the following deaths incidents are part of a xenophobia timeline (Crush 2008:47-50):

- In 1998, three non-South Africans were killed on a train travelling between Pretoria and Johannesburg.
- In the same year, that is 1998, two foreign nationals were “neck-laced” (burnt alive by putting a car tyre around the victim’s neck, filling with petrol and setting it alight) in Ivory Park near Midrand.
- In 2001 violent clashes broke out in Milnerton between Angolans and South Africans who accuse the migrants of taking their jobs and women. Three Angolans and one South African accused of killing one of the migrants were in turn killed.
- In 2004 a Somali shop owner was shot dead in broad daylight in his own shop on Christmas day. Nothing was stolen and xenophobia was thought to be the motive.
- In 2005, three Somali refugees were stabbed to death outside their shop. The attacks were thought to be motivated by xenophobia and resentment of their successful businesses.
- In 2006, violent riots erupted in Choba between foreigners and local residents who claim that the migrants steal their jobs. Two migrants were killed, including a Zimbabwean man who was burnt to death.
- Two Zimbabweans were killed in violent clashes between South Africans and foreigners in the informal settlement of Olievenhoutbosch in 2006.
- Again in 2006, at least one man was killed when violence erupted against foreigners in Plettenburg Bay, the reason being that, they were accused of stealing jobs from the local residents.

- In 2007, two Somali men were burnt alive in their shop in Mossel Bay the night after another Somali man was killed by armed gangs in Cape Town.
- In January 2008, four foreign nationals broke into a *spaza* shop (small backyard grocery shop) owned by a local trader in Soshanguwe and they were apprehended by residents who burnt to death one of them. They then called on all foreigners to leave.
- In February 2008, residents in Choba beat two Zimbabweans to death.
- In March 2008, at least seven lives were lost in a series of attacks spanning of a week in Atteridgeville. The deceased included a Zimbabwean, a Pakistani, and Somali nationals as well as a South African who was mistaken for a foreign national.
- Over the period between March and June 2008, several deaths of foreigners and South Africans mistaken for Foreigners were recorded. The causes of death include beating, stoning, burning, shooting and neck-lacing. There were more than 60 confirmed dead by the end of the attacks.

Due to the particularly violent form of xenophobia that exists in South Africa, Crush (2008:50) mentions that, the South African Baltimore Sun newspaper had to publish an article called “Rising tide of xenophobia” in 2006 in reference to the ever increasing reported cases of xenophobic violent incidents. In 2007, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) also noted its concern over the increase in the number of xenophobic attacks on Somalis who claim 400 Somalis to have been killed in South Africa in the previous decade. Crush (2008:42) also notes that, the then South African President Thabo Mbeki reacted with ‘disgust’ to the events of 2008. Indeed, it was really an issue of concern to all concerned people both in South Africa and around the whole world. In just under three weeks between May and June in 2008, 62 deaths were confirmed and there were many other unconfirmed deaths which indeed make the issue of xenophobia a cause of concern for foreigners living within South Africa and really can have a serious impact in terms of the country being an attractive tourist destination.

3.2.3 Physical effects of xenophobia

Higson and Suffla in O'Neill (2011:374) note that, "violence is understood as an act or situation that harms the health or well-being of oneself or others. It includes both attacks on a person's physical and psychological integrity, and the destructive acts that do not involve a direct relationship between victims and the institution, person or persons responsible for the harm." From the definition of violence given here, it is clear that the effects of violence include physical harm to people and physical destruction of property.

McConnell (2008) states that, "Foreign owned businesses were destroyed amounting to over R1.5 billion in damages." McConnell goes further to note that, although these foreign-national owned businesses contribute up to almost 25% of the gross domestic product (GDP) in South Africa, the South African government did not compensate for the losses or offer any further assistance for businesses that were destroyed during the attacks. The xenophobic attacks that began on the 11th until the 28th May 2008 left 37 500 foreign nationals displaced around the country. The attackers did not give anyone a chance to collect any valuables but made sure one ran for his or her life leaving behind all their hard-earned possessions for the looters to collect.

The media is also awash with several issues of the destruction of foreign owned businesses especially through arson and the several incidents of grievously bodily harm of people of foreign origins. Indeed, from the narration here, it is clear that xenophobia has far reaching physical effects that can be a turning point in the livelihood of the victims.

3.2.4 Psychological effects of xenophobia

According to the McMillan English Dictionary for Advanced Learners, International student edition (2002:1137) psychology is the study of the mind and how it affects behaviour. Nicholas (2003:3) states that, while the many definitions of psychology have varying emphasis, all agree that, psychology is the scientific study of behaviour. Nicholas (2003:3) also explains that, the term psychology is derived from two Greek words, that is, *psyche*

meaning the soul and *logos* meaning study. When studying xenophobia, it seems all of the issues around the subject are based on the state of the mind that culminate into a series of reactions one after another until the results or actions are eventually referred to as xenophobic. Xenophobia is a fear and dislike of people from other countries and cultures (McMillan English Dictionary for Advanced Learners: International student edition 2002:1667). The fear mentioned here is a feeling generated in the brain when a person is confronted by certain circumstances which will in turn lead people experiencing extreme fear to act in various ways which include but not limited to fear based aggression, which is violence in response to a perceived threat (Alvarez & Bachman 2008:30). The fear can lead individuals to mobilise each other and act under a situation known as deindividuation. Gustave Le Bon (in Alvarez & Bachman 2008:52) explains deindividuation as a phenomenon that facilitates violence within a group setting.

Gustave Le Bon (in Alvarez & Bachman (2008:52) further explains that, the psychological mechanism of anonymity and contagion (feelings that are experienced in very poor populations) transforms an assembly into a “psychological crowd” whereby within the crowd, the collective mind takes possession of an individual and consequently, the crowd member’s judgement is blurred. The individual becomes submerged in the crowd and can easily be controlled by the crowd leader or leaders and becomes capable of performing any act no matter how atrocious it can be. Alvarez and Bachman (2008:53) add that, deindividuation refers to the long noted phenomenon of individuals who lose their sense of self and individuality in a group. The loss of personal identity in a crowd leads to individuals being more capable of acting outside the boundaries of normal behaviour as there is freedom when acting in a crowd; a freedom to do things that otherwise would be unthinkable under normal circumstances. Members of a lynch in their normal everyday lives may lead fairly non-violent and peaceful lives, yet in the grip of the mob’s fury allow themselves to be swept along and even embrace and encourage the violent actions of the group (Alvarez & Bachman 2008:53).

Heal in (Alvarez & Bachman 2008:215) identifies eight specific psychological factors that remove prohibitions against violent behaviour and facilitate individual participation in mob violence such as xenophobia:

- Novelty: some people may come to participate in riots and many other group behaviours simply because they are bored and see in the collective action as a break from routine and a sense of excitement and novelty.
- Release: even though an individual may not be very concerned with specific grievances or causes, they may participate in violent acts as they find the violence and aggression as a release for a more generalized hostility, anger or frustration.
- Power: mobs feel empowered by the violence and destructiveness they unleash whereby participating in large-scale violence can confer upon somebody intoxicating feelings of control, domination and supremacy.
- Stimulation: the emotions and sentiments of crowds can be infectious and individuals caught up in the group can easily find their own emotions aroused and stimulated.
- Conformity: not only do individuals have natural tendencies to conform to the demands of a group, but rioting mobs also have a tendency to attack and victimize those who resist or do not conform, which tends to increase the pressures toward going along with the mob.
- Deindividuation: in groups, individual identity tends to be diffused into the larger collective identity and when this is combined with feelings of anonymity, participants may feel released from constraints on their behaviour.
- Suggestibility: many individuals in a mob may not be fully aware of what is going on and so may be open to the answers provided by others who may appear to better know or understand the situation.
- Justification: the sense of power engendered in group destruction can also lead to feelings of righteousness and legitimacy.

The issues pointed out by Heale here are very plausible in terms of explaining why some extreme forms of violence that are generally referred to as xenophobia have occurred here in South Africa. The psychological aspects mentioned here are easily believable as they really seem to be right on target in terms of explaining why a number of people have allowed themselves to participate in the xenophobic acts that have become a common occurrence in South Africa since gaining independence in 1994.

On the other hand the psychological impact of xenophobic acts on its victims is so severe and can be beyond the scope of this study but a brief summary of some of the psychological effects of xenophobia on its victims will be provided here. The effects of xenophobia on its victims are far reaching as they devastate their livelihood and life would never be the same again. Take for example the family of the Mozambican immigrant who Eliseev (in Hassim, Kupe & Worby 2008:31) states that, Ernesto Nhamuave, a miner from Mozambique was stabbed, beaten and set on fire which reduced him to cinder. In describing Nhamuave's death, Bishop Paul Verryn (Eliseev in Hassim, Kupe & Worby 2008:31) states that, "The image of a pleading, burning Mozambican met by laughing onlookers is etched in our memories." The 35-year-old father of three was set on fire in the middle of a street and burnt to death in Reiger Park in Johannesburg on May 18, 2008, in front of a large cheering crowd. The incident was repeatedly beamed on satellite around the whole world and was printed in many newspapers. The incident was really chilling to whoever watched it and these are the exact images that his children and family had to watch over and over again in their time of catastrophe. The rest of the man's family back in his home country learnt of his death in such a gruelling way and later had to welcome home his charred remains. The trauma inflicted on victims will probably continue to replay itself automatically in their minds for the rest of their lives.

Michelle Booth who works with refugee children at Troyville Primary School commented soon after the attacks of May 2008 in the Mail and Guardian (2008) that, "I've been struck by the shock and fear they (the school children) have experienced and by their sense of horror and ambivalence." She said many children were traumatised by the graphic images in the media, particularly that of a man being burned alive and adds that, "One child said he wanted to kill himself because things must be better in heaven." In the same report, Nicole Johnston says the refugee children at the above-mentioned school who fled violent conflicts in places such as Congo and Zimbabwe, had their illusion of a safe haven shattered and old traumas reactivated.

In a related article in the Mail and Guardian (2008), Nicole Johnston also narrates the story of a fourteen-year-old boy, Shadrack Mampuku who together with his family was driven from their home in Johannesburg inner city by howling mobs bent on killing them. They lost

everything except the clothes that they wore. Shadrack and his family are refugees from the Democratic Republic of Congo who fled the horror of a conflict that saw more than 2000 people killed each day and widespread use of rape as an instrument of terror as stated in the report. The same traumatised young man had to witness the same horrific acts that he managed to escape from at such a tender age. The young man was shown in a picture on the same article looking so dejected and seemingly with his thoughts so far away.

The loss of life and the related traumatic experiences were not limited only to Ernesto Alfabeto Nhamuave's family as more than 60 people died during the May 2008 attacks. According to Bordeaux (2008:46), "When the (2008) riots ended, more than sixty people had lost their lives, including twenty-one South Africans who were mistaken for foreigners. More than 100 000 immigrants were left homeless." Numerous worrying reports of foreigners having been killed have also been reported since 1994. Eliseev (in Hassim, Kupe & Worby 2008:27) explains his state of mind after witnessing one of the deaths when he mentions that, "Moments from the xenophobic mayhem flash in my memory like a stroke of light. Perhaps the torn narrative is the result of coming too close to the bloodshed." These sentiments were made after he witnessed how one man died in his full view. According to Eliseev (in Hassim, Kupe & Worby 2008:27), the man's wife had spent the whole night hiding under the bed as the man stood guard at the door. In a split of time, a gang ran up their street and a youth flung a brick at the man in guard's head, forcing him to collapse on the ground his head falling directly at the edge of a hard concrete pavement. Blood flowed down into the gutter and was carried off by a small stream. Eliseev's narrative shows how powerful the events were in terms of affecting one's feelings and will obviously impact on one's life thereafter as a slight hast movement can re-enact the scene in the mind or the sight of blood may send shivers down one's spine as it can also easily force the scene to replay in the brain.

A number of incidents of 'neck lacing' have been witnessed together with issues of people being thrown from moving trains or being locked up in shops and burnt to death with these incidents happening in full view of youngsters who may grow up thinking these acts as being right as a way of dealing with purported undesirable elements. Santrock (2005:675) notes that, "Violence is pictured as a way of life throughout the popular media: on the news and

on television shows, in movies, in video games and in song lyrics. Part of the reason that violence seems so glamorous is that, it usually is portrayed unrealistically. Viewers rarely see its lasting effects whereby in real life, an injured person may not recover for weeks, for months, or perhaps not at all, but on television recovery is either assumed or takes some few minutes.” In support of Santrock (2005:675)’s view, Whitaker (2000:41) also states that, “Society directly and indirectly fosters violence and helps develop violence prone individuals in great many direct (by commission) and indirect (by omission) ways that we deny. Most blatantly popular media culture spawns ubiquitous and innumerable sensational portrayals of violence which serve to train their audiences directly in para-lethal and lethal violence.” According to Huston and Wright (in Bernstein, Stewart, Penner & Edward 2012:229), psychologists have long speculated that watching so much violence might be emotionally arousing, making viewers more likely to react violently to frustration. Anderson and Dill (in Bernstein *et al* 2012:229) state that, “In fact, there is evidence that exposure to violence can trigger or amplify viewers’ aggressive thoughts and feelings, thus increasing the likelihood that they will act aggressively.”

Victims of traumatic experiences which include extreme forms of violence such as xenophobic violence can develop traumatic stress which results from moments of overwhelming fear, horror or helplessness and where an individual literally faces death (O’Neill 2011:377). O’Neill (2011:377) explains that, such experiences are deeply distressing and potentially life changing. O’Neill (2011:377) adds that, “Traumatic stress is a phenomenon of the psychological world which is less observable and can only be understood through close examination of the behavioural changes in people who have recently survived a violent incident or through the survivors’ descriptions of their feelings and thoughts.” According to O’Neill (2011:378) traumatic stress can lead to the following symptoms:

- Re-experiencing symptoms which are associated thoughts, feelings, psychological responses and behaviours which remain with the person long after the traumatic event is over and may take form of memories, intrusive images or flashbacks. This will mean that, even though the incident is in the past the mind and body will still react to triggers associated with the past traumatic event.

- Avoidance symptoms, which are strategies people use to try to avoid the fear and pain caused by their ongoing re-experiencing of the event. Very often people stay away from the people, places and activities that remind them of the nasty experience.
- Arousal symptoms are closely related to people's highly developed survival mechanisms whereby following a traumatic experience, people often find it very difficult to fall asleep and are easily woken up, are often hyper vigilant and quick to anger.

Traumatising experiences can cast a long shadow over people's lives including perpetrators as well as victims. That is to say, the effects of the experience can be radical and long lasting.

3.2.5 Effects of xenophobia on tourism and the economy

The extent of the xenophobic attacks between May and June of 2008 reached some levels that had not been experienced previously in South Africa such that, their brunt was not only felt locally but worldwide as a number of embassies had to issue travel warnings to their nationalities. According to Jurgens (Sunday Times 2008:13) in the wake of the xenophobic violence experienced during the period, countries like Australia, United States of America (USA), United Kingdom (UK) and Canada warned their citizens who were intending to visit South Africa to exercise a high degree of caution. Australia's Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade wrote on its website, "We strongly advise you not to travel to the township areas in all provinces of South Africa because of the violence directed against foreigners and the extremely dangerous security situation in these areas. All township tourism should also be avoided at this time". The fears had ripple effects as other concerned intended visitors were forced to cancel their trips as reported by Ferreira (in Daily Dispatch 20 May 2008). Ferreira (in Daily Dispatch 20 May 2008) notes that, it cost the organisers of a conference of African businesswomen in Cape Town about R100 000 due to about seventy delegates who stayed away because of the violence.

Michael Tatalias, Chief Executive of South African Tourism Services Association is quoted in the same article as having noted that, some 'very panicky' overseas-based operators had

expressed concern at the violence across Gauteng and that the pictures shown all over the world about the xenophobic violence were very graphic. In a related issue to the one mentioned above, Baumann also reports in the Business Day (21 May 2008) that, "The graphic images being broadcast and published around the world of the violent attacks on foreigners in and around Johannesburg have the country's tourism authorities fretting. ...Photographs of foreigners being brutally beaten and burnt splashed across the front pages of major newspapers around the world could do great damage to the (tourism) sector." Fauvet reported in the Sunday Argus (25 May 2008:2) that panicky South African tourists in Mozambique were evacuating that country fearing for retaliation from locals for the attacks of their fellow countrymen in South Africa as emails and SMS were doing rounds calling on Mozambicans to avenge the attacks on their fellow citizens.

In reference to the damage caused on the image of the country to outsiders, Hartley (Business Day 2008) states that the then President of South Africa, as he was introducing his budget vote in the National Assembly noted that, "While the violence was the work of a tiny minority of South Africans, the cowardly attacks had shamed everyone. It soiled the good name of the country, which was earned through centuries of bitter and heroic struggles in pursuit of a humane and just society free of racism, sexism, xenophobia and other forms of intolerance." The issues that have been highlighted here show some serious concerns from high profile officials and other fellow South Africans who were in foreign lands. There were even reports of South African soccer officials being attacked while handling international matches abroad. These issues had some ripple effects especially on the economy of South Africa. The rand was reported to have slid sharply against major currencies as photographs of xenophobic violence hit the front pages of leading international newspapers (Isa 2008:1).

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and Focus Migration are quoted by Mathe (in the Financial Mail 2009) when he mentions that, Mozambican High Commission had to higher ten coaches for their citizens who wanted to leave South Africa which was a great unexpected expense on their part. Many tourists who cancelled their stay in foreign African countries also suffered losses, as they had to incur the costs of cancelling bookings and having to abruptly make travel arrangements in flight out of the host countries in fear of retaliations. Locally many foreign owned businesses were burnt down or closed while many

foreigners were not able to go to work because of the tense situation that engulfed the country and drove fear in them costing many employers a great loss of man hours. All these factors had a great effect on the economy and marked the permanent closure of some business enterprises that were destroyed beyond repair.

The above section outlines the effects of xenophobia which include violence, death, physical damages both to human beings and property, psychological effects, and its effects on tourism and the economy. The next section will highlight whether there some programmes that were launched in an effort to raise and cultivate awareness on issues around xenophobia and its effects.

3.3 Programmes launched to cultivate peace building and awareness on xenophobia

Since 2001 when South Africa hosted a World Conference through the aegis of the UN on the matter of curbing intolerant behaviour from nation to nation, this matter has received scant attention here in South Africa, except for a brief spell in 2008 when violence against foreigners reached crisis proportions. There are small scale efforts being made by individuals and small organisations that are aimed to curb xenophobia within communities which do not get noticed as they involve insignificant numbers of people and do not get as much front page astounding publicity as the xenophobic acts of 2008 got, meaning they remain obscured and hidden in between newspaper pages if ever they get to be published. These small scale programmes include:

- Tucked on page seven of The Herald (29 July 2010), Wilson reports that, in an effort to curb xenophobia, less than three hundred residents of Motherwell in Port Elizabeth gathered in NU30 Motherwell community Hall on the 28th of July 2011 to launch the police's anti-xenophobia campaign named "Am I my brother's keeper" which aims to help foreigners integrate into their community.
- Mpso reported in the Cape Argus (2011:6) that on the 18th July 2011, around hundred community leaders took part in a public dialogue on xenophobia in honour of Mandela day at the Cape of Good hope Center hosted by the City of Cape Town's

development department in partnership with various NGOs from around Africa. The meeting concluded that xenophobic attacks were rife in the Western Cape especially in townships such as Phillippi, Delft, Masiphumelele and Gugulethu prompting the delegates to agree that, the government must create laws that will allow authorities to crack down on perpetrators of xenophobic attacks.

- Ghelli reports in the All Africa (10 August 2012), that an asylum-seeker from Zimbabwe and a South African community outreach worker had united to create a sport for peace project to create an understanding in a country where xenophobia sometimes erupts into violence. The Zimbabwean, Bradley Shonhai, 23, is a coach of an all Zimbabwean football team based in Mabopane township in Pretoria that he founded in 2011 while Sekia Bokaba, 43, is a South African who works for a Non-Governmental Organisation (NGO) called Lesidi La Batho Centre (Light to the People). Through sponsorship from Ninemillion.org, an organisation sponsored by UNHCR, Microsoft and Nike, the two united and run soccer programmes as a means to promote tolerance between refugees and their host communities.
- Zifo reports in the Daily Dispatch (2009:20) that, KK Productions had organised a boxing tournament in East London between South African boxers and their counterparts from all over the continent, which was to be held on the 23rd of January 2009. The tournament was dubbed “Boxing Against Xenophobia” and was to include female boxers. KK Production boss Koko Godolo said the show was aimed at promoting harmony and unity within the African boxing fraternity. The tournament was to host boxers from countries such as Zambia, Ghana and Zimbabwe.
- Smook noted in the Cape Argus (2011:4) that, according to the city manager of social development for the City of Cape Town, Lungelo Nokwaza, they were devising a strategy to proactively ensure that foreigners do not again become targets of xenophobic violence. The strategies involved focusing on programmes to help communities understand the rights of refugees and immigrants, and immigrants to understand their own responsibilities and ensure peaceful integration. Other proposed intervention programmes included training community leaders to facilitate conflict resolution, forging business partnerships between local and foreign entrepreneurs, dealing with criminal elements who exploit community resentment and ensuring that the influx of foreigners is properly coordinated.

- Makhanye writes in the City Press (2010:22) that, Clareville Primary School in Clare estate in Durban had won several awards for directly enrolling the children of asylum seekers from Africa's troubled regions and successfully integrating them with the local learners. Of the 735 children enrolled at the school at that time, 348 were from sub-Saharan African countries including the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Burundi, Rwanda, Angola, and Zimbabwe. The Deputy Principal of the school, Mr. Herman Singh said the school was the first in Durban to open its doors to foreign learners in 1997 when they started to enrol foreign learners as they felt that the children have a right to education no matter where they come from, as it was clear that they were here to stay. According to the report, during the World Conference against racism and xenophobia, which took place in Durban in 2001, Nana Annan, the wife of the then UN secretary general Kofi Annan and Ruud Lubbers, the chief of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees visited the school. The two were so impressed with what they saw prompting them to donate R90 000 to the school, which made the school to become the first school in the whole world to receive funds directly from UN coffers.

It is evident that, though the issues noted here are paramount in terms of curbing xenophobia, they were all considered to be not worth to make first page headline news. This is despite the fact that, they are issues that relate to a very serious matter that led to the country to explode into an orgy of violence in 2008 and with several related incidents having been repeatedly reported in the media. It can be argued here that, though xenophobia is a worldwide problem, it does not receive enough attention in everyday life except when there are flare-ups that in turn are over publicised as compared to issues of countering such acts. Khanya College's editorial desk reported in Karibu, its newsletter (May 2009) that, "Xenophobia flourishes because of the 'institutionalised' dehumanisation of foreign nationals who are afforded no protection or rights. The absence of political leadership and social delivery in poor communities that encourages the emergence of parallel and self-serving leadership structures, the paucity of conflict resolution mechanisms and the culture of impunity with regard to public violence in general and xenophobic violence in particular."

In the same article, titled 'Combating xenophobia: The struggle continues', Khanya College's editorial desk (May 2009) backs its position, with findings of the International Organisation for Migration (IOM) which noted in a report that, the reluctance of police and other local leaders to intervene in defence of xenophobia was because in some cases, they supported the community's hostile attitude towards foreign nationals. In other instances, they feared losing legitimacy and political positions if they were seen as defending unpopular groups. The same report notes that, despite the availability of information on xenophobia and its outbreaks, little has been done to address the root cause of the violence. It also states that, the South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC) had expressed concern that the issue of xenophobia had fallen off the radar entirely, and that there was no systematic investigation into the outbreak or serious attempts by social movements and working class organisations to address the issue within communities. As earlier mentioned, the lack of large-scale efforts to counter xenophobia in South Africa is apparent and since it is a recurring problem, recommendations will be made for the introduction of programs that will reduce the likelihood of the unfortunate situation witnessed in 2008 to recur.

3.4 Conclusion

This chapter's main aim was to highlight the effects of xenophobia and also to trace whether there are any programs that are aimed at curbing xenophobia. It is evident from the literature review that there are no perceptible programs both nationally and within the school system aimed at curbing xenophobia in South Africa. The next chapter will focus on linking social justice to xenophobia as it will be used as this research's theoretical framework.

CHAPTER 4

Theoretical framework of the study

4.1 Introduction

Buckingham and Saunders (2007:20) state that, "Research whether it is primarily descriptive or analytical should be theory driven where every item included in the questionnaire should be justified against the theoretical purpose of the research." Bouma and Ling (2010:19) explain that, "put simply, a theory is a guess about the way things are or an idea about how something works." Bouma and Ling (2004:47) further explain that, theories are ideas about the way other ideas are related and they can be abstract notions about the way concepts relate to each other. McMillan and Schumacher (2010:74) explain that, by placing the research into a conceptual framework or theoretical orientation, a rationale is provided for the research questions. McMillan and Schumacher (2010:74) further state that, essentially within a theoretical framework, this is where the intellectual or scholarly perspective in which the problem is embedded, is described.

From the brief explanations given here, it is perceptible that when it comes to theoretical frameworks of a research, the researcher will be trying to build a foundation on which the data to be collected can be based on. Theoretical frameworks, also known as conceptual frameworks, facilitate the ability to identify patterned social outcomes and the existence of contingent variable category formations (Anthias 1998:2).

In trying to further explain the purpose of a theoretical framework, Buckingham and Saunders (2007:23) add that, the way we observe 'facts' about people's behaviour, beliefs and attributes must to some extent reflect the ideas that we already hold about the reality we are observing or researching. The theoretical framework will be used not only to guide where researchers look but will actually help shape what they see (Buckingham & Saunders

2007). In other words, what is being researched upon will depend on prior conceptualisation whereby in the process of researching matters, researchers simultaneously make sense of the things by fitting their prior experiences into pre-existing conceptual frameworks.

Having noted this fact, it is then necessary to point out that, as the researcher was trying to sift through existing theories, there were glaring common issues between the tenets of social justice and the issues that seem to cause commotion and result in actions seen as being xenophobic. It was through these similarities of issues that are discussed within the context of social justice and xenophobia that led to social justice being chosen as the theoretical foundation of this study. As xenophobia has already been discussed extensively in chapter two, the following section will examine social justice by outlining the definitions and elucidations of various authors working in that particular field from different countries.

4.2 What is social justice?

In an effort to unravel the exact meaning of the term social justice, it becomes clear that, the term does not have a clear-cut definition and is interpreted differently in different societies, at different times and circumstances. Cramme and Diamond (2009:3) state that, "The very definition of social justice has always been complex and contested." Griffiths supports this notion in (Vincent 2003:2) when he asserts that, "Social justice has a temporal and spatial dimension, that is, what is considered as just at one juncture in history, or in one place, or amongst one social group, is not necessarily considered so in another." Saltman (in Ayers *et al* 2009:1) also state that, "... social justice does not have a unified or static meaning."

Capeheart and Milovanovic (2007:1) point out that, "social justice is necessarily broad and inclusive of historical and critical examinations which must include and attend to what justice may mean and whether this justice is available within a variety of social contexts." Capeheart and Milovanovic's (2007:1) view tallies with the concept that what might be termed socially just today may not necessarily be just at another point in time or within a different social context as highlighted in the paragraph above. Capeheart and Milovanovic

(2007:4) contend that the western thought and philosophy concerning social justice can be traced back to the ancient Greeks and their conceptions of justice, equality and politics (see par 4.3). Capeheart and Milovanovic (2007:4) add that the ancient Greek understandings on the issues of justice equality and politics have strong influence upon later writings and conceptions.

Having noted the above pertinent points concerning the meaning of social justice, a number of authors' interpretation of the term (social justice) will be looked at in the next section for the purposes of sufficiently explaining social justice.

4.3 Early proponents of social justice

As early as the days of Plato, who lived from 427 until 347BC, the elusiveness of a concrete definition for social justice was already apparent as illustrated in his writings. According to Lycos (in Capeheart & Milovanovic 2007:4), Plato's writings illustrate competing ideas and conceptions of justice privileging the position that justice is within the character of the individual and expressed through just behaviour. In an attempt to answer the question, "What is justice", Capeheart and Milovanovic (2007:4) state that Plato recorded a dialogue between Socrates (who was his master and credited as one of the founders of western philosophy) and three persons of different backgrounds, that is, Polemarchus, Cephalus and Thrasymachus. Polemarchus is first quoted in the dialogue as having stated that, it is just to harm one who has harmed you, to which Socrates counters by stating that, if justice is excellence, then the harming of another reduces excellence in both parties and cannot be just.

Capeheart and Milovanovic (2007:4) point out that, it is not surprising that a merchant named Cephalus amongst them contended that, justice is paying off debts and returning what one owes. Socrates who was not convinced suggested in response to Cephalus that returning a weapon to an insane man, though he may own it, cannot be just. In turn Thrasymachus who was a teacher of rhetoric argued that justice is whatever serves the interest of the powerful to which Socrates disagreed and suggested that rulers would not

seek their own advantage but would seek justice for those whom they rule. The dialogue reported sheds some light as to how social justice can be interpreted differently by people of different backgrounds as pointed out by the authors quoted at the beginning of this section. These competing views were there right from the early days that the term social justice began to surface as illustrated here by the conversation that took place during the early times in the period that the term is believed to have been coined.

Aristotle, another Greek philosopher who lived between 384 and 322BC is another notable contributor of the very early days to the discussion of issues of justice within the context of a society. Aristotle is famous for insisting on the importance of equality (Gaus in Capeheart & Milovanovic 2007:13). Though Aristotle insisted upon the importance of equality, Gaus notes that he (Aristotle) was not arguing for absolute equality but instead he quantified equality by being clear that, equals must be treated equally while unequals must be treated unequally. Such an idea of proportionate equality was described as just while counter proportionate equality was described as unjust. Gaus (in Capeheart & Milovanovic 2007:13) describes Aristotle as having gone to some lengths to quantify the above stated idea of equality and proportionality by explaining that the unequal treatment of equals or the equal treatment of unequals leads to quarrels. Capeheart and Milovanovic (2007:13) point out that, though Aristotle's affirmations may sound very convoluted and unfair, such forms of in/equality are however still with us today.

Hobbes, a 15th century Philosopher, noted the following on the matter of social justice (Capeheart and Milovanovic (2007:15): "The natural condition of man ... is war for everyone against everyone in which case everyone is governed by his own reason and there is nothing he can make use of that may not be held unto him in preserving his life against his enemies." Furthermore, the sovereign was established by the people with full authority to dictate rights and judge claims to those rights. Hobbes also conceived of individuals as equals entering into a rational contract with each other to keep the peace and maintain security.

The social contract according to Hobbes expressed itself through the social control of the autonomy of others. According to Hobbes' fatalistic view of humanity as naturally warlike

and quarrelsome, Capeheart and Milovanovic (2007:15) note that, it follows, therefore that an absolute government would be necessary to keep the peace since criticism of the sovereign would obviously invite conflict. In Hobbes' view, the governing authority would be at pains to keep the peace between its subjects through the resolution of disputes, which arise because of the natural tendency of humans to quarrel. A just appreciation of the authors' remarks in this regard seems to indicate a degree of dissent from Hobbes' position, given that authoritarianism prevails at the end of the day.

According to Capeheart and Milovanovic (2007:15), the modernist theory of social justice can be traced back to Kant who lived between 1724 and 1804 and who like Hobbes also assumed human beings to be rational and to have the ability to reason. Capeheart and Milovanovic (2007:16) note that, Kant's classical work, "The foundations of the metaphysics of morals", advocated morality as categorically imperative and stands for any proposition that calls forth a particular action that is seen as an absolute requirement regardless of a situation, that is, a universal law such as "To be good is to be respectful of others." Kant believed that human beings have the capacity to act based on autonomy and self-governance and can be located in the social contract tradition that dictates everyone to act according to terms that could universally be derived from rational thought such as the "Kingdom of ends principle." The kingdom of ends principle is explained by Capeheart and Milovanovic (2007:17) as the systematic union of different rational beings through common laws, each person pursuing his or her interest while at the same time acknowledging that other rational beings must be allowed to pursue theirs and all parties consider themselves bound by rationally developed laws. In Kant's view, the just state can only be realised by the collective will of the people acting in the form of a Republic based on freedom and reason (Capeheart & Milovanovic 2007:17).

For Kant, a hypothetical 'original contract' derived from reason could be examined from reason and in terms of the justice of laws passed by the Republic whereby it (the public contract) obligates every legislator to formulate his laws in such a way that they could have sprung from the unified will of an entire people (Capeheart & Milovanovic 2007:17). Capeheart and Milovanovic (2007:15) further add that the concept of the social contract

and social justice has been with us for centuries and recent investigations into the nature of social justice have sought to develop principles of a just social order as postulated by Kant.

4.4 Modern theorists on social justice

John Rawls built on Kant's postulation from an inductive perspective so that the terms of a social contract can be laid down in the absence of a conscious position in society making observations and working toward generalisations and theories (Capeheart & Milovanovic 2007:19), thus presumably enabling the construction of a just contract that would neither privilege nor oppress any position because the party drafting the contract would not have the ulterior motive of defending a preconceived position (Rawls in Capeheart & Milovanovic 2007:19). In Rawls' view, two basic principles can be agreed upon whereby the first deals with the right to equality and the second with the conditions for an inequality that might be included within or created by the social structure.

Rawls' first principle of equality stipulates freedom of speech, assembly, private property and freedom from subjective forms of arrest and seizure. Rawls' second principle determined that inequality is just only if it serves the common good. Rawls also asserted that in order to be just, the better positions within an unequal system must be equally accessible to all members of that system whereby the distribution of wealth must be to everybody's advantage (Capeheart & Milovanovic 2007:19). Rawl postulated that social and economic inequalities are to be arranged so that they are to the greatest benefit of the least advantaged allowing unequal distributions of wealth and income so long as it maximises the benefits of the worst-off in a society. In short, Capeheart and Milovanovic (2007:19) explain that, this means that, economic and social inequalities are allowable as long as they maximise the benefits of the worst-off implying that, whatever distributive scheme a society has in place, particularly where it allows inequalities, it should work in such a way that the worst-off benefit maximally.

According to Newan and Yeates (2008:2), "Social justice is an idea that mobilises people to act in order to bring about change. Struggles for social justice have led to the overthrow of oppressive governments, have produced rights and entitlements for citizens, workers,

children and other groups and have helped shape responses to issues of poverty, inequality and exclusion.” Newan and Yeates (2008:2)’s notion is a very important one in relation to the issue of xenophobia as it seems to be the main basis of people frequently resorting to violent acts as a way of attracting attention when they feel that the status quo is not socially just and they are being ignored. When the attention-seeking violence presumably appears to target people of foreign origins that is when it is then referred to as being xenophobic.

Cramme and Diamond (2009:3) state that, “Social justice is a term which refers to the relative distribution of rights, opportunities and resources within a given society and whether it deserves to be regarded as fair and just.” Zagda (2006: vii) on the other hand, contends that a measure of social justice depends on an appropriate answer to the following question; “How can we contribute to the creation of a more equitable respectful and just society for everyone?” a critical element of such an answer would have to address the issue of equitable distribution of goods and resources which seems to be a major bone of contention in the matter of xenophobic violence. When those who consider themselves the rightful custodians of South Africa and its resources feel short changed when those considered outsiders seem to be getting a bigger share of the resources than they are, it seems to be one of the major reasons for xenophobic acts to flare up.

Fraser in Vincent (2003:18) outlines social justice based on the absence of:

- Exploitation: having the fruits of one’s labour appropriated for the benefit of the other.
- Economic marginalisation: being confined to undesirable poorly paid work or having no access at all to work.
- Deprivation: being denied an adequate material standard of living.

Fraser’s view implies that, a socially just status quo is attained when socially unjust elements such as exploitation of individuals, economic marginalisation and deprivation of goods and services are eliminated.

Power and Gewirk (in Vincent 2003:19) introduce associational justice as another form of social justice when they state that, “Associational justice can be defined by the absence of patterns of association amongst groups (nonexistence of selective association) which prevent some people from participating fully in decisions which affect conditions within which they live and act in.” In other words, this is when everyone is treated equally irrespective of ethnicity rather than a situation where those in authority only associate and further the interests of those they share the same race, colour, ethnicity or origins with. Associational justice points to social identities whereby the dynamic processes involved point to who individuals identify with, who they want to be and whom they want to be with (Epstein in Vincent 2003:19). The absence of associational justice means the universal association of everyone within a particular community without selective association based along issues of race, originality, colour, language and many other differences amongst people.

It is clear from the above competing views about what exactly is social justice that, different authorities have indeed offered different perspectives on the subject and the term has so many angles that it is looked from. There are however a number of issues that become apparent as one goes through literature on social justice that are very important and are discussed in the following section.

4.5 Pertinent issues concerning social justice

There are issues that seem to be common in almost all the definitions for social justice that have been outlined above which may be categorised into two categories. The two categories are those terms that can fall under what can be termed as socially just on one side and those that can fall under the category of issues that are considered socially unjust on the other side. The following table summarises the terms under the two sub-headings, that is, socially just terminology and socially unjust terminology:

SOCIALLY JUST TERMINOLOGY	SOCIALLY UNJUST TERMINOLOGY
Equality	Inequality
Rights	Oppressive
Rationale	Marginalisation
Interests	Deprivation
Freedom	Exclusion
Equitable	Injustices
Fair	Unfair
Respectful	Domineering
Privilege	Inequitable
Entitlement	Segregation

Table 4.1 Socially just and socially unjust terminology

The repertoire of words under the heading socially just terminology in the table above can undeniably mean almost the same thing and allowing them to be interchangeably used and all refer to issues and actions that are considered gracious by every human being. These aspects are expected either from fellow members of any given society or from the governing authority of a given territory. Macmillan English Dictionary for Advanced Learners (2002:464) gives the meaning of equality as a state of being equal, especially in having the same rights, status and equality, hence the suggestion that, the terms can be used interchangeably as the other terms are used to clarify the other. Once the socially just aspects listed in the first column lack within a particular society, it then gives rise to the issues mentioned in the column headlined socially unjust terminology.

A major landmark of the growing prominence of the issue of social justice was the United Nations (UN) Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948. The declaration encompasses all the aspects listed in the first column of the table above as socially just. According to Barnard, Frank and Kneen (2006:27), human rights are rights to which all people are entitled

to, regardless of their race, colour, gender, age, sexual orientation, language or religion and in that regard, the UN drew up the Universal Declaration of Human Rights to make the whole world aware of human rights. Barnard *et al* (2006:27) state that the UN's Universal Declaration of Human Rights makes the following important declarations:

- All human beings, regardless of race, colour, sex, or religion, are born free and have the same rights.
- All people have the right to life and liberty.
- No one shall suffer torture or inhuman punishment. No one shall be put into prison without a trial.
- All people are equal before the law and have the right to a fair trial.
- All people have the right to travel freely in their own country. They also have the right to leave their own country and return to it.
- Adult men and women have a right to marry. Men and women are entitled to equal rights in marriage.
- All people have the right to freedom of thought and religion, and to worship in freedom.
- All people have a right to own property.
- All people have the right to take part in the government of their country.
- All people have the right to work and to equal pay for equal work.
- Everyone has the right to education.

It is understandable that, the UN's Universal Declaration of Human Rights clearly outlines and covers issues meant to address issues of social justice and eliminate the unfair treatment of individuals without taking one's race, colour, sex, origins or religion into consideration. Governments the world over are entrusted as the custodians of the duty to protect all in their territories in order for them to enjoy full human rights as enshrined in the UN charter. This means that governments are expected to create equitable and just societies that respect everyone within their political borders. Zajda (2006:2) stresses this notion when he states that, "Most conceptions of social justice refer to an egalitarian society that is based on the principle of equality and solidarity that understands and values human rights and that recognises the dignity of every human being." Since it has been

noted that, a concrete definition of social justice seems to be elusive, it can also mean that what one government can consider justifiable can mean something else elsewhere. Although many governments try to operate within the dictates of the UN Charter, they (the governments) are normally confronted by their own unique circumstances, which lead them to pursue different themes when it comes to issues pertaining to what can be considered socially just. This means that what can be socially just in one state can be considered as unjust in a different state, society or in another perspective. This view is supported by Walster and Walster (in Mau & Veghte 2009:3) who state that, "For attitudes research, there is no 'correct' interpretation of what justice means: justice is in the eyes of the beholder." As earlier on noted that, mainly it is the role of governments to strive to provide equitable conditions for all people within its borders, the following sections will focus on the South African government's policies that directly focus on issues of social justice.

4.6 South African government policies that relate to issues of social justice

Less than ten years after the UN drew up and published the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948, a notion of a Charter to deal with issues of equality was discussed in South Africa at an annual Congress of the African National Congress (ANC) in August 1953 as stated in the preamble of the ANC's Freedom Charter (1955). The Freedom Charter preamble explains that, Prof Z K Mathews formally suggested convening a Congress of the People (COP) to draw up the Freedom Charter. The idea was then adopted by the allies of the ANC, the South African Indian Congress, the South African Coloured People's Organisation and the South African Congress of Democrats. All the aforementioned parties gathered for the COP that was convened in Kliptown, near Johannesburg and drafted the Charter on the 25th and 26th of June 1955. The Freedom Charter (1955) preamble note that, the COP represented a crucial historical moment in establishing a new order based on the will of the people.

The main aim of the Freedom Charter was to rebuff the order of State oppression that existed and the exploitation, which was prevalent in the 1950s and earlier as noted in its

preamble. The following issues are direct extracts from the Freedom Charter that are pertinent and have connotations to issues relating to xenophobia:

- We the people of South Africa, declare for all our country and the world to know that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white.
- Our country will never be prosperous or free until all our people live in brotherhood, enjoying equal rights and opportunities.
- The rights of the people shall be the same, regardless of race, colour or sex.
- The preaching and practice of national, race or colour discrimination and contempt shall be a punishable crime.
- All people shall have equal rights to trade where they choose, to manufacture and to enter all trades, crafts and professions.
- Restriction of land ownership on a racial basis shall be ended, and all the land re-divided amongst those who work it, to banish famine and land hunger.
- Freedom of movement shall be guaranteed to all who work on the land.
- No one shall be imprisoned, deported or restricted without a fair trial.
- The courts shall be representative of all the people.
- Imprisonment shall be only for serious crimes against the people, and shall aim at re-education, not vengeance.
- The police force and army shall be open to all on an equal basis and shall be the helpers and protectors of the people.
- Pass laws, permits and all other laws restricting these freedoms shall be abolished.
- All the cultural treasures of mankind shall be open to all, by free exchange of books, ideas and contact with other lands.
- All people shall have the right to live where they choose, to be decently housed and to bring up their families in comfort and security.
- Slums shall be demolished, and new suburbs built all the transport, roads, lighting, playing fields, creches and social centres needed.
- South Africa shall be a fully independent state, which respects the rights and sovereignty of all nations.

- Peace and friendship amongst all our people shall be secured by upholding equal rights, opportunities and status for all.
- The right of the peoples of Africa to independence and self-government shall be recognised and shall be the basis of close co-operation.

Another document, namely the South African Constitution also deals with issues relating to the tenets of social justice. The Constitution of South Africa's chapter two contains the Bill of Rights, a human rights charter that protects the civil, political and socio-economic rights of all people in South Africa. South Africa's first bill of rights was contained in Chapter 3 of the transitional constitution of 1993, which was drawn up as part of the negotiations to end Apartheid. This interim Bill of Rights came into force on 27th of April 1994 (the date of the first non-racial election), while the current Bill of Rights, which replaced it came into being on 4th of February 1997 (the commencement date of the final Constitution) and is contained in chapter two of the current constitution.

For the purposes of analysis and comparison of the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Freedom Charter and the Bill of Rights, the following list provides direct extracts from the South African Bill of Rights, which can be applicable to all people within its borders including foreigners as there are no exclusions or exceptions in relation to them, that is, foreigners:

- This Bill of Rights is a cornerstone of democracy in South Africa. It enshrines the rights of all people in our country and affirms the democratic values of human dignity, equality and freedom.
- Everyone is equal before the law and has the right to equal protection and benefit of the law.
- Equality includes the full and equal enjoyment of all rights and freedoms. To promote the achievement of equality, legislative and other measures designed to protect or advance persons or categories of persons, disadvantaged by unfair discrimination may be taken.
- The state may not 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.

- Everyone has inherent dignity and the right to have their dignity respected and protected.
- Everyone has the right to life.
- Everyone has the right to freedom and security of the person, which includes the right-
 - not to be deprived of freedom arbitrarily or without just cause;
 - not to be detained without trial;
 - to be free from all forms of violence from either public or private sources;
 - not to be tortured in anyway ;and
 - not to be treated or punished in a cruel, inhuman or degrading way.
 - No one may be subjected to slavery, servitude or forced labour.
 - Everyone has the right to privacy, which includes the right not to have their person or home searched, their property searched, their possessions seized, or the privacy of their communications infringed.

It is clear that the three legislations are undeniably almost similar suggesting that, the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights might have inspired the others. The aspects listed in all the policies would provide a very solid background, which can protect individuals irrespective of their origins if ever the issues listed in them are adhered to. All the policy documents do not unlawfully discriminate directly or indirectly against anyone on grounds such as race, gender, sex, marital status, ethnic or social origin, colour, sexual orientation, age, disability, religion, conscience, belief, culture, language and birth. It is rather unfortunate that, contrary to what these laws dictate, there are serious allegations against the population at large and government authorities in South Africa, especially within the security forces and the DHA of blatant disrespect for these regulations, especially when it comes to foreigners.

The next section will briefly outline instances in which foreigners feel short changed and their rights abused. The next section will touch on the issues of social justice in relation to

foreigners within South Africa and review the extent to which they enjoy the rights as enshrined on them by the constitution, and point out the allegations of abuse of their rights by various elements of the indigenous population.

4.7 Issues of social justice and foreigners in South Africa

According to Schugurensky (2004:2), "Most social contract theories ... stress the importance of the state that gives priority to the welfare of its citizens and that ensures that some basic inalienable rights are protected." Various governments, all over the world have different immigration, emigration and migration laws that they use to categorise people within their borders as to who is a bona-fide citizen who can receive unlimited constitutional rights and state provisions. The ways in which governments handle the issues of social provisions to those seriously marginalised members of its society can in a way directly lead to magnified identity issues whereby others appear to be more belonging than others and stand to benefit more from state provisions. South Africa is no exception to that notion as it has its own policies that dictates how resources are distributed based on origin as opposed to the Freedom Charter declaration that, "We the people of South Africa, declare for all our country and the world to know that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white." The Freedom Charter Declaration does not have any exclusions as it clearly states that South Africa belongs to all who live in it implying that whether one is a foreigner or citizen, there are no distinctions.

As an example, the South African government was cornered and forced to carry out door-to-door audits of occupants of RDP houses in areas such as Alexandra due to widespread claims that, people of foreign origins were mistakenly benefitting at the expense of the genuine bona fide citizens of South Africa. This happened just less than three months before the 2008 xenophobic attacks. What followed then was indeed a bid to prove that there was no such thing as foreigners getting the houses as earlier outlined in chapter 2. The results of the audits indeed showed that, not a single foreigner had benefited from that government social welfare initiative. The demonstrators were clearly basing their arguments on government policy, which states that all foreigners are excluded from government handouts

that those who hold the revered thirteen digit bar coded green identity document are entitled to. The White Paper on Reconstruction and Development government's strategy for fundamental transformation of September 1994 note that, "... it is the government's fervent hope that they will jointly pursue the broader challenges of extending opportunity to the millions of adult South Africans (meaning foreigners are excluded) who can currently find no place in the formal economy."

As earlier noted Power and Gewirk (in Vincent 2003:19) mention what they refer to as associational justice as a form of social justice when they state that, "Associational justice can be defined by the absence of patterns of association amongst groups which prevent some people from participating fully in decisions which affect conditions within which they live and act in." In other words, this is when everyone is treated equally irrespective of ethnicity. It is under such circumstances as the RDP issue noted above that, instead of actually going on to use resources to prove the mobs wrong, the government authorities should have taken this as an opportunity to lecture them (the mobs) on the rights enshrined on everyone by the constitution, the Freedom Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Though the audits indeed proved that no foreigner was issued with an RDP house, this in a way might in fact have magnified the populace's belief that people of foreign origins do not deserve government benefits and any signs of them doing so must be dealt with immediately and reversed.

An international non-governmental organisation based in many countries, Human Rights Watch, in its report on health services provision for foreigners in South Africa titled "No Healing Here" in December 2009 notes that, "South Africa's Constitution provides for the right to health for "everyone" within the country. Since 2007, the Department of Health (DOH) has repeatedly affirmed the rights of asylum seekers and refugees to access the same public health care to which citizens has access to. However, during that same period, documented and undocumented migrants alike have been denied access to health care. Even when seeking emergency care after xenophobic attacks or rapes, migrants are often turned away by medical personnel who may discharge them prematurely, harass them, charge them excessive user fees, and call the police to deport them. The sad reality here is that, this scenario does not seem to be confined only to health services provision alone but

to various services that every living human being needs for a smooth survival every single day.

As noted above, the South African Constitution provides for the right to health for everyone within the country, this is the same case as with all the other rights as clearly highlighted above in the extracts from the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the South African Freedom Charter and the South African Bill of Rights. South Africa is an affiliate and signatory of the UN, which means it has obligations to stick to all the resolutions of the world organisation. It is however unfortunate that, though many government departments have gone a long way in trying to ensure that everyone enjoys the rights enshrined to them by the mentioned pieces of legislation, serious allegations have been made about the disregard of the law. Human Rights Watch (2005:5) notes that, "...foreign migrants are liable to be arrested, detained, and deported in circumstances and under conditions that flout South Africa's own laws."

The Human Rights Watch has published a number of reports over a period of more than 10 years that have all listed the ways in which the foreigners have been short-changed in South Africa. In the summary of a research report titled "Keep Your Head Down": Unprotected Migrants in South Africa in 2007, the Human Rights Watch notes the following issues in relation to the abuse of migrants:

- Human Rights Watch believes that in South Africa migrants are regularly subject to human rights violations when they are deported and that South Africa's Immigration Act 2002 is routinely violated.
- Human Rights Watch researchers spoke with several witnesses who reported that when apprehending suspected undocumented foreigners, police, immigration, and military personnel had assaulted them and extorted money.
- In one case, a border military patrol failed to prevent the rape of an undocumented migrant whom they had arrested.
- Unaccompanied child migrants detained by South African officials are held in police cells with adults, contrary to both domestic and international standards relating to the detention of minors.

- Deportees allege that police on deportation trains sometimes assault and extort money from them, and have even thrown deportees—who believe they have bought their freedom—off moving trains to their death.
- Immigration policy provides that foreign migrants facing deportation should be allowed to collect their unpaid wages, savings, and personal possessions, but in practice this seldom occurs.
- While many large-scale farmers do adhere to the basic conditions of employment law, other farmers openly disregard the minimum wage, do not pay overtime, sick leave, or annual leave, and make unlawful deductions from workers' wages.
- Farm workers are still too often the victims of violence by employers and other farm staff, which the workers may be unwilling to report for fear of losing their jobs.
- Failures by the government to ensure respect for international human rights law and South African immigration and employment laws, as well as certain deficiencies in those South African laws, result in the infringement of rights that migrants, documented and undocumented, should enjoy under international law and that are also protected by the Constitution of South Africa. These rights include, among others, the right to personal freedom, liberty and security, to appropriate conditions of detention, and to fair conditions or practices of work.

In a research report titled “Neighbors In Need: Zimbabweans Seeking Refuge in South Africa” released in June 2008, Human Rights Watch noted the following concerns:

- Without documents, Zimbabweans have no right to work and have limited rights and access to social assistance such as health care and housing.
- They are liable to arrest and deportation at any time and they live in permanent insecurity.
- Due to South Africa's dysfunctional asylum system and unlawful deportation practices, many of the tens of thousands that have applied for asylum are at constant risk of being unlawfully returned.

In yet another research titled “No Healing Here” released on the 7th of December 2009, Human Rights Watch noted the following alleged abuses against foreigners in South Africa:

- Restrictive immigration provisions leave many labor migrants, long an important part of South Africa's economy, undocumented and unprotected from deportation, discrimination and ill treatment.
- Human Rights Watch found that South Africa's failure to protect asylum seekers and refugees from deportation and violence leads both to increased disease and injury, and increased barriers to treatment for those conditions.
- Human Rights Watch's researchers found asylum seekers, refugees and undocumented migrants living in harrowing and life-threatening conditions, constantly under threat of assault, rape, disease, and discrimination.
- Migrants are particular targets for violence.
- Non-citizens are also targets for opportunistic crimes like robbery; a migrant advocate told Human Rights Watch that foreigners are sometimes called “ATMs” because “it is so easy to get cash out of them.”
- South Africa suffers very high levels of rape and other sexual violence, and migrant women are at intense risk throughout their journey and their residence there, especially those living in unsafe, informal group shelters.
- Non-citizens are excluded from government-subsidized housing, and no formal shelters for asylum seekers or other migrants exist.
- Left completely without shelter and at risk of deportation, recently arrived asylum seekers in Musina on the Zimbabwe-South Africa border were in 2008 forced to stay in a fenced open ground, called “the show grounds,” rented by the DHA to register asylum seekers.
- Wherever they take shelter, migrants in South Africa frequently live in hazardous conditions, vulnerable to illness, violence, arrest, eviction, food insecurity, and lack of basic services.
- The health rights afforded to migrants on paper are belied by the harassment and denial they face in hospitals and clinics, while their ability to survive and remain in good health is undermined by violence, displacement, and threat of deportation.

- Reception staff at clinics and hospitals regularly charges asylum seekers, refugees and migrants excessive fees in contravention of established DOH policy, frequently resulting in a failure to access essential treatment.

Since these are results of a number of researches already done by a seemingly reputable organisation it will be folly to try and make some comments on these allegations but to simply note them as they are comprehensive in their coverage of the various concerns that do surface time and again. Most of these allegations have also been noted in other sources. The following list contains headlines for stories in various media sources, which can back up the claims, listed above from the studies conducted by Human Rights Watch:

- ANC MP apologies for xenophobic slur. Political bureau (The Star 04 July 2011)
- Claim: illegals pay to stay (Helfrich in Citizen 12 November 2007)
- Cop brutality is widespread (Motshwane in Sowetan 24 January 2007)
- DG: asylum system madhouse (Stephen in Pretoria News 2 June 2010)
- DA orders probe on police brutality on immigrants and stallholders (Mabaso in Cape Argus 19 March 2008)
- Ethiopian forced to close tuck shop (Hans in the Witness 24 January 2011)
- Envoy probes victimisation of Nigerians (Fengu in the Daily Dispatch 17 December 2009)
- Government urged to rethink again on immigration policy (Business Day 11 February 2008)
- Give migrants the dignity we struggled to get (Pillay in Sunday Tribune 11 July 2010)
- I was jailed for being foreigner: caregiver (Skade T in The Star 12 March 2009)
- Home affairs man convicted of bribery (SAPA in Cape Times 13 October 2009)
- I never expected my country to sink so low (Hoosen in The Star 21 May 2008)
- Leaked photographs could reveal truth of brutality at Lindela (Farber in The Star 25 August 2006)

- Local business people want foreign rivals out (Seale L in The Star 17 June 2011)
- Narrow escape after shop set alight (Ntsaluba in theCity Press 5 June 2011)
- I will never return to South Africa (Majavu and Nyelenzi in Sowetan 7 July 2010)

In addition to the allegations noted above, in apparent acknowledgement of existence of indifferent treatment of foreigners, Hartley (in Cape Times 2009) writes, “Home Affairs Minister Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma says conditions at the refugee centre in Airport Industria have come as a ‘shock’ to her and that she will have her department look at solutions.” In the same article Hartley quotes the minister as having said, “For me it was quite an eye opener... The conditions are so difficult. There is no shelter... Seeing it was quite a shock. I was not prepared for it”. The Minister made the comments when she visited the DHA offices in Cape Town central on a fact finding mission. In another instance of statements issued by a very senior government authority, Stephen (Pretoria News 2 June 2010) quotes the Director General of the DHA, Mkuseli Apleni as having pointed out that, the Refugee appeal Board was a source of bottlenecks in the department’s system. The Director General said this was caused by the fact that, the whole country had only four officials and every applicant is required to appear in front of the board in person. Stephen notes that, such a state of affairs was revealed by Apleni during a presentation to members of parliament the previous day. The four officials are not adequate enough to adjudicate and process the thousands of refugee status applications then go through the interviews within reasonable periods of time as the applications keep coming in and seriously delaying and affecting the whole process at the expense of the applicants whose life will be in limbo.

While the issues noted above point to ill treatment of foreigners in South Africa especially by government employees, there are several instances that the South African government has extended an olive branch to them by gestures such as offering amnesty to illegal foreigners on several occasions as noted extensively elsewhere in this study. Having discussed issues of social justice and its implications on foreigners living within the borders of South Africa, the next section discusses the links between social justice and xenophobia.

4.8 Links between social justice and xenophobia

It is clear that, the issues discussed in chapter 2 in trying to clarify the causes of xenophobia and those issues discussed above under social justice clearly point to the fact that, they all deal with bread and butter issues. When individuals within a given society have their needs being met, that society will be considered to be a just society while individuals who are deprived of certain needs, can be considered to be living in conditions that are socially unjust. Individuals living under ostensibly unjust conditions may find themselves confronted with very harsh life situations that may trigger them to react in ways that can be viewed as being xenophobic. Zajda (2003:1) specifies that, social reformers used the term social justice as an appeal to the ruling classes to attend to the needs of the new masses of uprooted peasants who had become urban workers or dispossessed. Thus, it seems that matters of social justice or rather lack of it point squarely to the plight of the less privileged, many of whom depend on social grants. These are people who Davies (in Apple 2010:9) states a conspicuous fact that, "One third of the global urban population now live in slums. Even more staggering is the fact that over 78% of urbanites in the least developed countries lives in slums." Davies (in Apple 2010:9) continues to explicate that, "The economic crisis in these slums is experienced by the people living there in ways that are extra-ordinarily powerful. Rather than thinking about jobs in the usual sense of that term, it is better to think of informal survivalism as the major mode of existence."

The annual report of the Scottish executive (the supreme panel of the government of Scotland) (2000:4) highlights the plight of excluded groups when it notes that, "Some communities and groups face concentrations of deprivation and exclusion, sometimes as a result of structural inequalities and labour market effects and sometimes due to discrimination and inequality. We need to work together to plan for greater inclusion and support communities to take ownership of their own future." The deprivation and exclusion of the marginalised groups as described here by the Scottish executive (2000:4) results in people living under brutal life circumstances which can sometimes force them to react in very violent ways that can really shock the world just like the 2008 xenophobic attacks.

Fiona (in Vincent 2003:88) notes that, "Poverty breeds ill health. Whether food is nutritious is not the main issue, just being able to buy food of any description is the first priority. Poverty is powerless. There is no choice as to where you live." Fiona (in Vincent 2003:88) goes further to say, "Poverty is not being able to keep a warm comfortable home, thereby being unable to combat dampness and condensation. Poverty is defeat. The feelings of hopelessness and worthlessness can lead to the downward spiral of drug taking and alcoholism, which are ways of escaping from miserable surroundings and the awful day-to-day living and isolation."

Vincent (2003:88) also quotes Sandra (in Jones 1999b:7) who state that, "Stress is an inevitable part of life for those living on the breadline. The constant worries about making ends meet, about looking after your family and their needs. For people in poverty the stress of being unable to cope can be a killer." Maggie (in Vincent 2003:89) adds that, "To wander round a glossy supermarket with very little money in your purse – it's little wonder this leads to depression, a sense of never coping ...!" All these explications merely try to make it clear the torture that poverty imposes on society's marginalised who have a tendency to vend their anger on foreigners who appear to be the nearest scapegoats.

As stated in one of the quotations above, a poverty-stricken person does not have a choice as to where he or she lives, which can lead to staying in, sub standard hostels. Dibetle (2008:10) describes the hostels in the following manner, "The hostels' dimly lit corridors and dormitories, with their broken windows, burst pipes and overcrowding, present a picture of dilapidation and neglect." On the same subject of hostels or high-rise flats, Vincent (2003:90) states that, "High-rise flats that are a common feature of socially excluded and isolated communities; this type of housing is another factor that leads to stress and depression. Animosity between neighbours is also a problem when people are living, quite literally, on top of each other. This is often combined with overcrowding, especially for those with large or extended families." It is easily understandable to see why it is stated that the xenophobic attacks were masterminded in some hostels of a certain township where meetings were held to map the way forward before the xenophobia of 2008 ultimately started and quickly spread all over Gauteng and eventually spread all over the country.

Vincent (2003:85) mention that, the lack of social justice through social exclusion is really about the social processes that reproduce inequalities of power and resources, reinforce low self-esteem, undermine status and lower expectations. Social exclusion seems to manifest itself mainly due to lack of action on the part of governments to articulate the interests and needs of marginalised communities. The marginalised part of the population will in turn view the distribution of wealth as highly unequal and skewed and take it upon themselves to employ street justice in the form of xenophobia to correct the economic imbalances. The properties of those labelled as outsiders become targets, which lead them to be vandalised and looted with very little or no law enforcement agents intervention.

In view of Davies' declaration above, it is no surprise that most of the xenophobic attacks in South Africa have occurred in informal settlements where informal means of survival seems to be the major mode of existence. Most people living in informal settlements feel abandoned by the state and have always engaged in demonstrations that mostly end up very violent in their quest to draw government's attention to their plight. When some of the demonstrations focus mainly on attacks on people of foreign origins, they usually get referred to as being xenophobic. Davies (in Apple 2010:10) mentions a very sad point that most governments know least about the slums, about housing in them, about services that they need and almost always don't get. Such lack of knowledge that Davies (in Apple 2010:10) mentions he also points out that it provides an epistemological veil whereby what goes under the veil must remain a secret that must be kept from public view. The knowledge of the happenings of the slums leads to being subjected to demands as Davies continues to elucidate his point.

In view of Davies' point, it is clear that some governments will leave the fate of the marginalised communities to chance and hope all will be well even without attending to their pressing issues. Once those in authority acknowledge the needs of the marginalised communities, it follows that something must be done about those needs, which has commitment implications on the part of authorities, something they seem to always avoid. Sensing that those in authority turn a blind eye on them, the informal settlement dwellers have tended to resort to taking the literal meaning of social justice by taking the law into

their own hands by attacking the nearest scapegoats, that is, foreigners, as a way of attracting attention from government.

Fraser (in Vincent 2003:19) argues that, where there are injustices of distribution of resources, a politics of redistribution aimed at producing a more equitable distribution of goods is required. It is through such a philosophy that the disgruntled sections of the population take the law into their own hands by vandalising and looting the property of foreigners presumably as a way of correcting the unfair distribution of goods and resources. Whether the foreigners have worked for the possessions that are looted becomes immaterial to the looters as they feel they are not entitled to enjoy the fruits of others, as it is felt that they are managing to live comfortably at the expense of those who liberated South Africa from Apartheid. In the eyes of xenophobes, a foreigner must not be in a better position in life than the indigenous people irrespective of the fact that the foreigner is working hard to improve his or her life. Those who perpetrate xenophobic acts feel that it is socially unjust for an outsider to come from nowhere and suddenly begin to live a good life thereafter whereas they remain suffering irrespective of the facts that lead them to remain under the circumstances they find themselves in.

The more those who are considered to be outsiders are viewed as depriving the locals through “stealing” of jobs and economically marginalising them seemingly through confining them to undesirable, poorly paid work or no work at all, the more some locals feel exploited at the expense of undeserving outsiders. Since the government that is blamed for opening the borders for the outsiders is seemingly out of sight to the disgruntled section of the population, the foreigners who live amongst them become easy targets of their vengeance as a way of attracting the attention of the government that they accuse of ignoring their plight.

The disgruntled section of the South African population will use methods outlined in chapter 2 to identify those they feel as outsiders and met out instant justice on them. The elaborate identification process leads to ‘boundary maintenance’ that borders on categorising of groups within a population drawn upon a combination of social markers that include (but not limited to) physical appearances, accent, hairstyles, and cultural practices. According to

Connolly (in Vincent 2003:169), “The consequences of evoking and employing racial markers of difference because of their emphasises on biologically rooted and fixed differences in innate ability and temperament tend to result in particular forms of inter-group relations based upon inequality, dominance and exploitation.” The major aim of identifying and categorising people is to exclude some from certain life fundamentals, which can be in the form government aid. Madampour *et al* (in Vincent 2003:85) point out that, social exclusion is a multi-dimensional process in which various forms of exclusion are combined such as exclusion from participation in decision making and political processes. When combined they create acute forms of exclusion that find a spatial manifestation in particular neighbourhoods. The excessive violence that characterised some of the attacks on foreigners during the 2008 xenophobic attacks can indeed qualify as results of such acute forms of exclusion.

4.9 Conclusion

This chapter concentrated on illustrating the use of social justice as the theoretical framework for this study. The issues discussed in this chapter suggest that, the principles of social justice and the causes of xenophobia appear to be sides of the same coin whereby the assumed lack of social justice leads to attention seeking acts that are referred to as xenophobia when they target people of foreign origins. These xenophobic acts have been going on for some time since South Africa gained independence from the Apartheid government. It is apparent that both social justice and xenophobia are complex issues and are prone to be understood differently in different circumstances. It is also clear that governments can abet in suppressing or flaring up xenophobic tendencies within the masses by either creating policies that are pro foreigners or enacting policies that subtly tend to indirectly plant notions of xenophobic predispositions.

The following chapter will outline the methodologies that were used to collect data as directed by the insight from the previous two chapters.

CHAPTER 5

Research design and methodology

5.1 Introduction

This chapter comprehensively discusses methods and procedures that were used during the whole study. The chapter outlines the methods that were used to collect data, namely, review of literature, the use of questionnaires for South African learners and interviews for foreign learners. Other issues discussed in this chapter include the accessing of schools, permission, research design and data analysis.

5.2 Research design

According to Babbie (2004:8) a research design is a plan or structured framework that is followed in conducting research. In simple terms, MacMillan and Schumacher (2010:10) state that a research design describes the procedures for conducting the research. This section will outline how information was gathered through a literature review, questionnaires and interviews. The procedures used to generate empirical evidence to answer the research question are also discussed here, together with related matters such as the pilot study and research ethics.

5.2.1 Triangulation

Denscombe (2007:134) notes: "Triangulation involves the practice of viewing things from more than one perspective." Triangulation can mean the use of different methods, different sources of data or even different researchers within the same study as expounded by Denscombe (2007:134). Seale (2000:53) comments: "Triangulation advocates multiple operationalism which means employing several methods at once so that the biases of any method might be cancelled out by those of others."

In the study under review triangulation was done in two phases. First, there were three vantage points from which data were collected: questionnaires, interviews and a literature review. This phase therefore entailed triangulation of data source, that is, data source triangulation. Seale (2000:54) notes that data source triangulation involves the use of diverse sources of data, so that one seeks instances of a phenomenon in several different settings, at different points in time or space, which in turn results in richer descriptions of phenomena. The second phase entailed methodological triangulation, a combination of qualitative and quantitative data collection methods.

The rationale of using triangulation was to use markedly different methodological approaches, that is, qualitative and quantitative research paradigms to allow the researcher to see things from as widely different perspectives as possible. The use of qualitative and quantitative research paradigms meant that data from one research method could be compared with that from the other method thereby creating a complementary role between the two research paradigms. By comparing and contrasting findings from the alternative sources of data, a clearer picture of the research topic emerged.

As advocated by Denscombe (2007:138), triangulation was adopted in order to provide a fuller picture of the research topic as the complimentary data enhanced the completeness of the findings. This gave the researcher an opportunity to corroborate findings and the chance to see issues from different perspectives which enhanced the validity of the data.

5.2.2 Literature review

When carrying out research, there are two distinct categories of sources of information, that is, primary and secondary data sources. Primary sources are also known as original sources or evidence, namely artefacts, documents, recordings or other sources of information created within the timeframe of the study. Primary sources serve as an original source of information about the topic. De Vos *et al* (2005:315) explain that primary sources are regarded as original written material of the author's own observations and experiences while Wayne (2008) state that, "Secondary sources are research reports that use primary

data to solve research problems, written for scholarly and professional audiences.” Wayne (2008) further elaborate that researchers read secondary sources to keep up with their field and use what they read to frame problems of their own by disputing other researchers’ conclusions or questioning their methods. Diaries, speeches, manuscripts, letters, interviews, news film footage, autobiographies, poetry, drama, music, newspapers and magazines constitute examples of primary sources which constitute first-hand accounts. Secondary sources comprise of second hand account about people, topics or places that is based on what some other writer has experienced. McMillan and Schummacher (2010:76) state that, “secondary sources of data summarise, review or discuss primary source information as well as what is contained in other secondary sources whereby, there is no first hand gathering of data.”

As the main purpose of this study was to unravel the causes of xenophobia in South Africa, primary and secondary sources had to be consulted in depth. The wide variety of information used for this study includes related research projects, internet websites, books, journals, interviews, encyclopaedias, speeches, magazines and newspaper articles. The researcher was more biased towards the use of primary sources of information as it was felt secondary sources might reflect subjective opinions and feelings at the time of writing rather than as raw information provided as the events occurred. As the main stimulant of the research was the xenophobic attacks of 2008, emphasis was placed on newspaper articles published at the time.

5.2.3 Empirical investigation

It was necessary to investigate research methodologies for the purpose in hand thus quantitative and qualitative approaches, each with its own methods, techniques and terminology were investigated. McMillan and Schumacher (2010:489) explain that qualitative research entails in depth investigation using face to face or observation techniques to collect data from people in their natural settings, while quantitative consists in collecting objective data that are analysed numerically. Johnston and Christensen (2004:30) point out that quantitative research relies primarily on quantitative data

collection while qualitative research relies on the collection of qualitative information. On considering the merits and demerits of qualitative versus quantitative research, the author decided to make selective use of both so that one could be used to validate the findings of the other which is referred to as a mixed methodology.

Johnston and Christensen (2004:48) mention that, "In mixed method research, the researcher uses the qualitative research approach paradigm for one phase of a research study and the quantitative research approach paradigm for another phase of the study, or vice versa or using both approaches either concurrently or sequentially to address a research topic." In concurring with Johnston and Christensen (2004:48), Denscombe (2007:107) mention that, "The mixed method approach applies to a research that combines alternative approaches within a single research project." He notes further that, the mixed method crosses boundaries paradigms by combining methods based on different underlying assumptions in order to gain certainty about the results of the drawn from convergence, corroboration and correspondences of results from different methods.

Data for the study was collected through a review of literature, the use of questionnaires and semi-structured interviews. The literature review consisted of sifting through several sources of related information, which included but not limited to going through newspapers, books, magazines, journals, research reports, government statutes, different organisations' reports and other research reports. The review of literature was followed by the use of structured questionnaires to collect information from systematically selected South African learners. Finally, semi-structured interviews were conducted with fifteen foreign learners in South Africa.

The reason for choosing questionnaires and interviews was, since interviews are time consuming, they could be used with few participants while the questionnaires could be used with more participants simultaneously in less time. Information obtained through qualitative and quantitative methods were then analysed and compared with the information gleaned from the literature review. The use of two approaches to collect data and then comparing it with data from literature review provided the research with three vantage points which the researcher obtained data from.

Ary *et al* (2002:17) notes, “Educators usually conduct research to find a solution to some problem or to gain insight into an issue they don’t understand. The ultimate goal is to discover general principles or interpretations of behaviour that people can use to explain predict and control events in educational situations, that is, to formulate a scientific theory.” The scientific approach depends entirely on qualitative and quantitative research.

Quantitative research uses objective measurement and statistical analysis of numeric data to understand and explain phenomena generally requiring a well-controlled setting (Ary *et al* 2002:17). On the other hand, qualitative research usually is not based on controlled setting or it is open ended at the outset than quantitative research as one of its key aims is to provide the maximum opportunity for the researcher to learn from the subjects or participants in the research (Johnson & Christensen 2004:178). Alverson and Karremn (2011:3) also add that, in qualitative research, “data will navigate the process and provide a well-grounded and robust theory that has a strong empirical validity whereby theory will provide an insight into the complexities and intricacies of empirical reality.” This implies that qualitative research tend to rely on the inductive mode of the scientific method, where the major objective will be exploration or discovery where a phenomenon is studied in an open ended way without prior expectations, and develop theoretical explanations that are based on interpretations of what has been discovered (Johnson & Christensen 2004:360).

As earlier on highlighted, this research took both routes of research paradigms in an effort to collect more than one perspective of the topic under research. The aim was also to facilitate the accuracy of the findings of one research paradigm against those from the other research paradigm. The two approaches also allowed data triangulation emanating from comparison of information from three different sources, that is, data from literature review, data collected through questionnaires and data collected through the use of interviews.

5.2.4 Pilot study

According to Gilbert (2001:2), “A pilot study is a pretesting or ‘trying out’ of a particular research instrument.” Teijlingen and Hundley (2001:1) note: “The term 'pilot studies' refers to mini versions of a full-scale study (also called 'feasibility' studies), as well as the specific pre-testing of a particular research instrument such as a questionnaire or interview schedule.” Woken (2009) gives the following reasons to justify a pilot study before the actual study:

- It permits preliminary testing of hypotheses so that more precise or different hypotheses can be used in the main study.
- It often provides the researcher with ideas, approaches, and clues that may have been unforeseen and that may be conducive to clearer findings in the main study.
- It permits a thorough check of the planned statistical and analytical procedures, giving the researcher a chance to evaluate the appropriateness of such procedures so that methods can be altered if necessary and data in the main study can be analysed more efficiently.
- It can greatly reduce the number of unanticipated problems because you have an opportunity to redesign parts of the study to overcome difficulties that the pilot study reveals.
- It may save a lot of time and money. Unfortunately, many research ideas that seem to show great promise are unproductive when actually carried out. The pilot study almost always provides enough data for the researcher to decide whether to go ahead with the main study.
- In the pilot study, the researcher may try out a number of alternative measures and then select those that produce the clearest results for the main study.
- Especially for students: If the researcher plans to continue beyond a masters’ degree, research may serve as a pilot study for research conducted in a doctoral program.

According to Boynton (2005:53), aspects of a research project such as the participants’ letters, consent forms, information sheets, means of approaching participants, questionnaires, interview schedules and final reports or papers are all areas that can require

piloting. For the purposes of this study it was necessary to carry out the pilot study in three phases. The first phase was carried out in the form of unstructured informal interviews with five volunteer learners at the researcher's workplace as a way of getting a general idea of what the position on the ground was with regards to issues around xenophobia. The information gathered through the informal interviews enabled the researcher to draft an archetypal interview schedule that was administered to five colleagues who acted as reviewers. After the trial interviews subjects were asked to note areas that needed to be improved, edited or completely excluded from the final interview schedule. A second draft questionnaire was then piloted with five volunteer learners from the researcher's workplace to gauge whether the questionnaire was appropriate in every sense to be administered to a larger population. The pilot study was done according to the procedures proposed by Peat, Mellis, Williams and Xuan (2002: 123) in order to improve the internal validity of the questionnaire. The procedure is indicated below:

- administer the questionnaire to pilot subjects as it will be done in the main study
- ask the subjects for feedback to identify ambiguities and difficult questions
- record the time taken to complete the questionnaire and decide whether it is reasonable
- discard all unnecessary, difficult or ambiguous questions
- assess whether each question gives an adequate range of responses
- establish that replies can be interpreted in terms of the information that is required
- check that all questions are answered
- re-word or re-scale any questions that are not answered as expected
- shorten, revise and, if possible, pilot again.

In her title for the section on piloting a research, Boynton (2005:65) uses the title, "Don't fly without a pilot!" The researcher found this to be a very useful quotation as it can avoid embarrassing moments such as sending out material with incorrectly spelt terms vague questions. It is worth to note that, much of the contents of the questionnaire did not change much during the piloting phase as most of the questions were constructed with the aims and objectives of the study as the guiding principles.

5.2.5 Permission

Bouma and Ling (2004:189) advises: "Part of being a considerate researcher is being careful about the way one seeks permission from those you wish to study." The researcher had to secure explicit permission to conduct the research at all the concerned research sites. Since all data collection processes focused on secondary school learners, it automatically meant that all the participants had to be drawn from secondary schools. The researcher selected eight schools within Johannesburg East District also known as District 9 that he intended to carry out research at and personally visited all the schools to find out from the Principals as to whether it was possible to access their schools for the purposes of collecting data for the research. All the principals verbally gave the researcher assurance that they had no problem with giving permission for the research to be conducted at their schools as most of them felt and mentioned that the topic was indeed a topical issue within the education fraternity.

The researcher proceeded by downloading the standard application form (appendix 1) used for applying to carry out research within government institutes from the Gauteng Department of Education website. Among other things the ten page application form requires researchers to supply the Department with the researcher's full names, contact details, the research topic and proposal, the names of all the sites where data will be collected, the type of data collection methods and the districts. Permission to conduct the research at the stated schools was granted after the application was submitted at Head Office in Johannesburg. Copies of the approval letter (appendix 2) were personally delivered to all Principals of the selected schools, together with a copy of the formal interview schedule and the questionnaire. Prior to the above procedures, the researcher also had the research topic and proposal approved by the supervisor (appendix 3).

All the Principals of the schools reiterated their agreement except one who said he needed to consult with the School Governing Board (SGB) as indicated in the approval letter.

Unfortunately the SGB of that particular school refused to grant permission as requested on the grounds that the topic was too sensitive and could reopen deep wounds of the recent past. Fortunately, a replacement was easily found. After the selection of participants, each

participant was given a consent letter which was to be signed by a parent or guardian and the participant as evidence that there were no reservations on the participant's role in the research. The consent letters were especially important as some of the learners had not attained majority age. The signed consent forms were duly collected and filed. In short, permission was granted by all stakeholders to do the research and it was not compulsory at Unisa to obtain ethical clearance at the time of submitting the research report for examination.

5.2.6 Research ethics

McMillan and Schumacher (2010:117) note: "Ethics are generally concerned with beliefs about what is right or wrong from a moral perspective." They note further that research ethics are critically concerned with morally proper conduct in dealing with research participants or the accessing of archival data. Denscombe (2007:141) notes: "Social researchers should be ethical in the collection of their data, in the process of analysing the data and in the dissemination of findings." Reference to ethical considerations is therefore necessary throughout the research process. The following are relevant considerations (Denscombe (2007: 141):

- Respect the rights and dignity of those participating in the research project
- Avoid any harm to participants as a result of their involvement
- Operate with honesty and integrity.

Denscombe (2007: 143) notes that, "There is general agreement that people should not suffer as a consequence of their involvement with a piece of research." For example, the researcher should ensure that informants' social standing and self image are unaffected by participating in research.

The first ethical consideration that was taken care of was to ensure that all participants took part in the study voluntarily without undue persuasive influence. Prospective participants were duly informed about the intended research, their option to cease participation at any time and that participation would be strictly confidential in the sense that no information would be traceable back to them once divulged. Confidentiality was also served by a difficult

password to the researcher's laptop and safe keeping under lock and key of the hard copies. All the excess material in hardcopy was shredded.

Research should never result in physical or mental discomfort, harm or injury to participants as opined by McMillan and Schumacher (2010:117). Mental discomfort can arise through disclosure of information that may result in embarrassment, danger to home life, school performance, and break-up of friendship or any direct negative consequences. These negative situations will be maintained through confidentiality and the fact that, none of the input can be traced to any of the participants as no names were provided for the inputs offered.

Judicious arrangement of times and places for the researcher's meetings with participants with a view to the personal safety of all concerned is further critical ethical consideration, particularly in high risk areas. Denscombe (2007:143) explains the safety ethical aspect by noting that, the researcher must bear in mind any potential danger such as being attacked going to an interview if ever interviews are inappropriately scheduled. In the case of this study, safety was a priority as the researcher arranged to meet participants during normal school hours during the day. There was also need to ensure safety was guaranteed considering the sensitivity of the topic that was being researched on. All data collection processes were conducted within the schools' premises under the watchful eyes of the schools authorities and security personnel.

Further, as recommended by Denscombe (2007) as well as McMillan and Schumacher (2010), the researcher endeavoured to maintain a high standard of honesty and openness in order to reduce the risk of deception and misrepresentation. That is to say, all conclusions were drawn directly from analysis of collected data. In deference to the ethical problem of plagiarism, that is, unlawful copying, the researcher endeavoured to acknowledge all data sources.

5.2.7 Selection of participants

It is clear that most research projects will not be in a position to collect data from the entire population. This means that, researchers must select a representative sample population with a view to extrapolation to the rest. To be representative each participant must represent a known fraction of the theoretical or target population so that characteristics of the population as a whole can be recreated from the sample. The process of choosing the selected sample from the accessible population is called sampling design or selection of participants. There are a vast number of known methods that can be used to come up with a scientifically chosen sample which the scope of this research will not explain in detail but will simply focus on the ones used in this research. A mixture of stratified and probability sampling was employed.

In the first instance stratified random sampling was used to select the schools that the participants were to be drawn from. According to media reports as explicitly explained in the literature review section, the 2008 xenophobic attacks started in Alexandra, Tembisa and Diepsloot townships in the city of Johannesburg before eventually spreading to other areas across the country. The researcher therefore found it significant to carry out the research in Alexandra, Tembisa and Diepsloot townships as these areas were considered the hot spots of the 2008 xenophobic attacks. Participants were chosen from eight schools that were located far apart from each other within the three townships.

Probability sampling was used to select the participants at each school. In probability sampling, the participants are drawn from a larger population in such a way that, the probability of selecting each member of the population is known (McMillan & Schumacher (2010:129). Morgan *et al* (in McMillan & Schumacher (2010:129) also add that, in probability sampling, every participant has a known non-zero chance of being selected. All the learners who were interested in participating in the research were gathered in either the school hall or the assembly points. The researcher wanted a total of 250 participants, so from each school, 50 participants were to be selected, ten from each grade.

The researcher used a box that contained folded pieces of paper, of which ten had number one written inside them and the rest were blank. For each grade, the learners had to come up and pick a paper from the box that was raised above shoulder height until all the number ones had been drawn from the box. The learners would draw out one folded paper and open it, if it was blank, it was put in another box and the participant would go and sit down, if it contained number one then the learners' name would be recorded down as a participant. This process was carried out at five schools and out of the 250 selected participants, a total of 241 participants answered the questionnaires at agreed sessions. At the other three schools, the researcher requested the Life Orientation teachers to record names of five foreign learners who were interested in participating in the research on xenophobia on first come first recorded basis. With the co-operation from the concerned parties, the selection of participants went smoothly without any problems. Nine participants who were selected to take part in the research were however not available when the data collection process took place at their respective schools. The nine absentees reduced the expected 250 participants to 241, which in the researcher's opinion is a very satisfactory number in terms of the validity of the results in relation to the sample size.

5.3 Research instruments

Denscombe (2007:331) mentions that research instruments are used to collect empirical evidence. Since McMillan and Schumacher (2010:490) point out that research is a systematic process of collecting and logically analysing data (for specific purposes), it was imperative that the researcher carefully choose the data collection instruments. After careful analyses of the nature of the data to be collected, the researcher settled for the use of questionnaires and interviews as data collection instruments.

5.3.1 Questionnaires

According to Manser and Turton (2000:567) a questionnaire is a written set of questions or statements that is used to access attitudes, opinions, beliefs and biographical information. Alsutari *et al* (2008:314) adds that, the visual presentation and the general layout of

questionnaires are very important in self-administered questionnaires. During the design of the questionnaire, the researcher noted the guidelines provided by McMillan and Schumacher (2010:196) on how to write effective questions or statements. They point out that one should:

- make items clear
- avoid double-barreled questioning by using only questions that solicit for a single idea per question.
- include only relevant questions
- use short and simple items
- avoid negatively stated items that are prone to be misinterpreted
- avoid biased items and terms
- avoid loaded questions that include emotionally laden words

In a nutshell, Denscombe (2007:162-165) accentuates the need to;

- only ask those questions which are absolutely vital for the research
- be rigorous in weeding out duplication of questions
- make the task of responding to the questionnaire as straightforward and speedily as possible
- pilot the questionnaire to see how long it takes to answer
- make sure the wording is completely unambiguous and avoid vague questions
- limit the use of technical jargon
- avoid words or phrases that may cause offense

The above insight was religiously followed to design the questionnaire. The pilot process of the questionnaire was as rigorous as outlined elsewhere in this research so as to increase its reliability and relevance. Efforts were made to improve the quality of the questionnaire until it was acceptable in the eyes of peers and the supervisor.

5.3.1.1 Administration of questionnaires

Once the participants were identified, appointment dates and time slots were arranged with the participants at all the sites. The researcher personally handed out the questionnaires at the beginning of each session, gave brief explanations before allowing the participants to answer the questionnaires at their own pace. Every participant was allowed to hand in the questionnaire and leave as soon as he or she finished completing the questionnaire. The researcher personally thanked each participant for their valuable input. This method used to administer the questionnaire allowed for 100% feedback as the researcher ensured that each questionnaire was returned as the participant left the session venue, which augured well for success of the research.

5.3.2 Interviews

Buckingham and Saunders (2007:130) observe: “There are many different ways in which interviews can be conducted, but interview design varies along two basic dimensions.” The two dimensions are structured and unstructured or semi structured interviewing. Since with structured interviews, the interviewer works through a predetermined list of questions in a set with little freedom to depart from the questionnaire as outlined by Buckingham and Saunders (2007:130), the researcher settled for semi-structured interviewing techniques for purposes of time management.

After the literature review unstructured interviews were trialled with six randomly selected participants, that is, three from the researcher’s workplace and three from a neighbouring school. The purpose of these unstructured interviews was to prepare the ground for informed interview schedules. Buckingham and Saunders (2007:131) state that, in unstructured interviews the interviewer engages respondents in a more conversational style, which entails discussions centred on a list of key themes and allowing the conversation to flow with no fixed agenda. In the researcher’s opinion, this facilitated the maximum possible issues to be brought up to give a clearer picture on how to plan the whole research design.

The semi-structured interviews were then used for the main interviewing process. The interviews followed the administration of questionnaires as the interview schedule was designed in such a way that it probed further some of the issues raised through the responses of the questionnaires. Five foreign learners were selected from three different schools with the assistance of Life Orientation teachers.

5.3.2.1 Administration of interviews

The interviewer arranged with participants when and where to meet. All the interviews were done within the school premises as a safety precaution and as a way to ensure that, the interviews maintained a high professional standard. The semi-structured interviews were guided by an interview schedule. The purpose of the interview schedule was to ensure that all the participants were probed using the same questions under the same conditions.

The one-to-one interview technique was used at all instances as the researcher wanted to avoid participants from influencing each other's opinions had other interview methods such as focus groups which allow other participants to dominate and dictate the flow of the discussions, been used. The researcher/interviewer also wanted to give each participant a freewill situation, where there would be no interjections from other participants, allowing participants to express their raw opinions. At the beginning of each interview, the interviewer welcomed and greeted the participant then briefed them on how the interview would proceed. During the introduction process, the participant was given the interview schedule so that he/she could go over it and prepare their answers while the interviewer would check the recording material or the writing pads where a participant did not wish to be tape-recorded. Confidentiality of all the proceedings was also highlighted at the beginning of each interview to build confidence in the participants so as to make them relaxed and be in a position to be as open as possible without any fear of problems after the interviews.

The interview schedule was only for setting the ball rolling by introducing the research topic themes to the participants then they would be followed by the open-ended answering

technique. The open-ended answering technique meant that the participants were given enough time to respond to a question in their own words at their own pace and elaborating any point of interest. The role of the interviewer was simple to ask the question then listen, be as un-intrusive as possible and only probing further where necessary the participant's full response.

5.4 Data analysis

Bouma and Ling (2004:8) explain that when data is being analysed and interpreted, the researcher is relating the evidence to the research question, drawing conclusions about the questions and acknowledging the limitations of the research. Statistical methods are used to analyse quantitative data. McMillan and Schumacher (2010:149) explain that statistics are methods of organising and analysing data. Bouma and Ling (2004:143) suggest three steps of summarising and organising quantitative data:

- Selecting categories in which the raw data can be summarised
- Sorting the data into the selected categories and coding it
- Presenting data in a form that can help to draw conclusions

In order to summarise and present data, graphs or charts are constructed, averages and percentages are calculated. In the case of qualitative studies, the interview notes, audio recorded interviews and visual images are first transcribed. Transcription is the process of taking all the forms of information gathered and converting them into a format that will facilitate analysis (McMillan & Schumacher 2010:370).

A professional statistician was commissioned to verify the analysis of data gained from the questionnaires and interviews. This was viewed as a good way of increasing the reliability of the findings regarding the role of secondary schools in averting xenophobic attacks in South Africa.

5.5 Reliability and validity

Reliability and validity can mean different things at different stages of a research process. Mills (Denscombe 2005:81) proposes the following types of validity. Process validity is concerned with the fact whether the study was conducted in a dependable and competent manner. Dialogic validity refers to validity emanating from whether the study was reviewed by peers. Outcome validity questions whether the action emerging from the study leads to the successful resolution of the problem. Democratic validity can be used to check whether multiple perspectives of all of the individuals in the study were accurately represented whilst catalytic validity checks whether the results of the study were a catalyst of action.

To ensure process validity, the researcher employed known scientific research processes as guided by literature from several authorities who wrote on research and constantly consulted with research professionals for comprehensive professional guidance. In the researcher's opinion guided by reviewed literature, the use of known research methodologies exhaustively can make it possible for other researchers to follow the research process in conducting similar researches as a way of verifying every stage of this particular study. It also allows easy evaluation of the study by other professionals as the study will be evaluated against standard empirical research methodologies.

Dialogical validity of the study was considered when the final document was given to three work colleagues to go over it and make comments on the content and check for spelling, grammatical or phrasing errors. A professional editor was also engaged to review the whole document and edit it wherever was necessary without changing the context of the researcher's thoughts. The researcher also interacted with the supervisor throughout the research process as a way of checks and balances.

To validate the study, the data collected from each participant were carefully considered during the analysis and summation stage of the study. As for outcome and validity of the research, the researcher hopes that the DOE will find it worthwhile and consider the recommendations offered towards a remedy for xenophobia.

Denscombe (2005:138) offers another dimension of validity, that is, ecological validity which deals with the impact of any research on the natural settings of the geographical breadth of the research coverage. Denscombe (2005:138) explains that, after a research has been carried out, everything must be retained in its 'natural' form. With regards to ecological validity, this research had no impact whatsoever on the natural settings of the sites that it was carried out at. All the resources supplied by the researcher were always collected back after use while the structural and furniture resources were left as they were before conducting the study.

The validity of documentary sources is something that needs to be established rather than being taken for granted (Denscombe 2005:232). Platt and Scott (in Denscombe 2005:232) argue that, documents need to be evaluated in relation to four basic criteria, that is, authenticity (is it a genuine article), credibility (is it accurate, that is, free from bias and errors), meaning (is the meaning clear and unambiguous) and representativeness (does it represent a typical instance of the thing it portrays). In this regard, the researcher used only official documents that were published by reputable publishing houses and other edited materials which pass as official credible sources. Sufficient references and bibliography is also provided so that concerned parties can validate or discredit sources as documents are generally permanent sources open to public scrutiny.

Validity is generally more elaborate during the final stages of the research, that is, the data analysis and conclusion. Efforts should be seriously made to validate data by recording it accurately and precisely checking whether the data is appropriate for the purposes of the investigation (Denscombe 2005:282). The notion of validity in terms of research data hinges around whether or not the data reflect truth, reality and crucial matters. The explanations derived from the analysis should be precise and free from bias. Research needs to be logical, justifiable, sound and authentic to be valid. In an effort to increase the validity of the study under review information gathered from South African and foreign African learners were analysed to draw the conclusions and make the recommendations indicated in chapter seven.

When it comes to reliability Denscombe (2005:334) mentions that, “A good level of reliability means the research instrument or instruments produces the same data time after time on each occasion that it is used”. A questionnaire will therefore be referred to as reliable if it is used at different times with different participants and the results remain consistent. Seale (in Mpofu 2005:70) argues that reliability can be either internal or external whereby internal reliability concerns the degree to which other researchers applying the similar constructs would match these to data in the same way as original researchers. External reliability on the other hand, focuses on the reliability of the entire study, that is, would other researchers studying in the same or similar settings generate the same findings.

Manser and Turton (2000:557) mention that reliability stem from the fact that something can be relied or depended on. The researcher considered the reliability of the population by administering the questionnaire on a fairly large population so that the results or findings of the study can be generalised to the larger population. An independent statistician was also engaged to verify the analyses, coding of quantitative data and the transcription of interviews as a way of making the analyses more reliable and free from researcher biases. When conclusions are made that the study is reliable it means its procedures, results and findings can be depended or relied on.

5.6 Limitations of the study

Efforts were made to deal with any limitations that could have compromised the quality of the study in as far as the researcher could go, but due to financial and resources constraints, the researcher had to compromise on the size of the geographical setting that was covered. Whilst the researcher would have loved to cover a wider geographical landscape, financial and resource constraints made the researcher to choose a smaller geographical surroundings than what was envisaged. With enough funding and resources a wider geographical landscape would have been covered as a way of increasing the aspect of making generalisations based on the findings of the study. This philosophy stems from the fact that the research only covered one district due to reasons beyond the researcher’s control involving limited resources as explained.

5.7 Summary

This chapter sought to outline the research design and methodologies. It explicated issues such as the literature review, triangulation, empirical investigation, pilot study, how permission was sought, research ethics, selection of participants and research instruments such as questionnaires and interviews, Data analysis, reliability, validity and limitations of the study. The next chapter focuses on the presentation and discussion of the findings.

CHAPTER 6

Presentation and discussion of findings

6.1 Introduction

The aim of this research was to determine the causes and effects of xenophobia in order to design remedial programmes for secondary schools aimed at averting or lessening xenophobia in South Africa. This chapter embodies the outcomes and findings of the research that was carried out through the use of a literature study as well as questionnaires and semi-structured interviews at selected schools in and around Johannesburg East DOE district. The aim of the questionnaires and interviews (data collection) was to find answers to different questions around the topic at issue as informed by information obtained through the literature review. The information gathering process targeted secondary school learners, that is, questionnaires (for South African learners) and interviews (for foreign learners) soliciting information such as learners' personal details, views on the causes of xenophobia, effects of xenophobia and other matters pertaining to xenophobia.

The findings of the research are presented in sections based on the methods used to collect data, that is, the literature review, the questionnaires and interviews as well as from the theoretical framework. Data tables were used to express the data visually to make it easier to analyse, understand and summarise. The summarised findings were used as the definitive source of final conclusions and recommendations indicated in chapter 7.

6.2 Findings from the literature review

The literature review showed that xenophobia is a very complex phenomenon that clearly has something to do with the resentment of people of foreign origins. The causes of such resentment are not explicit as a number of competing theories have been outlined in terms of what really triggers xenophobia. According to various sources of information that was reviewed, it is clear that xenophobia is a cause of concern as it has recurred repeatedly and

has sometimes reached extreme levels as witnessed in 2008. The following are some of the key issues that the literature study has revealed as the causes and effects of xenophobia.

6.2.1 The role of Apartheid in planting xenophobic attitudes in people's minds

As earlier on noted in chapter 2, though this particular research is specifically focussed on xenophobia, there are similarities in the modus operandi of people who perpetrate xenophobic violence and the Apartheid regime. Both the Apartheid regime and xenophobia perpetrators used or use inhuman methods of classifying whether one belongs or not. Such methods include the scrutiny of a person's skin pigment whereby those appearing to be 'too dark' are taken to be foreigners, the language tests which require one to be fluent in two or more local vernacular languages and certain dress codes are taken not to be South African. Some hairstyles and lifestyles are also some of the issues that are looked at when people are classified. In one extreme case earlier mentioned in chapter 2, someone was allegedly arrested for walking like a Mozambican.

The sporadic identity tactics of the Apartheid era in public spaces are seen to being re-enacted as a way of identifying people and once a decision has been made that, one is not 'proudly' South African, horrific actions can follow. Livesey (2006:57) believes Apartheid was based on ideologies of difference and exclusion and those issues such as race and ethnicity dominated policy decisions and actions to an extent that, it seems that the hind sets of exclusion that were created during Apartheid are still strongly contributing to xenophobic attitudes and actions. The culture of violence is indeed believed to be a legacy of Apartheid as the 1980s decade was one of the most violent periods in the South African history and served as a foundation for the intense violence that has been targeting Africans from elsewhere in the continent (Livesey 2006:57).

6.2.2 Crime

Section 2.4.1 of the literature study has revealed that the myth that foreigners are criminals or simply harbour criminal thoughts are taken as facts by some South Africans with some crimes being nationalised, that is associating certain crimes with particular nationalities. Though that is the thinking of the locals, the literature has proven that, there are no statistical records to back that position even though the myth is so strong as if it is a fact. The myth that foreigners engage in criminal activities leads many people to treat foreigners with suspicion and in some cases resulting in xenophobia, which has been explained as a fear of foreigners, which in turn turns to hatred.

6.2.3 ‘Stealing’ jobs

It is widely believed that foreigners ‘steal’ jobs meant for South African citizens as noted in section 2.4.2 of chapter 2. This is yet another myth that has no statistical backing but is so strong to an extent of featuring as one of the major matrix wherever xenophobia is discussed. The issue of jobs being stolen has not been clearly explained as to how the jobs really get stolen despite the fact that the labour laws of South Africa clearly give South African citizens protection and first preference wherever job opportunities arise. The literature reviewed has pointed to the fact that, in some cases, foreigners are getting preference ahead of locals in terms of being appointed for job vacancies because of the qualifications they have, whilst in other instances, they get employed in those fields that are labour intensive which the locals shun.

6.2.4 Accepting below minimum wages

Closely linked to the accusation that foreigners ‘steal’ jobs away from the rightful beneficiaries of all forms of employment is the allegation that, foreigners accept any wage offered irrespective of the fact whether the wages are above or below the Department of Labour set minimum wages as per trade as outlined in section 2.4.3 of chapter 2. The acceptance of any wage is believed to erode any form of salary negotiations as it divides the

labour force when some workers take what is offered while others go on strike demanding more than what will be on offer. Even if the foreigners may want to join in any industrial labour disputes, it can be very tricky as one of the conditions of maintaining a work permit is that, the bearer is not supposed to join in any industrial actions as that will lead to the permit being immediately revoked. The labour laws governing foreigners will therefore not be respected, as their refusal to join any industrial action will be interpreted as support for the employer, an action that often angers the locals who in turn can attack the foreigners accusing them of letting them down in the struggle for better salaries and working conditions.

6.2.5 The media

In some instances, the media has a tendency to at times aid xenophobic propensity by sensationalising issues or blowing issues out of proportion as noted in section 2.4.4 of chapter 2. Good examples of issues that were found out to aid xenophobic tendencies which were mentioned is the use of sensational headlines, reference to unsubstantiated statistics such as the number of foreigners in South Africa or crime statistics and the concentration of reporting negative issues relating to foreigners.

6.2.6 ‘Stealing’ women

Section 2.4.5 of chapter 2 highlights that , in some instances xenophobic issues have been reported to have emanated from some local men who have sought to attack foreigners who would have won the hearts of the local women who some local men believe the foreigners should not meddle with what should be their own preserved valuables. Personalisation of things seems to be one of the main causes of some xenophobic behaviours as those who demonstrate xenophobic tendencies accuse foreigners of literally snatching things that they are not entitled to such as jobs, government hand-outs, amenities such as health services and in some cases women.

6.2.7 Accessing government handouts

Much has been said in terms of foreigners receiving several forms of government hand-outs but regrettably with no evidence to that effect. Section 2.4.6 of the literature review notes that several investigations have been conducted in several departments that issue out government hand-outs and not even one of such investigations has revealed rampant benefiting from such schemes by foreigners, as many people would want to believe that, many foreigners are beneficiaries. Though there is no statistical backing of claims that foreigners are accessing government hand-outs, the issue is one of the much repeated accusations against foreigners that has led to many xenophobic acts.

6.2.8 Poverty

The literature review's section 2.4.7 has pointed out that, xenophobic behaviours, acts and actions have mainly occurred in and around poor communities where many residents find it hard to eke out a decent living. Many sources of information consulted in the literature study have found a strong link between poverty and xenophobia since the most severe xenophobic attacks have occurred in and around shanty places where poverty seems to be the order of the day. Most of the issues discussed here seem to have some connection to the issue of poverty as they have something to do with one's place within the social standing whereby the closer someone is to the bottom of the social ladder, the more competition for survival intensifies and the more inclined one would be to attack any perceived rivalry.

Foreigners are accused of fighting and wrestling off resources that are much needed and in short supply for the poor locals leading to their resentment and ultimately attacks. Many services delivery protests have been occurring in recent times in areas where the poor reside and have become a common part of the daily news bulletins. The xenophobic linked violence and service delivery protests in areas where the poor live may in a way show that poverty provides the matrix that pushes people to act violently in an effort to attract attention.

6.2.9 The position of government departments with regards to foreigners

Even though the government of South Africa has made efforts to take a stand against xenophobia within the country, it seems the way some civil servants handle foreigners emits a totally different message which might appear to be xenophobic in nature. Section 2.5 of the literature review chapter has highlighted the DHA and SAPS as two departments whose members are accused of xenophobic actions in terms of how they treat foreigners as outlined in chapter 2 of this study.

6.3 Effects of xenophobia

According to the literature study, chapter 3 has revealed that, violence seemingly is the most apparent effect of xenophobia and is witnessed through acts such as arson, physical attacks on people, destruction of property, rape, violent driving out of individuals from communities and ultimately murder. The nature of xenophobic linked violence has in some cases been severe to an extent of causing serious disruption of normal day-to-day routines as many people of foreign origins have been seriously injured and forced to flee out of the areas they were living in. Wide scale loss of property has been reported which include people having their houses being forcibly occupied by attackers.

The literature study also noted that, xenophobic violence has harmful psychological effects on both attackers and victims. For example some perpetrators suffer prolonged recriminations as a result of violent acts in which they participated either willingly or under forced circumstances. Some of the surviving victims have been found to have gone through very traumatic situations that inflict permanent scars in their souls. In some instances, xenophobic violence has caused some worries within the tourism industry and the economy of the country at large. Some cancellation of travel bookings to South Africa were noted while there were reports of the weakening of the South African rand during the 2008 xenophobic attacks as reported in chapter 3.

6.4 Peace building programmes

Section 3.3 of the literature review established that, since 2001, there have been no programmes worth mentioning that have been launched to counter xenophobia though it continued to escalate to alarming proportions such as the 2008 attacks. It was only in 2001 that issues of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerances were discussed at a world conference that was held in Cape Town through the initiative of the UN. Since then, there have been no serious nationwide campaigns to counter xenophobia even when it continued to reach worrying levels.

Only some relatively insignificant small activities have been carried out in certain communities which include sporting activities involving both locals and foreigners, campaigns against xenophobia and a school in Durban that has opened its doors to foreign learners. In light of the seemingly lack of serious nationwide initiatives to counter xenophobia, recommendations will be made in chapter 7 on how the whole nation can work together to counter xenophobic tendencies. Special attention will also be on how secondary schools can play a role in averting xenophobia in South Africa.

6.5 The theoretical framework

The theoretical framework discussed in chapter 4 as part of the literature reveals or outlines how social justice issues have a direct bearing on what causes xenophobia as it deals with bread and butter issues, which indeed appear to be the causes of xenophobia. As comprehensively discussed in chapter 4, social justice deals mainly with whether people's welfare is being taken care of or not. When people's welfare is being fully taken care of, it means they will be living in a just society whereby each individual's wellbeing is being met. When individuals' interests are not met, the individuals may feel short changed leading to scapegoating, which is, looking for someone or something to blame. As earlier on highlighted, foreigners have become soft targets for being the scapegoats for many problems bedevilling many South Africans, hence they are attacked on a number of occasions by the locals in fits normally called xenophobia.

A number of definitions for social justice were given in chapter 4 and the main focus of all the definitions can be summarised by words such as equality, right, rationale, interests, freedom, fair, respectful, entitlement while on the other hand if there is absence these qualities that are considered to be socially just, then a socially unjust status quo will prevail. A socially unjust society can be defined by terms such as inequality, oppression, marginalisation, deprivation, exclusion, unjust, unfair, domineering or segregation. There are two documents that specifically outline the rights of individuals within South Africa, that is, the Bill of Rights and the Freedom Charter.

The two documents do not exclude foreigners as the Freedom Charter explicitly declare that, "We the people of South Africa declare for all our country and the world to know that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black or white " without making exceptions of anyone including foreigners. The Freedom Charter further states that, no one shall be imprisoned, deported or restricted without fair trial and the courts shall be representative of all the people. The term deportation clearly refers to foreigners as no nationality can ever be deported from his or her country of birth for any reason whatsoever. The clause of the Freedom Charter which states that the police force and army shall be open to all on an equal basis and shall be helpers and protectors of the people could have read the police force and army shall be open to all on an equal basis and shall be helpers and protectors of South Africans if ever the Freedom Charter was exclusively for citizens.

The Bill of Rights adds that, everyone (not South Africans only) is equal before the law and has the right to equal protection and benefits of the law. The Bill of Rights further notes that, the state may not 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. Issues of ethnic or social origin, language and birth are issues that mean that, any person in South Africa is indeed included in the rights enshrined on individuals by the Bill of Rights irrespective of origins.

In addition to the Bill of Rights and the Freedom Charter, South Africa is also a signatory to the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights which enshrines the same rights on

foreigners just like the citizens of all the member countries. As explicitly explained in chapter 4, there seems to be blatant selectivity when the demands of the above stated documents are interpreted when dealing with either locals or foreigners as it appears that foreigners are deliberately short-changed. Human rights groups have outlined how foreigners have suffered at the hands of people who are supposed to protect them such as law enforcement agents or the public at large. It can be concluded that, a lot still needs to be done to win foreigners' confidence and loyalty to their adoptive country.

The theoretical framework has also highlighted that most of the frustrations that have led to xenophobic violence emanate from their perceived experience of relative deprivation by the South African government. It is clear that xenophobic violence is to a significant extent attributable to bread and butter issues. When the locals feel neglected by government, they sometimes engage in extremely violent acts against people of foreign origins as a way of attracting the attention of government.

6.6 Findings derived from the empirical investigation

The findings from the empirical study revealed that indeed, some serious xenophobic tendencies do exist amongst secondary school learners judging from the learners' responses both to the questionnaires by South African learners and the interviews with the foreign learners.

6.6.1 Overview of the questionnaire responses gained from South African learners

The findings derived from the questionnaire for South African learners is represented in this section in the form of data and tables where possible to provide easy understanding and interpretations of the findings. Although the questionnaire did not have sections as a way of not leading participants in a particular direction, the analysis here has grouped questions with the same theme together into sections for easy analysis, data interpretation and deduction of conclusions.

6.6.1.1 Section A: Geographical information

School	Grade 8	Grade 9	Grade 10	Grade 11	Grade 12	Total no. of participants	% of no. of participants
School A	10	9	9	10	10	48	19.9%
School B	10	10	10	10	10	50	20.7%
School C	10	8	10	10	7	45	18.7%
School D	8	10	10	10	10	48	19.9%
School E	10	10	10	10	10	50	20.7%
Totals	48	47	49	50	47	241	100%

Table 6.1 Total number of participants

Table 6.1 shows the total number of participants detailing each participant's grade, school by school. School A provided 48 participants, school B, 50 participants, school C, 45 participants, school D, 48 participants and school E, 50 participants respectively totally up to 241 participants all in all.

Number of participants per grade					
Grade	8	9	10	11	12
No. of participants	48	47	49	50	47
Percentage	19.9%	19.5%	20.3%	20.8%	19.5%

Table 6.2 Number of participants per grade

Table 6.2 highlights the grand totals of participants per grade for all the schools. The information reflected in table 6.2 shows that there was a fair distribution of participants as all grades were made up of an average of 47 participants and above, which translates to only less than three participants per grade as compared to the targeted 50 participants per grade. Nine participants who were selected to take part in the research were not available when the data collection process took place at their respective schools. The nine absentees reduced the expected 250 participants to 241, which in the researcher's opinion is a very satisfactory number in terms of the validity of the results in relation to the sample size.

Participants' gender			
Gender of participants	Boys	Girls	Totals
Number of participants	143	98	241
Percentage	59.3%	40.7%	100%

Table 6.3 Gender of participants

According to table 6.3, 143 boys and 98 girls participated in responding to the questionnaires for South African learners. These numbers translates to 59.3% of the total number of participants being boys whilst 40.7% being girls.

Participants' ages						
Participants' age in years	14	15	16	17	18	19
Number of participants	33	61	89	43	10	5
Percentage	13.7%	25.3%	36.9%	17.8%	4.2%	2.1%

Table 6.4 Participants' ages

According to table 6.4, 36.9% of the participants were 16 years old, 25.3% were 15 years old, 17.8% were 17 years old, 13.7% were 14 years old, 4.2% were 18 years old whilst 2.1% were 19 years and older.

Participants' home language									
language	isiZulu	Sepedi	Xitsonga	isiXhosa	Sesotho	Setswana	Venda	siSwati	isiNdebele
No. of participants	55	48	37	31	23	19	13	10	5
Percentage	22.8%	19.9%	15.4%	12.9%	9.5%	7.9%	5.4%	4.1%	2.1%

Table 6.5 Participants' home language

Table 6.5 shows the number of participants who took part as per their home language. IsiZulu had the highest number of participants whilst isiNdebele had the least number of participants. 22.8% of the participants were IsiZulu speakers, 19.9% were Sepedi speakers, 15.4% were Xitsonga speakers, 12.9% were IsiXhosa speakers, 9.5% Sesotho speakers, 7.9%

were Setswana speakers, 5.4% were Venda speakers, 4.1% were SiSwati speakers and 2.1% participants were IsiNdebele speakers.

6.6.1.2 Section B: General issues around xenophobia

Responses reflecting participants' understanding of what xenophobia means			
Responses	Sure	No response	Not sure
Number	234	4	3
Percentage	97%	1.36%	1.34%

Table 6.6 Participants' understanding of the term xenophobia

From the responses offered on whether participants understood the term xenophobia, most participants showed that they understood the term except for three whose answers could not make any sense at all whilst four did not respond to the question. Most participants managed to state that it had something to do with hatred of foreigners.

Participants having been in contact with people from another African country				
Responses	Yes	No	No response	Total
Number	232	8	1	241
Percentage	96.2%	3.4%	0.4%	100%

Table 6.7 Responses as to whether participants have ever been in contact with people from another African country

Table 6.7 above shows the participants' responses as to whether they have ever been in contact with people from other countries. It is clear from the responses that only 3.8% of the total participants have not been in contact with foreigners signifying that the views offered by the other 96.2 % of the participants are based on first-hand experience with people from outside South Africa. The point of contact mentioned most frequently by participants are that, the foreigners are their neighbours, teachers, tenants, foreigners own *spazas* (backyard tuck shops) where the participants buy from and many had an encounter with foreigners when they were approached for directions.

Number of foreigners in South Africa in the participants' opinion						
Range	1000-10000	10000-1m	1m-2m	2m-3m	3m-4m	Over 5m
Number	2	7	9	82	57	84
Percentage	0.8%	2.9%	3.7%	34.0%	23.7%	34.9%

Table 6.8 Number of foreigners in South Africa in the participants' opinion

According to figures displayed in table 6.8, 92.5% of the participants indicated that there are more than two million foreigners in South Africa, which tallies with the opinions that were picked in the literature review. There has never been an official count to determine the number of foreigners in South Africa nor has the DHA ever offered any statistics as to how many foreigners are officially here which therefore gives people room to continue speculating based on figures thrown around in the media.

6.6.1.3 Section C: Participants' attitudes towards foreigners

Participants' views on who commits more crime: foreigners or locals			
Responses	locals	foreigners	No response
Number	58	179	4
Percentage	24.0%	74.3%	1.7%

Table 6.9 Participants opinions on who commits more crime: foreigners or locals

The responses to the question on who commits more crimes between foreigners and locals clearly support the view held by many that, it is foreigners who are more criminal as 74% of the participants thought so whilst 24% of the participants said it was locals. The responses tally with the perceived view that foreigners commit more crimes such as drug trafficking, bribing officials, hijacking cars and trucks as revealed by the literature review.

Participants' responses on whether foreigners should be given the same rights as citizens				
Responses	Yes	No	No response	Total
Number	113	127	1	241
Percentage	46.8%	52.7%	0.4%	100%

Table 6.10 Responses on whether foreigners should be given the same rights as citizens

Table 6.10 reveals that there were 46.8% participants that felt foreigners should be given the same rights as citizens whilst 52.7% participants thought otherwise. Only one participant did not attempt this question. One participant noted that, “Because foreigners are not from this country and they do not have identity documents, they should not be given rights as they might end up disrespecting us.” One noted that, foreigners should be given rights as citizens as they were also people just like the locals whilst other participants said foreigners should not be given rights as citizens because:

- They might end up dominating South Africans
- They might get carried away and never think of going back to their own countries.
- They might take advantage and abuse the privilege.

Participants’ views on whether it is fair for foreigners to receive grants			
Responses	Yes	No	No response
Number	37	199	5
Percentage	15%	83%	2%

Table 6.11 Responses on whether it is fair for foreigners to get government grants

Table 6.8 reveals that 83% of the participants feel it is not fair for foreigners to access government grants, 15% felt it was fair for them to access government grants whilst 2% did not respond. This clearly showed that the general feeling is that foreigners should not access government grants. On this issue, one participant had this to say, “Because they do not belong here, they must go back to their countries and leave us in peace not pieces because we don’t need them to add the number of unemployed people in South Africa.” Another participant said yes foreigners should access government grants and noted that, “A child has no sin; he came into this world without knowing what is happening in this world so they deserve the grants just like citizens as they have rights.”

Participants’ responses on whether South Africa is obliged to return the favour it received from fellow African countries that helped to fight Apartheid by allowing their nationalities to come and stay in the country				
Responses	Yes	No	No response	Totals
Number	99	142	0	241
Percentage	41.1%	58.9%	0%	100%

Table 6.12 Responses on whether South Africa should return the favour it received from fellow African countries that helped to resist Apartheid by allowing their nationals to come and stay in the country

58.9% of participants felt South Africa is not obliged to allow fellow African nationals to settle in South Africa as a way of returning the favour that the other African countries did to help South Africa to fight against Apartheid while 41.1% felt it is obliged do so. Some of the responses given to this issue included the following: “Those countries helped South Africa voluntarily. Their help was not a pledge, so there is no need for South Africa to allow foreigners to come and live in our country.” Another participant stated: “Because they are chasing away foreigners and attacking them, then this shows that South Africa is not willing to return this so called favour.” Yet another noted that, “Because some South Africans ran to their countries during Apartheid, then they should return that favour.” Another sentiment raised was that foreigners should not be allowed into South Africa because, “When they are allowed into the country, they would sell drugs.”

Participants’ responses on whether legal foreigners be allowed to travel freely within South Africa				
Responses	Yes	No	No response	Totals
Number	103	128	10	241
Percentage	42.7%	53.1%	4.2%	100%

Table 6.13 Responses to the issue of whether legal foreigners should have free movement within South Africa

53.1% of the total participants felt that legal foreigners should not be allowed to travel freely within South Africa, 42.7% said yes, legal foreigners should be allowed to travel freely within South Africa whilst 4.2% did not respond to the question as illustrated in table 6.13. One of the participants stated that, since legal documents allow the bearer to travel freely around South Africa, then they should not be restrictions on people who are legally in South Africa. Another participant stated that foreigners should be restricted when he mentioned that, “There must be terms and conditions that they must follow to legally travel.” Another participant commented that, “Yes because somehow I am also a foreigner when I go to other countries, so how would I feel when I can’t go wherever I want to go.”

Participants' responses on whether they support the deportation of foreigners from South Africa				
Responses	Yes	No	No response	Totals
Number	154	84	3	241
Percentage	63.9%	34.9%	1.2%	100%

Table 6.14 Responses to the issue of deporting foreigners

63.9% of the participants support the deportation of foreigners back to their countries, 34.9% would not support such a move whilst 1.2% did not respond to the question. The percentage of participants that support the deportation of foreigners is worrying as it is high and the participants do not care whether the foreigners are here legally or otherwise but just prefer to see them gone.

Participants' responses on whether they are aware of foreigners accessing government grants				
Responses	Yes	No	No response	Total
Number	21	178	42	241
Percentage	8.7%	73.9%	17.4%	100%

Table 6.15 Responses on whether participants are aware of foreigners accessing government grants

If the 17.4% that did not respond to the question whether participants were aware of foreigners accessing government grants can be translated as to not being sure and added to the 73.9% that said they were not aware of such foreigners, then this would add up to 91.3% participants not being aware of foreigners accessing government grants. These results indicate that it is just a baseless stereotype, which is not grounded in reality to conclude that many foreign nationals access government grants as suggested, and taken to be factual by some locals as pointed out by the reviewed literature.

6.6.1.4 Section D: Causes of xenophobia

Participants' views on whether foreigners are responsible for the high rate of unemployment in South Africa			
Responses	Yes	No	No response
Number	120	117	4
Percentage	49.8%	48.5%	1.7%

Table 6.16 Responses on whether foreigners are responsible for the high rate of unemployment in South Africa

The responses as to whether foreigners are responsible for the high rate of unemployment as illustrated in table 6.16 do not really indicate whether it is a fact or not that, foreigners are responsible for the high rate of unemployment in South Africa as the number of participants who believed so was almost equal to that of those who thought otherwise.

Participants' views on whether foreigners have contributed to the high rate of poverty in South Africa			
Responses	Yes	No	No response
Number	107	108	26
Percentage	44.4%	44.8%	10.8%

Table 6.17 Responses to the issue of whether foreigners contribute to the high rate of poverty in South Africa

44.4% of participants are of the opinion that foreigners have contributed to the high rate of poverty in South Africa, 44.8% did not think that foreigners have contributed to the high rate of poverty in South Africa whilst 10.8% of participants did not respond to the question. A conclusive deduction on whether foreigners contributed to the high rate of poverty in South Africa could not be established as Table 6.17 shows that the number of participants who agreed with the assertion was almost equal to that of those who did not share the same view. A participant who agreed that foreigners have contributed to the high rate of poverty in S.A. noted that, "Because they (foreigners) keep giving birth time after time and don't have enough money to support their kids that is a reason why poverty increases." Another participant wrote, "Those foreigners who come illegally into South Africa are the

ones who contribute to the high rate of poverty.” Whilst another participant wrote, “Most foreigners migrate to South Africa due to poor governance in their countries and do not have qualifications so they are unemployable hence they burden South Africa’s economy.” One of the participants who thought that foreigners did not have anything to do with S.A.’s poverty opined that, many foreigners were hard working and creative to sustain themselves without any government support which meant they had nothing to do with the country’s rate of poverty.

Participants’ views on whether poverty is the main cause of xenophobia				
Responses	Yes	No	No response	Totals
Number	133	107	NIL	241
Percentage	55.6%	44.4%	0%	100%

Table 6.18 The issue of whether poverty is the main cause of xenophobia

55.6% of the participants thought that poverty is the main cause of xenophobia whilst 44.4% participants did not think so.

	Causes of xenophobia	No.	%
1	Jealousy	208	86.3
2	Anger generated by high rate of poverty	188	78.0
3	Foreigners ‘steal’ jobs meant for locals	158	65.5
4	Foreigners seem to live far much better lives than locals	158	65.5
5	Competition for resources	147	60.9
6	Foreigners become scapegoats for the locals’ lack of education	82	34.0
7	Foreign men ‘steal’ local women	48	19.9
8	Foreigners are suffocating locals in their spaces	34	14.1
9	Foreigners are responsible for the high rate of crime	32	13.2
10	Communication problems between locals and foreigners	18	7.4
11	Foreigners bring diseases into S.A.	14	5.8
12	Foreigners are very corrupt	8	3.3
13	Mere dislike of foreigners	8	3.3
14	Failure of locals to take responsibility of their lives	2	0.8

Table 6.19 Participants’ views on causes of xenophobia

Table 6.19 summarises what the participants mentioned as causes of xenophobia.

Since participants could give as many reasons as they wished, the percentages given here is the number of participants who stated the given cause as compared to the total number of participants, and the given numbers are totals of the number of participants who mentioned

each cause as shown. The causes that have been stated by the participants match those noted in the literature review as the major causes of xenophobia. Jealousy has topped the list as the major cause of xenophobia. Some of the issues that were raised as possible sources of the jealousy included that, the locals feel jealous because the foreign owned businesses seem to thrive more when compared with the locally owned ones especially in the informal sector. The foreigners seem to be more appealing to local women leading to break-ups of relationships even between married couples. Employers prefer foreigners than locals because of either their qualifications or the willingness to work for any salary on offer. Other participants said that the jealousy emanated from the fact that foreigners seemed to always find ways of surviving whilst many locals could not make ends meet.

6.6.1.5 Section E: The effects of xenophobia according to participants

	The effects of xenophobia	No.	%
1	People are seriously injured	201	83.4
2	Loss of property	193	80.0
3	Victims are displaced	170	70.5
4	Loss of jobs	141	58.5
5	The country's image is tarnished	107	44.3
6	Children's rights are abused	106	43.9
7	Loss of life	99	41.0
8	Innocent people are caught in between	97	40.2
9	The attacks leaves behind a trail of distraction	88	36.5
10	Education opportunities are lost for the displaced learners	78	32.3
11	Established businesses are destroyed	63	26.1
12	Women are raped	60	24.8
13	Political instability	28	11.6
14	Valuable skilled manpower is lost	44	18.2
15	Innocent people are arrested so that they pay bribes	12	4.9

Table 6.20 Participants' views on the effects of xenophobia

Table 6.20 is a summary of what the participants feel are the effects of xenophobic attacks. As revealed by the summary, the fact that people are seriously injured was mentioned by the most number of participants as an effect of xenophobia. The issue of loss of property and the displacement of people were also issues that most participants noted. All the listed effects of xenophobia point to forms of violation of human rights on the part of the victims and are direct contraventions of the explicit human rights listed in the Bill of Rights, the

Freedom Charter and the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights. There is evidence in the reviewed literature of lack of vigorous follow ups in terms of investigating xenophobic linked crimes and the apprehending of perpetrators which in a way can be viewed as a subtle way of legitimising such acts.

6.6.1.6 Section F: Education for tolerance issues

Participants' views on whether they can become friends with a person from another country				
Responses	Yes	No	No response	Total
Number	147	92	2	241
Percentage	61%	38.2%	0.8%	100%

Table 6.21 Responses as to whether participants would become friends with a person from another country

61% of the participants indicated that they were willing to become friends with a person from another country whilst 38.2% indicated that they were not willing to become friends with people from another country. These responses indicate that more participants did not mind becoming closer to people from other countries which can be translated to mean that, despite all the negative attributes attached to foreigners, participants were still willing to open up to them. The responses offered here can be interpreted as to point to the fact that, with more education for tolerance, a greater harmonious interaction between South African locals and foreigners can be implanted. The recommendations offered in chapter seven will focus more on ways on increasing tolerance between South African locals and foreigners living amongst them.

Participants' opinions on how they would feel if called ' <i>kwerekwere</i> '			
Responses	Not tolerate	No response	Totals
Number	239	2	241
Percentage	99.2%	0.8%	100%

Table 6.22 Participants' opinions if they were to be called '*kwerekwere*' when they visit other countries

When it comes to the issue of how the participants would feel if they were called '*kwerekwere*' when visiting another country, almost all the participants who answered the question expressed that they would not tolerate it and would feel so offended. Only two

participants left the question unanswered. This in a way gives an idea of how derogatory the term is and how those who are subjected to the term almost on daily basis feel. It can be argued that, the term is used so that it humiliates an individual and reduce one's self worthy to nothing. In light of the learners' responses to this question, it is clear that efforts are needed from all the stakeholders to reduce the use of anti social terms such as 'Kwerekwere' and recommendations will be made in chapter seven which are meant to curb the use of such terms.

Participants' views on whether they support the introduction of African studies				
Responses	Yes	No	No response	Totals
Number	198	42	1	241
Percentage	82.2%	17.4%	0.4%	100%

Table 6.23 Responses on whether participants support the introduction of African studies

On the issue of whether the participants would support the introduction of African studies whereby different African cultures and customs are taught, 82.2% participants said yes they supported it. 17.4% participants said they did not support it and 0.4% participants did not offer an answer to the question. In light of these figures, it is very encouraging to note that a very large percentage of the participants are willing to learn something from other African countries. This in a way can be a starting point in finding solutions to change the negative attitudes that may exist in the minds of South Africans towards other Africans from other parts of the continent.

Participants' views on whether they are interested in exchange programs to visit neighbouring countries				
Responses	Yes	No	No response	Totals
Number	154	84	3	241
Percentage	63.9%	34.9%	1.2%	100%

Table 6.24 Responses on whether participants are interested in exchange programmes with other countries

Though participants showed mostly negative views about foreigners, surprisingly enough, 63.9% of the total number of the participants was interested in visiting neighbouring countries. Some of the reasons stated for wanting to visit neighbouring countries include:

- “To experience life outside South Africa.”
- “Because I want to see how they will treat me.”
- “My friend told me about Victoria Falls and Lake Kariba so he wants me to visit their country and see them.”

Two of the reasons stated for not wanting to visit other countries were that, “I am proudly South African and don’t care what happens elsewhere” and “What’s there for me in those countries for dirty people?”

6.6.2 Overview of the interviews conducted with immigrant learners

The summary of the interviews carried out with 15 foreign learners is discussed here according to the various questions that were on the interview schedule. The participants were from three selected schools, five participants from each of the selected schools. The interviews were carried out in allocated rooms during arranged times with each participant and each interview lasted between 30 and 55 minutes. The interviews were carried out on a one on one basis between the interviewer/researcher and the participants to allow each participant to supply his or her own views without the influences of another person. The notes that were taken during the interviews were transcribed for better understanding and for making inferences from them.

There were eight boys and seven girls who participated in the interviews, which translated to almost a 50-50 situation in terms of gender representation. The information provided by both sexes was equally informative and relevant to the topic under discussion. Like the questionnaire used with South African learners, the interview schedule used with foreign learners had no particular order or sections in order not to lead the participants in any direction, but to allow them to provide raw answers. However for analysis of the findings, the questions on the interview schedule have been grouped according to themes and are presented here in sections with titles for questions with the same theme.

6.6.2.1 Section A: Geographical information

- **Selecting of a pseudonym**

The first question or statement of the interview schedule was for the interviewer to request the participant to choose a pseudo name for purposes of confidentiality and each one of them mentioned a name that was in turn used during the interviews.

- **Participants' ages**

There were three participants aged 14 years, three participants aged 15 years, six participants aged 16 years, two participants aged 17 years and one participant aged 18 years. The participants' ages ranged from 14 to 18 years which is representative of the normal ages of learners in high school.

- **Participants' countries of origin**

Eight participants came from Mozambique, five participants came from Zimbabwe, two participants came from DRC, one participant came from Zambia whilst another participant came from Malawi.

- **Explanations on the circumstances that led the participants to come and stay in South Africa**

Participants offered different reasons for coming to South Africa. Three participants from Mozambique and two from Zimbabwe mentioned that they came to South Africa to unite with their parents who had come earlier on and called them here when they were settled. Two participants from Zimbabwe said they were lured by friends to come to South Africa after dropping out of school due to lack of school fees back home during the period of economic meltdown in their country. Two participants from Mozambique said they started by working as seasonal workers on

farms next to the border of their country and once they had enough bus fare, they thought of coming to Johannesburg where everyone back home talked about. The other participant from Zimbabwe said he came for holidays with his brother and found the place interesting and turned a blind eye to the idea of going back home. The participant from Zambia said he accompanied his mother to come and order some goods for resale back home and met a relative here who offered to stay with her as her baby minder but she later ran away when she was abused and decided to go back to school when she was assisted by a nongovernmental organisation. One participant from the DRC said she fled her home town at night during the time when there was war and walked into the neighbouring Angola where life was equally tough before eventually coming to South Africa through a free ride at the back of a haulage truck. The participant from Malawi could only say that she is happy to be away from home. Three participants, that is, one from DRC, one from Mozambique and one from Zimbabwe all said they came together with their parents who had secured employment here in South Africa. The other two participants from Mozambique were very uneasy at disclosing their reasons for coming to South Africa as it turned out that, they were afraid to disclose that they had illegally jumped the border into South Africa. All the participants agreed that South Africa offered more life opportunities for people than back in their countries of birth. Most of the participants mentioned the fact that, all the people they knew who were living in South Africa portrayed a picture of living an above average life when they came back home with groceries, clothes and many other luxuries that included cars, which made everyone envy them and also think of coming to South Africa.

6.6.2.2 Section B: General concerns relating to xenophobia

- **Participants' descriptions on what they understand by the term xenophobia**

The researcher feels that with the publicity that the 2008 xenophobic attacks, it left everyone in South Africa with an idea as to what really xenophobia is judging from

the responses received via the questionnaires and the interviews. All the participants provided correct explanations as to what xenophobia is all about. Most of the participants mentioned the fact that, “Xenophobia has to do with a dislike of people from other countries which in turn led to them being attacked.” Seven of the participants had directly been victims of xenophobic acts whilst the other eight all had witnessed some xenophobic incidents.

- **Findings on the language used to communicate in and outside the class with other learners by participants**

All the schools that the participants came from are supposed to use English as a medium of communication except during vernacular subjects but that is very far from what happens in the schools. All the participants shared the same view that, everyone assumed that because they are all black, they will understand all the African languages. Many shared the sentiment that teachers tended to switch to vernacular at any time they felt like and when one points out that they did not understand, the teachers got very angry. Daisy said, “Though we use English as a medium for communication, it was a bit of a challenge for some learners as they used broken English very often. Zake mentioned that though he used English as a language of communication, it seemed as if it was taboo to speak in English in the township as people looked at him more than once when he spoke in English.

Three participants from Zimbabwe said they used both English and isiZulu for communication depending on the situation. Mark mentioned that though he was trying hard to learn the local languages so that he could fit in, he found it difficult as he had to concentrate on his studies rather than waste time on things that he was not going to be tested on. He said, “I have a lot of interest in learning some of the local languages but it will just be time wasting ‘coz’ that will never be part of my exams so I would rather work on my school work.” Nyasha says, “Ooh that’s what tells people that you are not from around the moment you start talking even if you try to speak in the local languages, you know I am Shona so it’s very different from

the South African languages especially my tone.” Olga looked very distant when the issue of language was raised and she stated that, “I am Congolese so my English is bad as I was doing French in DRC, they laugh me every day, I don’t want to talk but teacher always says Olga Olga everyday!”

- **Findings on people’s reactions when participants spoke in their mother tongue**

Most participants especially those from Mozambique and Zimbabwe felt it was no longer much of an issue if they spoke their home languages as there were so many of them around and people were now used to their languages. All the Mozambican learners were actually studying their mother language, that is, Xitsonga, as fortunately enough for them it is one of the official languages of South Africa whilst the Zimbabweans were doing isiZulu which is close to Ndebele their mother language. Three participants expressed gratitude for their teachers who were so patient with them and offered them extra lessons in their chosen local vernacular subject and they all said they now rarely used their mother languages as they always experienced stares from people around them if they spoke their mother languages. Eddie said, “In Rome you do like the Romans, I no longer speak Nyanja in public except at home with my mother.”

- **Findings on what participants felt in relation to human rights contained in the South African Constitution**

Most of the participants (12 out of 15) felt that the human rights contained in the South African Constitution do not cater for foreigners. Mathew mentioned that, “The police are harsh on us.” Titus asked, “What human rights?” before adding that, “They make you feel that you are not welcome here, I can’t open a bank account so that I receive money in it.” Nyasha said, They were giving dustbins in their area and when her mother went to collect one, she said one of the officials shouted at her

mother saying, “Sifuna amaSouth Africans kupela magogo!” (Old woman, we want only South Africans).

Olga said when she went to the clinic for treatment, the staff refused to attend to her because she did not have a passport and they threatened to call the police for her. The interview had to be suspended for some minutes as she started to cry saying, “I ran away from war and now this is what they do to me. I don’t know where to go now.” Mary had this to say, “My father pays tax just like everyone but they always say government benefits are only for South Africans because we (the locals) pay tax (yet even foreigners also get taxed).” Zake said, “I went everyday for three weeks to apply for my asylum. Is that fair? I do not think these guys stand in queues for three weeks never! ”

- **Participants’ views on whether the local people in various spheres of society are friendly or hostile to foreigners**

Participants expressed mixed feelings on whether South Africans were hostile or friendly to people from other countries. Five of the participants mentioned opinions that suggested that they were now comfortable within their communities, that is, where they live and go to school but mostly received indifferent treatment whenever they went to other unfamiliar places where they were not known. Eddie said, “When we go to the garage for petrol with my father, he speaks in English and when they answer in local languages he gets very irritated and starts to speak French until they speak English.” Nyasha said that she liked to go to church every Sunday as the people at her church were so nice to her family and she felt so comfortable in their company.

Mellissa said one day when she was going to the city of Johannesburg, the taxi was stopped at a roadblock and when the police officer was checking passengers’ IDs, she saw at least four passports from different countries and said, “What do you want

here all you foreigners? I know you just come here to steal from South Africans ... you should go back to your countries.”

Mark mentioned that he saw police officers on TV letting off their dogs on foreigners and they mauled them badly. Similarly, Mathew also said he saw on television during news time, police officers brutally attacking patrons of a certain nightclub, which is mostly frequented by foreigners. He (Mathew) repeated that, “they were kicking him on the head.” Njabulo said he stays with a South African family and was now just like their biological son since they went out of their way to make him feel at home.

- **Findings on whether participants would prefer to stay in South Africa or go back to their home countries if conditions improved**

Eight participants were of the opinion that they missed home and would go back as soon as the situation permitted since conditions in South Africa were hostile to foreigners and did not make them feel at home. Five of the above mentioned participants added that they were only in South Africa due to conditions that forced them out of their countries and would go back if those conditions improved. Three participants said they were not sure of that as they don’t know the current situations back in their home countries. Two participants said they never wanted to set foot in their mother countries again as they were forced to flee with their lives by their own kith and kin whilst two said they could only think of going home when they complete school and college.

6.6.2.3 Section C: Issues of whether participants have encountered xenophobia

- **Findings on name calling (degrading forms of address)**

Name calling was something that had become a daily xenophobic encounter that most of the participants had come to accept as part of their daily norm. The derogatory terms used to refer to the foreign learners included, '*kwerekwere*', '*grigamba*', '*tshangani*' and 'darkie.' Three of the participants expressed that they felt that it was unfair to be called by such terms in front of teachers and they did nothing about it. One boy said "I felt so hurt when he called me *tshangani* and reported to the teacher. The teacher said she will look into the matter tomorrow. When I asked the following day she said, "Go away I'm busy!" and that was it." One of the participants said no one knew that he was a foreigner as he could converse fluently in Zulu, which he learnt while staying in Mussina for four years before he came to Gauteng. The other boy said, "I don't care let them call me whatever they want but I'm the best in our class every term."

- **Findings on whether participants had been treated in a way that they felt was not fair**

The participants said they have situations that they feel they were unfairly treated on many occasions because they were foreigners, but usually acted as if everything was normal to avoid trouble. Titus said, "The teacher asked a question and I gave a correct answer, he asked another question and I gave a correct answer again, then when on the third occasion I was the only one raising my hand again because I had researched on the topic, he got angry and said, "You give others a chance." Titus said he was so hurt because no one raised a hand and the teacher never wanted him to provide the answer, so he was now afraid to participate in class. Mark said during the 2010 Soccer World Cup tournament, his school got free tickets for some of the

matches, so when the buses came to ferry them to the stadium, one of the teachers came to the queue and pulled him out and said “not you” until the Principal intervened on his behalf. Mark said what hurt him most was that he heard the whole conversation between the teacher and the principal together with the comments from the other teachers who were siding with the teacher as they were so nasty because they thought he did not understand the vernacular language they were using.

Mathew nearly cried when he narrated the ordeal that he went through when the teacher could not find his cell phone. Mathew said when the teacher asked about his phone, five boys stared at him and that is when trouble began. Mathew says they took him to the toilet and searched him in a way that he did not feel comfortable with. The most agonising fact he says is that, when the teacher was packing his bag, the phone fell from the desk when he pulled some books and he just went away without apologising about the humiliation that he had caused for him.

- **Findings on whether participants had witnessed xenophobic incidents at school**

This was a very difficult question for most participants as they had all experienced or witnessed traumatic xenophobic acts. Daisy said, “They looted and burnt our tuck-shop, everything went down.” John said, “That man on TV burning, hey that was not nice to watch.” Another boy said, “They (locals learners) took my lunch box and put sand into my food.” Another girl said, “I can’t go there (she was pointing at a certain place with park benches) at break, because they say it’s our territory.”

Mellissa kept quiet for some time before she said, “My father is gone, where? I don’t know. They accused him of stealing from our neighbour and they came at night and he escaped via the window when he heard noises at the gate. Its two years now and I miss him. We struggle daily with mom.” Titus said when he went to a neighbouring school when he was looking for a place the principal told his father that he was not

allowed to enrol illegal immigrants even if they had papers because most of the asylum papers were fake.

John says he cannot come to terms with the shooting of a foreigner in daylight who had earlier on fought with a local person over a girlfriend and the latter came back with a gun and shot him seven times before he could escape. He says, “I am worried because the attacker was given bail and he is always by the bridge close to my house.”

- **Findings on whether participants felt that the teachers treated foreign learners the same way as they do to locals**

Whilst some participants felt that they were being unfairly treated as compared to their South African counterparts, others said they enjoyed the same treatment as the locals and did not feel any form of discrimination. John said “Ngishayi iMaths and accounts so minieri likes me a lot.” (I am very good in maths and accounts so the teacher likes me a lot.) Mary was a bit conservative when she said, “Sometimes it’s like you don’t exist at all.” Other learners (that is seven of them) felt that, at first, there was a great difference in the way they were treated in comparison to their local counterparts but with time, everything changed as they now felt the treatment was just the same. Nyasha said, “Because of the large numbers of learners in the class, teachers did not have any time to discriminate against anyone as it was difficult to find time for that.” John was emotional when he said; “Every time there is a problem between a foreign learner and a South African, the teachers always blamed the foreigner!” He (John) further stated that one teacher said to his friend, “If you did not come to South Africa, this problem was never going to happen.”

- **Findings on whether participants had ever been sidelined in a school activity because of their foreign status**

Fourteen participants believed that, officially they are not sidelined as such for any activity except in informal situations. Njabulo said when they play some games during break time, no one chose him to be a partner in the games they were playing and he would watch whilst they played on their own. It was only Daisy who said she could not apply for a bursary as the forms stated that, “Only South Africans citizens qualify.”

6.6.2.4 Section D: Causes of xenophobia

- **Findings on what participants thought are the causes of xenophobia**

The reasons offered by participants as the causes of xenophobia corroborate with those stated in the questionnaires by South African learners as well as the literature review. The following issues are some of the reasons stated by the participants as the causes of xenophobia;

South Africans say:

- Foreigners steal their jobs
- Foreigners make noise with their weird music that they play at high volumes
- Our country is overcrowded by dirty people
- Foreigners take away all our food and money to their countries
- Foreigners enjoy life when we are poor and live in shacks
- Foreigners do not respect us in our country
- They take our school places
- Foreigners overload our sewer system

6.6.2.5 Section E: Effects of xenophobia

- **Findings on what participants felt are the effects of xenophobia**

All participants offered varying effects of xenophobia of which some of them are listed below;

- "... People get killed."
- "A lot of property is destroyed."
- "Families are torn apart."
- "Three of my friends never came back to school"
- "See how many people fled this country!"
- "People are displaced."
- "My friend's father is now blind because they beat him so hard."
- "My relatives don't want to visit us from home anymore."
- "Some business links from other countries never resumed after 2008."
- "We lost R8500 because we do not have a bank account."
- "I had to change schools after those attacks because we moved away from where we lived after our neighbours told them (attackers) we are foreigners."

Most of the issues highlighted by the participants point to the existence of xenophobia within the South African society and some of the incidents are worrying.

6.6.2.6 Section F: Education for tolerance

- **Findings on whether participants had any friends that are locals either at school or at home**

Some of the participants said they have forged ahead and made friends both at home and at school with South African learners. Daisy said, "Though I have a few

friends from around, I sometimes sense that, they sometimes don't include me in other issues they feel I don't need to know about." Zake noted that, "Its sometimes very difficult because even amongst themselves, the locals always move in groups of the same ethnic backgrounds, Xhosas on their own, Zulus on their own and so on, so I am always on my own." Melissa said though her boyfriend is South African, she feels isolated as both his family and friends always tease him about going out with a '*kwerekwere*'. Mark and Eddie played soccer for their respective schools and are accepted by the locals as they are playing pivotal roles in their teams and get a lot of cheering during matches and always hang around with their teammates after matches.

- **Findings on what participants think can be done to avert xenophobic attacks in future in light of a number of xenophobic incidents reported in the media**

Six participants began by noting that the issue of xenophobia was a very complex one and needed many stakeholders to deal with. Njabulo believed that, "Some laws are not right at all because they discriminate against foreigners openly." Titus said, "I don't know why they hate us so much because at home visitors are treated like kings." Zake suggested that, "If I was the president, I will put very strict rules against those who attack other African brothers." John said, "The hatred is just too hard to understand but others like us too." Olga wanted to marry a South African and teach her family to love everyone irrespective of their place of origin or language.

Mary said, "I stayed briefly both in Zambia and Zimbabwe on my way to South Africa, I never felt like what I feel here. I want us to respect each other." Mark cited poverty as the main issue that caused xenophobia when he asked that, "Why is it that only blacks are victims of xenophobia in the townships. I think government must build more houses and create jobs for everyone."

- **Findings on what participants felt are issues that need to be readdressed in the South African education system so that it caters for the needs of foreign learners**

Five participants (33.3%) felt that geography and history should have more emphasis on African history and geography as they felt that, little was taught on African history and geography and more emphasis was on western history and geography which added to the glorification of anything western and vilification of anything from other African countries. The participants said that would enlighten local learners about other African countries, their customs and geographic position. One participant said, "They think we come from nowhere and take us to be backward. I am just poor but one day I will be fine." Mellissa said one boy asked her if there were bananas in their country when they were buying food for lunch to which she retorted that, "There are only found in the jungle for monkeys like you" out of irritation. Daisy said, "They must protect us because every day we are insulted by everyone and its normal, because everyone laughs about it."

Zake found nothing wrong with the curriculum as it was easier than back in his country when he notes that, "I used to struggle at home because there was no school based assessments added to the final year mark. This meant that, if you failed the exam that was it and here you go into the exam with the 25% school based assessment mark, so I like it here." Eddie also noted that, "30% is a pass here but at home a pass is 50% upwards so I think its ok here than at home."

- **Findings on any additional information that participants had above the information they supplied under the guidance of the interview schedule**

Only four participants offered their own comments when asked whether they had anything to add and their comments are listed below;

- "Africa is for Africans but we fight each other as black people alone."

- “I wish they can introduce other subjects so that they cater for everyone.”
- “It is hard to trust anyone here in South Africa.”
- “Something must be done about all these shacks, because that is where it starts.”

6.7 Data analysis and interpretation

It is perceptible from the above transcribes of the literature study, the questionnaires for South African learners and the interviews with foreign learners that xenophobia is a reality within the South African population and is a cause of concern as its effects are sometimes very far reaching. The data analysis and interpretation is discussed here under the following sections, analysis and interpretation of literature, analysis and interpretation of questionnaires and analysis and interpretation of interviews.

6.7.1 Analysis and interpretation of literature review

The literature studied has provided evidence of the existence of xenophobic tendencies in South Africa. There is evidence of serious concerns about the issue of xenophobia as noted by the reactions of very senior government officials up to the president’s office. Ncana (Sunday Times 17 October 2010) quotes the then president of South Africa, Thabo Mbeki as having said the following about the xenophobic attacks, “These things (various destructive xenophobic acts) took place, people were killed and all sorts of terrible things happened. The thing surely must be stopped because it is wrong, it is bad, and we have to pursue it. But in order to stop these kinds of attacks, we have to understand them properly. And if people just make a declaration that South Africans are xenophobic, that will lead to particular kinds of action which, I am certain, would not produce the kind of results we are looking for... The root cause of the violence that left more than 60 people dead and scores of others homeless still needs to be investigated and accurately reported.”

The data gathered through the review of literature revealed that, xenophobia does not affect a wide spectrum of people but targets mainly indigenous Africans from other countries within the continent. Countries such as Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Somalia, DRC, Nigeria and Ethiopia top the list of countries whose nationalities have suffered most due to xenophobic acts. There are various ways that xenophobia perpetrators use to identify foreigners which include 'language tests' and analysis of one's Skin colour, Dress code, Hairstyles, walking style or lifestyle. Once it is established that one is not originally a South African or be mistaken as being foreigner because of having the characteristics that are thought to belong to foreigners, one would then be subjected to various forms of unpleasant actions.

The literature study has also highlighted the fact that, xenophobia is mostly confined within informal settlements and is also common in some government departments that deal directly with issues concerning the administration of foreigners' documentation. Issues that cause xenophobia to take place include jealous, poverty, competition for resources and materials such as jobs and various services, the belief that foreigners are responsible for the high crime rate and the belief that foreigners access government handouts at the expense of citizens. There are also allegations that foreigners 'steal' women from the locals and that they accept salaries below the minimum wage.

The literature revealed a clear absence of wide scale programmes to counter xenophobia and to avert it in future. Perpetrators of xenophobic violence rarely account for their actions and there seems to be lack of investigative follow-ups to xenophobic related issues aimed at finding the underlying causes of attacks. The silence that follows the attacks led Walaza (Cape Times 13 October 2010:9) to comment that, "The recent service strikes, the attacks on foreigners and domestic violence are but a few examples of what happens when there is a collusion of silence around pressing national issues." The suggestion here is that, xenophobia is part of some prime issues plaguing South Africa.

It can also be concluded that, most of the allegations against foreigners that have led to them to become victims of excessive violence are sometimes baseless as they are not based on facts but what people read, see or hear. There were also revelations of the various

effects of xenophobia which include violence, death, physical damage to people and their belongings, psychological effects and the soiling of the country's image on the international front.

The literature study provided an insight into a number of issues relating to xenophobia and gave a trajectory that was followed to create an appropriate questionnaire and interview schedule, which were used to further probe the topic using different complimentary data gathering techniques for purposes of data triangulation. The following section provides an analysis and interpretation of the data that was gathered through the use of questionnaires on South African learners.

6.7.2 Analysis and interpretation of responses to questionnaires for South African learners

There are sentiments within the transcribe of the questionnaire that was administered on South African learners which clearly carry some xenophobic tendencies and tally with some of the findings of the literature study. The responses that most participants gave tally with some of the issues established by the literature review in terms of what causes xenophobia and its effects. Section A of the findings on responses to the questionnaire outlined the details of the participants such as their age, gender, home language and the total number of participants that took part in responding to the questionnaire. The learners' profiles show that there was a fair representation of all grades from grade eight up to twelve with an average of 48 learners per grade who responded to the questionnaire and there was an almost balanced representation in terms of gender.

From the information gathered through the use of questionnaires, it is clear that xenophobia is a subject that is widely understood in South Africa as most of the respondents provided accurate information on what they understood about the concept. It can be concluded that the knowledge the participants had on xenophobia came from the way issues of xenophobia have received much attention in the media and by its occurrence within the places of residence of the participants. Many participants had been in contact with foreigners. It is encouraging to know that, the participants are aware of what

xenophobia is as this can be taken advantage of when recommendations of tackling xenophobia are made as this is a stepping stone to deal with people who are already familiar with the pertinent issues on xenophobia.

More than half of the respondents believed that, there are more than two million foreigners within the borders of South Africa which clearly tallied with the issues raised in the literature study which also revealed that, various media channels were throwing around the number of foreigners in South Africa to be running into several millions without official statistical backings.

Such numbers have been taken to be factual even though they are no empirical head counts to verify such numbers. The amnesty for illegal Zimbabweans who were offered an opportunity to register for permits was taken up by a paltry number less 300 000. The figure is way below the millions of Zimbabweans that are believed to have jumped into South Africa via illegal routes during the collapse of the once vibrant Southern Africa country, which was once the bread basket of the region.

The attitude of most of the participants was clearly inclined to some xenophobic tendencies in nature. Though some participants did not give negative responses towards foreigners, the bigger proportion provided negative feelings towards foreigners, which included blaming foreigners for committing crimes, not wanting foreigners to be given same rights as citizens and supporting the deportation of foreigners. Many participants also did not want foreigners to receive government grants and did not want either that foreigners should move freely within South Africa. The implications of the participants' responses point to the fact that a lot needs to be done in order for the negative views about foreigners to change. Recommendations will be made in the last chapter in light of these findings.

Section D of the questionnaire's responses looks at the causes of xenophobia according to the participants' views. Causes of xenophobia as stated by participants include Jealousy, poverty, accusations that foreigners steal jobs, women and property from locals, competition for resources such as grants and RDP houses, accusations that foreigners have exacerbated the levels of crime and poverty in South Africa and mere hatred of anything

associated with foreigners. Most of the causes of xenophobia, which were stated by participants, are closely related or are identical to those causes stated in the literature study. The above mentioned accusations have not been scientifically proven and may remain as fallacies unless scientific researches are carried out to verify these accusations.

Section E of the findings from the questionnaire responses looks at the effects of xenophobia as stated by the participants. The effects of xenophobia according to participants include injury, displacement of people, destruction of property, rape, political instability, arrests and violation of innocent people caught in between. The effects of xenophobia listed by participants are indeed life-changing circumstances in the lives of the victims and the hope is that with a lot of effort from all stakeholders, xenophobia should never occur at all here in South Africa. The effects of xenophobia mentioned by participants are really a cause for concern and what is more worrying is that to some, it is just one of those things that occur on daily basis which needs no special attention at all.

Section F of the findings from the questionnaire responses is on education for tolerance. It was so encouraging to note that more than half of the participants were willing to become friends with foreigners and to visit other neighbouring countries. Almost all the participants stated that they would not tolerate being called *kwerekwere* if they visited other countries. The issues stated here are some of the pertinent points that gave guidance during the formulation of recommendations that are listed in chapter 7.

6.7.3 Analysis and interpretation of interviews conducted with foreign learners

The interview schedule questions were not arranged in any special way and were not divided into sections but the analysis and interpretation given here was done after questions with the same theme were grouped together under a common subheading for easy understanding, analysis and interpretation.

Just like the questionnaire findings, section A of the interview schedule findings also provides the participants' details. Fifteen participants from three different schools took part

in the interviews, five from each school. Eight participants were boys whilst seven were girls. The participants' ages ranged from 14 to 18 years. Eight participants came from Mozambique, five participants came from Zimbabwe, two participants came from DRC, and one participant came from Zambia whilst another participant came from Malawi. Participants left their home countries due to various reasons that include following their parents who had settled in South Africa and mainly due to some difficulties that they were facing back in their countries that include economic woes and wars.

Section B of the interviews findings deals with general issues on xenophobia. All participants were well aware of what xenophobia is since some were victims whilst others witnessed some xenophobic incidents in addition to the publicity it got in the media that participants were exposed to. Participants said they were all at English speaking schools and the expectation would be that everyone converses in English but most participants noted that, it was rare to hear learners speaking in English. Some participants also complained that even teachers had a tendency of delivering subjects meant to be taught in English in their mother languages. One participant noted that speaking in one's foreign language was the quickest way to be identified as not South African and still the use of English was again a problem since it was not the norm to speak English in their neighbourhoods.

On the issue of whether the rights enshrined on individuals by the constitution were also applicable to foreigners, most of the participants said the rights did not apply to foreigners judging by the negative way foreigners were treated in various spheres of the society and as displayed during xenophobic violence. Participants added that some South Africans were very hostile towards foreigners whilst some were very welcoming since some participants were actually staying with locals and were comfortable with the stay. Slightly above half of the total number of participants wished they could go back to their countries of origin as they felt South Africa is hostile to foreigners, two said they never wanted to set foot in their mother countries whilst another two said they would only think of going home when they finished school. Generally, the participants' responses revealed that, conditions for foreigners in South Africa are not that rosy and are a cause of concern.

Section C of the interview findings looked at whether participants had encountered xenophobia during their stay in South Africa. Derogatory terminology is the most common xenophobic characteristic that all the participants were faced with nearly on daily basis and had come to accept it as their daily routine. Some of the terms that foreigners are called by include '*kwerekwere*', '*grigamba*', '*tshangani*' and '*darkie*'. Participants also pointed out that reporting name calling to those in authority did not help much as it was considered to be a petty issue despite the pain it caused on the victims.

Participants also gave evidence of the presence of xenophobic attitudes towards them from other learners and teachers which included accusations of wrong doing and indifferent behaviour towards participants even for doing the right things in class like having answers for most questions asked by teachers. All participants had experienced or witnessed traumatic xenophobic acts and became emotional when they were narrating some of the experiences that they had witnessed. Participants narrated incidents such as food being mixed with sand, watching a man burning on television and daylight shooting of a person.

The look on the faces of some of the participants and emotions when they narrated some of their experiences and encounters with xenophobic instances were really touching and some of the participants would actually cry and needed time to recover to continue with the interviews. The nature of experiences that the learners described really deserve attention as the psychological effect on the participants was clearly overwhelming and heart breaking. The message that came out clearly from the interviews is that, though xenophobia is actually an issue of serious concern, it is not viewed as such as most of the xenophobic tendencies were occurring without anyone being reprimanded as most victims were now enduring it without reporting as they had come to accept that, nothing was being done to address the problem. In other instances, some laws seem to perpetuate xenophobic tendencies as they recognised differences in people and enshrined certain privileges only to those that are seen as original South Africans and excluding those who are of foreign origins. An example is that of a participant who mentioned that she failed to apply for a certain bursary as the forms clearly stated that only South African learners were eligible to apply.

Participants gave mixed responses when it came to the way they are treated by teachers in comparison to South African learners as some said there was no discrimination in the way they were treated by teachers whilst others mentioned some serious forms of discrimination. One form of discrimination mentioned was the blacking out of the participants whereby participants were made to feel like they did not exist at all. Though some participants were very comfortable with the way they are treated here in South Africa, it was apparent that some had experienced some very traumatic xenophobic situations that they felt there was nothing they could do about the situation. In light of the revelations of the presence of xenophobic tendencies within the school premises, recommendations will be made in chapter seven that can be considered by education authorities in terms of curbing such acts.

Section D of the interview findings outlines what the participants felt were the causes of xenophobia. Participants stated that xenophobia can be caused by foreigners being accused of stealing jobs from locals, making noise with their weird music, overcrowding the country, depleting the country of its resources, enjoying life at the expense of locals, lack of respect for locals, filling up school places meant for South Africans and overloading services. Some of the causes that participants gave are similar to those that were established by the literature review and the questionnaires whilst the others are unique.

Section E of the interview findings deals with what participants stated as the effects of xenophobia. Participants gave effects of xenophobia, which include, people being killed, destruction of property, families being torn apart, people fleeing away from the country or people being displaced, grievously bodily harm, living in fear, loss of property and other valuables and forced relocations. The effects of xenophobia identified by the participants are issues that may be viewed as issues of concern requiring attention as their effects on the victims are seen as far reaching.

Section F of the findings is on education for tolerance where some participants felt that some laws are discriminative in nature and needed revision. One mentioned that strict laws must be put in place to deter would be perpetrators. Other participants suggested that the history and geography taught in school must be more African based so as to enlighten

learners about other African countries instead of flooding them with western history and geography. Generally, the interviews just like the questionnaires highlighted the presence of xenophobia both in and outside the school context and the fact that xenophobia has serious consequences that included death and emotional stress. As earlier on mentioned, the emotional effects of xenophobia that were displayed by some of the participants really leave one greatly touched.

6.7.4 Analysis and interpretation of the theoretical framework

The presentation on the theoretical framework managed to link social justice and xenophobia by outlining how the two theories have the same underlying gist, that is, they both deal with bread and butter issues. Social justice is a term that deals with issues of whether the needs of individuals within a certain community are being met or not. If ever the needs of individuals are not being met, social injustice creeps in and may lead to disgruntlements. In the same vein, almost all the issues that have been established as leading to xenophobic acts seem to stem from disgruntlements from people who feel their needs are not being met because of the stumbling block of the presence of foreigners.

As noted, Power and Gewirk (in Vincent 2003:19) talk of associational justice as a form of social justice that emphasises the absence of patterns of association amongst groups (nonexistence of selective association) which prevent some people from participating fully in decisions which affect conditions within which they live and act in. In that regard of associational justice, it is very unfortunate that most of the xenophobic tendencies in South Africa are a result of lack of associational justice as people are combed through, identified based on originality, and then attacked because their presence is an irritation to some who consider themselves the heirs of the fruits of the republic. Some service provision is actually based on originality as it has been extensively explained earlier on that foreigners are denied certain services and privileges as they are reserved only for those who were born with the borders of RSA.

Cramme and Diamond (2009:3) considers social justice as a term that refers to the relative distribution of rights, opportunities and resources within a given society and whether it deserves to be regarded as fair and just. With reference to Cramme and Diamond (2009:3)'s standpoint on social justice, it is very clear from the literature reviewed that foreigners are basically not included when it comes to the relative distribution of rights, opportunities and resources as they are discriminated upon in many instances. Although the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Freedom Charter and the Bill of Rights clearly accords every person living in South Africa the same rights and opportunities, the reality is that, in practice, foreigners seem not to enjoy any of such rights and opportunities during their stay in the republic as outlined in other sections of this study. When foreigners appear to be benefiting in any form in terms of distribution of rights, opportunities and resources, it is seen as unacceptable by some and raises tensions and sometimes leading actions referred to as xenophobia.

A plausible interpretation of the xenophobic looting of foreigners' businesses and properties will be that, the perpetrators will be taking the literal meaning of social justice by taking the law into their own hands to correct what they think is unjust. There are indeed a number of similarities in terms of issues discussed under social justice and those issues discussed under xenophobia, which are directly linked to each other and mainly involve issues of rights, opportunities and resources. It can be argued here that, when the needs of individuals are taken care of by those in authority, it can go a long way in contributing to the reduction of xenophobic tendencies in South Africa since xenophobic attacks mainly occur in and around areas where the poor and socially excluded people live.

6.8 Summary

Chapter 6 has provided the presentation and the discussion of the findings based on the research topic or question, that is, *The role of secondary schools in averting xenophobia in South Africa*. Where possible, the data collected through questionnaires was presented in the form of tables for easy interpretation. The main purpose of the data collection process was to establish the causes of xenophobia, to discuss or to trace whether there are

awareness campaigns and peace building programmes in place to counter xenophobia and to establish what can be done in secondary schools to instil a culture of tolerance in South Africa. The aim of this research was to establish the causes and effects of xenophobia and then to establish recommendations regarding the role that secondary schools can play in averting xenophobic attacks in South Africa. The conclusions and recommendations of the study are discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 7

Conclusions and recommendations

7.1 Introduction

The main driving force behind this work was the perplexity that the researcher experienced during the 2008 xenophobic attacks, which had a number of episodes that really boggled the mind in terms of their callousness in nature. There are widely held views that were confirmed through information that was gathered and are going to be summarised in this chapter. The conclusions are based on the literature study (chapter 2), the effects of xenophobia (chapter 3), the theoretical framework (chapter 4) and the empirical research (chapter 5). The chapter also provides recommendations on how secondary schools can run programmes that will avert xenophobic attacks in South Africa as enlightened by the revelations of the whole research.

7.2 Conclusions from the literature study

It is clear from the literature study in chapter 2, which was based on review of books, journals, researches on the same topic, newspapers and speeches that xenophobia undeniably exists within the South African society and is a cause of concern for those affected by it and other stakeholders. The continuation of reports of xenophobic related incidents is a cause for concern for the millions of foreigners who reside in South Africa, as their safety is not guaranteed at all. One major worrying issue is the lack of serious follow-ups from security departments on matters concerning xenophobic related incidents as the literature reviewed highlights the perceptible absence of any convictions based on xenophobic crimes.

A number of issues have been confirmed as some of the issues that lead to xenophobic violence flare-ups. The following issues are the main conclusions deduced from the literature reviewed.

7.2.1 Causes of xenophobia

Whilst most of the causes of xenophobia that were pointed out in the literature review were also confirmed by the empirical investigation, some of them though play a significant role in the whole issue of xenophobia, they are mainly fallacies that are not backed by facts. According to the empirical investigations, jealousy was confirmed as the number one issue that results in xenophobic acts. A community leader who was interviewed in the Mail and Guardian (2008:4) said, “We are treated like foreigners in our own country while foreigners are having a nice time.” While the other mob leader of the 2008 attacks said, “We are tired of white people thinking that we’re criminals when these people are worse than us.” The community leader also said, “South Africans have come out to express themselves against overcrowding and the loss of jobs because of the growing number of foreigners.”

Another xenophobe interviewed in the same article cited above said, “Ramaphosa (a residential area in Johannesburg) has always had a problem with *makwerekwere* who are taking people’s jobs and reaping the benefits of ‘our freedom.’ These people own RDP houses, which some of us don’t even have.” 86.3% of the participants to the questionnaires stated that jealousy was the main cause of xenophobia and many of them mentioned that, foreigners seemed to live better lives when compared to the South Africans who are supposed to be the rightful beneficiaries of the country’s resources. The issues that appear to be the main causes of xenophobia include:

- Jealously
- poverty
- Foreigners ‘stealing’ jobs meant for locals
- Foreign men ‘stealing’ local women
- Competition for resources
- Foreigners are responsible for the high rate of crime
- Communication problems between locals and foreigners

7.2.2 Jealousy

The literature revealed that many xenophobic tendencies were a result of the jealousy felt by locals who saw the foreigners coming from nowhere only to 'steal' all the limelight within short spaces of time after arrival. The perception is that, the foreigners get jobs easily and start to enjoy all the good things that accompany having money in one's pocket such as affording to put food on the table, and eventually attracting the opposite sex which in turn angers the locals who feel their pride having been compromised.

7.2.3 Poverty

It is evident from the literature reviewed that there is an apparent link between poverty and xenophobia as it (xenophobia) was prevalent mainly within shanty areas. Poverty can be attributed as one of the major causes of xenophobia as it seems as if the poverty stricken citizens find it easy to scapegoat foreigners as the causers of their predicament. The marginalised communities feel abandoned and without any hope of making a breakthrough that improves their social status, which in turn sometimes leads them to venting their anger on foreigners as a way of attracting the attention of government.

Xenophobia is common in areas of high level of poverty and very poor standards of living conditions in and around many urban settlements that are characterised by shacks. The conditions of living in these areas often result in many delivery protests that are reported almost on daily basis on national television which sometimes turn to be xenophobic when foreigners become the targets of the attacks. The fight for jobs, better living conditions, salaries, housing, services and many other human needs have of late led to some very worrying incidents that all point to the fact that, something has to be done in light of the recurring protests which in some cases, lead to attacks of foreigners as scapegoats.

7.2.4 Foreigners 'stealing' jobs meant for locals

The issue of employment is a topical one whenever xenophobia is under discussion as it deals with bread and butter issues. Many locals in South Africa have accused foreigners of 'stealing' their jobs that they believe should be preserved only for them. In the eyes of the locals who have issues with foreigners, it seems the foreigners find it very easy to secure employment whilst most locals struggle forever to do so hence the issue of jobs being stolen comes into the picture. Other locals according to the literature study complain that, many employers prefer foreigners over them as the foreigners are not unionised and are bound by strict laws prohibiting them from joining-in in industrial actions hence the frustrations that lead the foreigners being accused of literally stealing away jobs from their rightful custodians. Others accused the foreigners of accepting any salary irrespective of whether it commensurate with the type of the job which in turn make employers to take advantage and employ the foreigners who accept to work for salaries that are believed to be below minimum wages stipulated by the department of labour salary scales.

It is clear from the literature study that the issue of employment appears to be one of the major issues linked to xenophobic flare-ups and indeed needs to be seriously looked at in terms of finding ways of reducing xenophobic tendencies within the South African society. There are implications that something needs to be done in order to reduce the high unemployment thereby increasing the number of working masses, which in turn points to reduction of poverty.

7.2.5 Competition for resources

In addition to jobs, there are many other resources which foreigners are accused of accessing ahead of locals that include government handouts such as free RDP houses, grants, health services, transport services and tenders. A lot was discussed in the literature study concerning the issue of foreigners receiving illegally those government handouts that they are said not to be entitled to. Many audits have been carried out in several places around the country with the intention of discovering the foreigners who would have

erroneously benefited from the free housing schemes which actually proves the fact that, the foreigners are indeed not entitled to the mentioned welfare goods.

Many complaints have surfaced of locals complaining of poor services at places such as clinics and hospitals due to the large numbers of foreigners in the queues as they are believed to rush to South Africa where these services are offered free of charge to the poor which are luxuries that are not available in many African countries. The service providers have also been accused of short-changing the foreigners by such acts as taking them out of the queue and serving the locals first whilst others are completely denied such services or even being reported to the police.

7.2.6 Foreigners being responsible for the high rate of crime

Crime has also proven to be another issue that has come out as a strong factor that leads to xenophobic tendencies as it is believed that, foreigners have taken the level of crime to unprecedented levels. According to the literature study, many serious crimes that include serious fraud, drug dealing, cash heist and rape are widely believed to be carried out by foreigners. Such crimes listed here, have been reported to have been nationalised as certain countries' nationalities have been labelled as specialising in a type of a crime. Though the belief that foreigners exacerbate the crime rate of the country is widely held, the statistics of crime have however painted a totally different picture.

7.2.7 Communication problems between locals and foreigners

The literature study has reviewed that the reason why foreigners are called *kwerekweres* emanates from the fact that, locals are said only to hear the foreigners as saying *kwirikwiri* when they speak. There is evidence that communication problems do surface at times as both parties, that is, locals and foreigners seem not to understand the other part. Fights can occur due to the misunderstandings, which in turn may lead to bystanders joining in, in defence of a colleague.

7.2.8 The media

The literature studied includes some negative reporting when it comes to issues concerning foreigners. Most issues highlighted in the media contained inflammatory headlines that include:

- Human 'tidal wave' threatens to swamp SA
- Hunting for foreigners
- Pakistan 'mafia' rules
- Refugees flood into SA
- SA hospitals inundated with Zimbabweans
- Zimbabweans pour into SA

These and many other related reports may in one way or the other augment certain beliefs that people already have when it comes to issues relating to the presence of 'floods' of foreigners pouring without control into South Africa. The general belief within the country is that, there are millions and millions of foreigners in South Africa that put a strain on the country's resources, engage in illegal activities and they spread viral diseases such as HIV and AIDS. There seems to be a lack of positive reporting on the good things that migration brings to the country, which can counter the negativity that is associated with anything foreign. Many forms of electronic media seem to have blacked out programmes from other African countries preferring mainly western daily soap operas, programmes and movies which seems to translate to glorification of anything western and disparagement of anything from other African countries.

7.2.9 Foreigners' rights

Foreigners seem to have very limited rights during their stay in South Africa as their access to various services and goods are very limited. According to the literature study, foreigners are not entitled to government handouts such as grants and RDP free houses. The literature study also highlighted incidents where foreigners were arrested and detained for flimsy reasons or for merely being foreigner with some having dogs being released to attack them as a way of teaching them a lesson and testing whether the dogs could still bite.

In summing up how limited the foreigners' rights are, Hoorn and Mhlana (2008:8) quote Avoko, a Congolese who says, "Most of us do not have IDs and the rules here in your country are no ID, no house, no ID no birth certificate for your children. You go to the hospital and you are told, no birth certificate for *kwerekwere* children."

The immigration Act of 2002 states specific professions that it refers to as scarce skills that foreigners can get permits for if they are highly skilled and qualified in them. Anyone else who visits South Africa has a maximum of ninety days per calendar year whereby you enter the border and your days that you stay in the country accumulate and when they reach ninety days, you have to wait for a new calendar year to be able to visit again.

7.2.10 Effects of xenophobia

According to the literature study, the effects of xenophobia include injury to people, loss of property, death, displacement of victims, loss of jobs, women being raped, political instability, violation of innocent people, children's rights being abused, businesses being destroyed, and the country's image being tarnished.

7.3 Conclusions from the theoretical framework

The theoretical framework discussed social justice as an issue that has a direct bearing on what causes xenophobia as it deals with bread and butter issues, which indeed appear to be the causes of xenophobia. As comprehensively discussed in chapter 4, social justice deals mainly with whether people's welfare is being taken care of or not. When people's welfare is being fully taken care of, it means they will be living in a just society whereby each individual's wellbeing is being met. When individuals' interests are not met, the individuals may feel short changed leading to scapegoating, which is, looking for someone or something to blame. As earlier on highlighted, foreigners have become soft targets for being the scapegoats for many problems bedevilling many South Africans; hence they are attacked on a number of occasions by the locals in fits normally called xenophobia.

7.4 Conclusions from the empirical investigation

The literature reviewed assisted the research process by accentuating the major concerns around the topic under discussion, that is, xenophobia, which in turn were used to design the questionnaires and interview schedules in order to dig deeper and shed more light on the pertinent issues. The literature review also laid a foundation on which the entire empirical investigation process was launched from. The objective of this study was to unravel the causes and effects of xenophobia with an intention of getting an insight on how secondary schools can play a role in averting xenophobia in future. The conclusions from the empirical investigations are discussed here.

7.4.1 Social relationships

It was very clear from the empirical investigations that the relationship between foreign learners and South African learners is a big challenge, as both groups tend to associate along ethnic lines. The issue of socialisation is a bit complex to an extent that, in most cases, foreign learners associate with fellow learners from their respective countries whilst the South African learners associate mainly with those who speak the same language as them. There is a wide mistrust amongst different ethnic groupings irrespective of origin leading some learners to develop survival tactics of learning at least three or four major languages so that they can use the languages according to the situation at hand.

7.4.2 Language issues

With regards to language, one participant said, “sometimes if you are quiet, no one seems to notice that you are from elsewhere, but the moment you start talking, heads start to turn and some can even frown at you, so I avoid a lot of public speaking.” The learners who hail from Matebeleland province of Zimbabwe found it easier to adapt here in South Africa as their language, that is, Ndebele happens to be one of the official languages of South Africa and is very close to at least three other Nguni languages, making it easy for them to learn fast those related languages. The foreign learners from Mozambique are also fortunate that

their mother language Xitsonga is also one of the official languages here in South Africa though one learner pointed out that, “I am happy to be doing my mother language at school, but some learners say, you *Changani* because our tsonga is slightly different.”

Another issue that clearly emerged was that the use of English was not popular at all, as this was a clear indication that one is not South African as the norm is for South Africans to converse in their mother languages. Those South Africans who speak in English in the townships are labelled ‘coconuts’ whilst the foreigners’ were often laughed at as their English is either broken or spoken with different elocution. For some like Titus who hails from Mozambique, English was still difficult as he was studying mainly in Portuguese back home, this led to a lot of teasing when he spoke. Titus irritantly said, “I know I am not good but I am better than them but they laugh at me every time.”

Some of the sentiments made, visibly highlight the wish of many learners to have their mother languages being included in the curriculum. It has emerged that, language is a critical area that needs attention when it comes to issues of xenophobia as a number of negative tendencies had a platform on the learners’ language of communication or English articulation.

7.4.3 Crime

It is evident from all the sources of information that, crime is a major contributing factor that led to people being xenophobic towards foreigners who are allegedly exacerbating the crime situation in the country. The foreigners are accused among other issues of dealing in drugs, engaging in sex trade, house breaking and car high jacking which are some of the worst crimes in the country. As highlighted elsewhere, some of the crimes are actually associated with certain nationalities. One participant stated that, “When they (foreigners) are to go everywhere, they teach children to take drugs.” Another said, “They cause fighting.”

It is a fact that a number of foreigners have been convicted for various crimes as reported in some newspapers but the numbers are so small and insignificant as compared to how the issue is sometimes reported. Matsebatlela (2008) notes that, "Some media are indirectly and subtly inciting people against foreigners due to the perception that continuing influx of Zimbabweans will heighten crime and "suffocate" us."

7.4.4 Labelling

Labelling of foreigners is one of the xenophobic experiences that foreign learners have to bear with almost on daily basis, as it was prevalent in all the schools where the interviewed foreign learners are attending. The foreign learners said they were now treating it as part of their daily experience as seemingly there was nothing done about the problem even if it was reported to authorities. One participant mentioned that, sometimes it led to very serious fights in some cases as some of the foreign learners would reply back by insulting the name callers with some obscenities. The effect of being called by derogatory terms proved to be very painful as over two hundred South African learners responded that, they would not tolerate being called '*kwerekwere*' when they visited other countries.

7.4.5 Causes of xenophobia

Whilst most of the causes of xenophobia that were pointed out in the literature review were also confirmed by the empirical investigation, some of them though play a significant role in the whole issue of xenophobia, as they are mainly fallacies that are not backed by facts. According to the empirical investigations, jealousy was confirmed as the number one issue that results in xenophobic acts. A community leader who was interviewed in the Mail and Guardian (2008:4) said, "We are treated like foreigners in our own country while foreigners are having a nice time." A number of issues have been extensively outlined as causes of xenophobia in various sections throughout this research.

Although a number of competing issues have been noted as causes of xenophobia, poverty and torturous conditions that many South Africans have to bear with in the informal

settlements seem to be the major issues that lead to xenophobia as a way of venting anger on foreigners who are perceived to be leading better lives than the locals. The social exclusion of those living in informal settlements due to perceived lack of action on the part of the government to articulate the needs and interests of marginalised groups seem to be a persistent cancer that has triggered so many service delivery protests, which are mostly very violent and destructive in nature. When such protests mainly target people of foreign origins and their property, such protests are then said to be xenophobic. It can be argued that since most of what are termed xenophobic attacks have mainly occurred in and around informal settlements, it can be concluded that, the torturous conditions that the people face on daily basis have led them to resort to such attacks as a way of attracting attention from government and media.

Poverty seems to be the plausible explanation of xenophobic tendencies as it has been a major recurrent theme of all the data gathering processes that is closely related to social processes that reproduce inequalities and distribution of resources which, reinforce low self-esteem, undermine status leading to lower expectations. All the other causes seem to be by products of the frustration that the socially excluded experience on daily basis.

7.4.6 Grants

The claims that foreigners receive government grants have reached some alarming levels as even government top officials make some inflammatory statements to the effect that foreigners running into millions are erroneously receiving the government social welfare handouts as was revealed by the literature review. As earlier on, mentioned, investigations have been carried out and the results have not unearthed such foreigners but have actually cemented in the minds of people that foreigners indeed are not entitled to any government assistance. The empirical investigation has also proven that, the issue seems to be a groundless perception that has no factual base as 83% South African learners (who participated in the study) confirmed that they knew no foreigner who was accessing government grants whilst another 2% did not respond which can also be translated to being not sure bringing the total to 85%.

7.4.7 Xenophobia within the school context

There is evidence that xenophobia exists within the school premises. The most common xenophobic aspect that has already been mentioned is labelling or name-calling whereby the foreign learners are called by derogatory names. In addition to name-calling, some of the issues raised during empirical investigations include victimisation of foreign learners by authorities. Pamela in Osman (2009:64) states that, "... it's a matter of I won't help you with your work, I know you are struggling but just get lost because I don't know whether you had a bath today so jus get out of my face." In some cases, there was evidence that there was a very positive cohesion between foreign and local learners to such an extent that, it was totally a non-issue. One South African learner said, "We are all Africans, so why should we hate one another, after all, my best teachers are all foreigners who are so friendly to me." Another learner wrote, "I share a desk with a foreigner, we are good friends and I want to know more about her country."

It is apparent that the data gathering processes have not found evidence of systems within the school context to counter xenophobia. There is no evidence of programmes specifically meant to counter xenophobia either within the school premises or outside the school. The various legislations such as the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Freedom Charter and the Bill of Rights are very clear on the protection of all human beings irrespective of colour, race, religion or origins but the legislations are not familiar to learners as they never mentioned them during interviews or responding to questionnaires.

7.4.8 Constructive aspects

There are positive aspects that came out of the whole study process that can be built upon to improve the relationship between foreigners and South Africans both within the schools and outside the school grounds in an effort to avert further xenophobic incidents in South Africa. One exceptional issue is the 63.9% of the South African learners who pointed out that they were willing to visit neighbouring countries on learner-exchange programmes as a way of learning more about the countries' customs, cultures and geographical sceneries. A

large percentage of 82.2% of the South African learners also pointed out that, they would welcome the introduction of African studies that are aimed at enlightening the locals about other African states' various aspects. A number of foreign learners mentioned that, some South African learners and educators were very compassionate and were always willing to go out of their ways in order to assist them.

7.5 Conclusion of the whole study

The study's main purpose was to explore and establish the causes of xenophobia and its effects then make recommendations that can be implemented within secondary schools in an effort to curb the scourge. The causes and effects of xenophobia were indeed established and outlined. The researcher's fears and concerns about the level of xenophobia within the South African society were indeed confirmed as the research highlights some worrying xenophobic incidents which have torn families apart and has changed the state of affairs for many victims. It is also worrying to note that, the information gathered did not find serious efforts that are in place to counter xenophobia at national level in order to avert situations like the 2008 attacks that caught many people off guard. Xenophobia is a reality in South Africa and the hostility against foreigners from other African countries is apparent as all the sixty plus people that died during the 2008 attacks were all blacks from various African countries.

It is clear from the whole study that there is no evidence of systems in place to counter xenophobia as it seems the issues around it (xenophobia) are left to chance without any efforts to minimise or eradicate it completely from the South African society. The lack of plans to counter xenophobia or xenophobic tendencies are absent both in schools and society at large.

Although xenophobia has been proven to be an undesirable cancer within society, in light of the evidence explicated in the literature review of coexistence between South Africans and foreigners in the town of Mussina near the Beit Bridge border post, it is clear that, with efforts from both South African locals and foreigners, xenophobic tendencies can be greatly reduced. In view of all the collected data and its analysis and interpretations, the following recommendations are proposed.

7.6 Recommendations

Skubikowski *et al* (2009:6) state that, "...schooling presents educators with choices, either to ignore and reproduce unequal social relationships or to recognise, interrupt, and transform those relationships." In view of this fact, the following recommendations are made with a view of mainly providing schools with enough bases to act as agents of change that will aide in helping to avert further xenophobic attacks in South Africa:

7.6.1 General recommendations for curbing xenophobia

7.6.1.1 Recommendations for inclusion of television and radio programmes from other African countries

It is recommended that television and radio stations include more of programs from other African countries in an effort to decolonise the mind of the young generation that tends to mostly idolise western artists and shun fellow African artists. African countries' life circumstances are closer to the life experiences found in South Africa and can be more relevant as a vehicle to enlighten South Africans on the fact that, it is only political boundaries that separate people but otherwise there are many common life experiences.

7.6.1.2 Recommendations on more positive reporting about foreigners

Foreigners making positive contributions in South Africa need to be recognised and publicised, as it seems only the bad foreigners get enough publicity, which in turn makes citizens to believe that all foreigners are up to no good. Other positive developments in other African countries also need more coverage on television as opposed to more negative issues.

7.6.1.3 Recommendations on building more RDP houses

It is hoped that there can be a serious government policy shift in order for more funds to be availed for the construction of more houses in order for more people to access decent housing and infrastructure as it is evident that xenophobia is common in the squatter settlements where life conditions seem to be very difficult to bear.

7.6.1.4 Recommendations on laws discriminating against foreigners being revisited

It is recommended that laws which have been discussed and found to discriminate on foreigners, need to be revisited in an effort to tone them down so that they can accommodate foreigners in a way without compromising the welfare of citizens.

7.6.2 Recommendations meant for schools to curb xenophobia

The following recommendations are specifically meant to assist in curbing xenophobia within the school context.

7.6.2.1 Recommendations of placing strict rules in place to deal with name calling in schools

If government is to place strict rules within the South African schools act, which make it an offence to name-call anyone and some accompanying harsh punishment measures, this can deter learners and teachers from calling derogatory names to others.

7.6.2.2 Recommendations on putting in place ways of dealing with xenophobic incidents no matter how small they may be

It is recommended that within the school system, ways of reporting and dealing with xenophobic incidents need to be put in place especially within the school policy, which will let everyone within the school system know that any xenophobic tendency will be dealt with in a bid to suppress such actions.

7.6.2.3 Recommendations on organising learners' exchange programs with neighbouring countries

One of the things to come up during the study was the fact that, one of the major issues around xenophobia is the differences in cultures, languages and way of life between South Africans and foreigners who come to live amongst them. In that regard, it is recommended that, South African schools arrange a number of exchange programmes that will enlighten both parties about the other country's way of life and also to demystify some of the myth that run in South Africa about other African countries.

7.6.2.4 Recommendations about organising regional schools sporting events need to be considered

The spirit that was shown during the 2010 Soccer World Cup where different African nations rallied behind fellow African teams that proceeded past the first round proves that sport can indeed be used to unite people from different walks of life and from different countries. In light of the unity that people displayed, it is recommended that schools organise regional soccer and other sports tournaments which in a way can bring people from different countries together to compete in different sporting events in an effort to improve tolerance amongst different nationalities.

7.6.2.5 Recommendations for education for tolerance to form a major part of the curriculum

In light of the extent of the effects of xenophobia in South Africa, it is recommended that education for tolerance become an integral part of the Life Orientation subject in the curriculum at schools in an effort to enlighten learners about the need for tolerance of other nationalities.

7.6.2.6 Recommendations on more emphasises on multicultural education

It is recommended that both learners at school level and student teachers be taught more programmes based on multiculturalism in order to prepare them for the world that is rapidly becoming more globalised.

7.6.2.7 Recommendations on more diverse cultural days in schools

It is recommended that cultural days need to be included within the school calendar to encourage learners from various countries to display their cultural activities as a way of making local learners to be more exposed to other nationalities' traditions and ways of life.

7.6.2.8 Recommendations on inclusion of foreigners' specific curriculum needs to be considered

It is recommended that the curriculum needs of foreign learners need to be considered by including some of the region's languages into the national curriculum to cater for the large numbers of foreign learners within the borders of South Africa.

7.6.2.9 Recommendations on bringing motivational speakers from other African countries

It is recommended that motivational speakers from different African countries be invited to share with local learners their successes in an effort to highlight to learners that there are a lot of success stories from fellow Africans and also to demystify the notion that other African states make up the 'dark continent' as some people would want to believe.

7.6.2.10 Recommendations on mathematics Olympiads regionally

It is recommended that Mathematics Olympiads with other regional countries need to be encouraged so as to build strong relationships amongst learners within the region and in a way reduce prejudices.

7.6.2.11 Recommendations on more studies of African history and geography

It is recommended that more of African History and Geography be taught in schools so that learners can be enlightened more on African cultures and geographical orientation as opposed to more of western history and geography. African history is full of information on how African countries assisted each other during liberation struggles against colonisation which can be a way of showing learners that, their freedom to learn in a democratic nation was a result of collective efforts from fellow Africans which in a way can help change their attitudes towards foreigners.

7.7 Concluding remarks

The aim of the study was to find out the causes of xenophobia in South Africa, to establish the effects of xenophobia, to trace whether there are programmes aimed at raising awareness on xenophobia and encouraging peace building initiatives. All this was done in order to establish ways of averting xenophobic attacks in future here in South Africa. The study was based on extensive literature study on the topic and some fieldwork conducted at eight different schools in and around the hotspots of xenophobia within the Johannesburg East department of education district. The research established that, xenophobia is a reality within the South African society and its effects are worrying. It is hoped that the findings of this research endeavour will be useful to the policy makers in terms of highlighting the various concerns noted and also to implement some of the recommendations in an effort to avert xenophobic acts in future. One hopes that other researchers can find the study useful in carrying out further researches on the topic, which seems topical these days within South Africa and some other countries. The researcher hopes that, the implementation of the suggested recommendations can indeed reduce the occurrence of xenophobia in South Africa, as the aim is to educate the young generation about tolerance.

On a concluding note, it is hoped that never ever again will the xenophobic violence of 2008 be repeated yet again either in South Africa or in any other country in this day and age of civilisation!

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Appendix 1: Research request form for official approval to conduct research

GAUTENG DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION



RESEARCH REQUEST FORM

REQUEST TO CONDUCT RESEARCH IN INSTITUTIONS AND/OR OFFICES OF THE GAUTENG DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

1. PARTICULARS OF THE RESEARCHER

1.1	Details of the Researcher	
<i>Surname and Initials:</i>		MPOFU CHIMBGA W.W.
<i>First Name/s:</i>		WALTER W.
<i>Title (Prof / Dr / Mr / Mrs / Ms):</i>		MR
<i>Student Number (if relevant):</i>		45384614
<i>ID Number:</i>		
<i>Gender (Male/Female):</i>		MALE

1.2	<i>Private Contact Details</i>	
		Postal Address (if different)

2. PURPOSE & DETAILS OF THE PROPOSED RESEARCH

2.1	Purpose of the Research (Place cross where appropriate)	
<i>Undergraduate Study - Self</i>		
<i>Postgraduate Study - Self</i>		×
<i>Post-Doctoral Study</i>		
<i>Private Company/Agency – Commissioned by Provincial and/or National Government Department/s</i>		

<i>Private Research by Independent Researcher</i>	
<i>Non-Governmental Organisation</i>	
<i>National Department of Education Commissioned Study</i>	
<i>Commissions and Committees</i>	
<i>Independent Research Agency</i>	
<i>Statutory Research Agency</i>	
<i>Independent Study by Higher Education Institution</i>	

2.2	If Post-Graduate Study – Please indicate by placing a “X” in the appropriate column		
	<i>Honours</i>	<i>Masters</i>	<i>Doctorate</i>
			×

2.3	Full title of Thesis / Dissertation / Research Project
	THE ROLE OF SECONDARY SCHOOLS IN AVERTING XENOPHOBIA
	IN SOUTH AFRICA

2.4	Value of the Research to Education (Attach Research Proposal)
	AS THE TITLE STATES, THE RESEARCH IS AIMED AT FINDING
	WAYS OF AVERTING XENOPHOBIA IN SOUTH AFRICA AS IT IS
	AN UNDESIRABLE SOCIAL TRAIT.

2.5	Student and Postgraduate Enrolment Particulars (if applicable)
Name of institution where enrolled:	UNISA
Degree / Qualification:	PHD PSYCHOLOGY
Faculty:	EDUCATION
Department:	EDUCATION
Name of Supervisor / Promoter:	PROF. CORRINE MEIER

2.6	Employer (where applicable)
Name of Organisation/School:	
Position in Organisation:	EDUCATOR
Head of Organisation:	
Street Address:	
Postal Code:	
Telephone Number (Code + Ext):	
Fax Number:	
E-mail:	

2.7	PERSAL Number (where applicable)
------------	---

--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

3. PROPOSED RESEARCH METHOD/S

(Please indicate by placing a cross in the appropriate block whether the following modes would be adopted)

3.1 Questionnaire/s *(If Yes, supply copies of each to be used)*

YES	X	NO	
-----	---	----	--

3.2 Interview/s *(If Yes, provide copies of each schedule)*

YES	X	NO	
-----	---	----	--

3.3 Use of official documents

YES		NO	X
<i>If Yes, please specify the document/s:</i>			

3.4 Workshop/s / Group Discussions. *(If Yes, Supply details)*

YES		NO	X

3.5 Standardised Tests (e.g. Psychometric Tests)

YES		NO	X
<i>If Yes, please specify the test/s to be used and provide a copy/ies</i>			

4. RESEARCH PROCESSES

4.1 Types of Institutions. (Please indicate by placing a cross alongside all types of institutions to be researched).

<i>INSTITUTIONS</i>	Mark with "X" here
<i>Primary Schools</i>	
<i>Secondary Schools</i>	X
<i>Technical Schools</i>	
<i>ABET Centres</i>	
<i>ECD Sites</i>	
<i>LSEN Schools</i>	
<i>Further Education & Training Institutions</i>	
<i>Other</i>	

4.2 *Number of institution/s involved in the study.* (Kindly place a sum and the total in the spaces provided).

<i>Type of Institution</i>	Total
<i>Primary Schools</i>	
<i>Secondary Schools</i>	5
<i>Technical Schools</i>	
<i>ABET Centres</i>	
<i>ECD Sites</i>	
<i>LSEN Schools</i>	
<i>Further Education & Training Institutions</i>	
<i>Other</i>	
GRAND TOTAL	5

4.3 *Name/s of institutions to be researched.* (Please complete on a separate sheet and append if space is deemed insufficient).

<i>Name/s of Institution/s</i>

4.4 *District/s where the study is to be conducted. (Please mark with an “X”).*

District	
Johannesburg East	X
Johannesburg South	
Johannesburg West	
Johannesburg North	
<i>Gauteng North</i>	
<i>Gauteng West</i>	
<i>Tshwane North</i>	
<i>Tshwane South</i>	
<i>Ekhuruleni East</i>	
<i>Ekhuruleni West</i>	

District	
<i>Sedibeng East</i>	
<i>Sedibeng West</i>	

If Head Office/s (Please indicate Directorate/s)

NOTE:

If you have not as yet identified your sample/s, a list of the names and addresses of all the institutions and districts under the jurisdiction of the GDE is available from the department at a small fee.

Number of learners to be involved per school. (Please indicate the number by gender).

Grade	1		2		3		4		5		6	
Gender	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G
Number												

Grade	7		8		9		10		11		12	
Gender	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G
Number							5	5	5	5	5	5

Number of educators/officials involved in the study. (Please indicate the number in the relevant column).

<i>Type of staff</i>	<i>Educators</i>	<i>HODs</i>	<i>Deputy Principals</i>	<i>Principal</i>	<i>Lecturers</i>	<i>Office Based Officials</i>
<i>Number</i>						

Are the participants to be involved in groups or individually? Please mark with an “X”.

Participation	
Groups	
Individually	X

Average period of time each participant will be involved in the test or any other research activity (Please indicate time in minutes)

Participant/s	Activity	Time
Questionnaires	Completing	30 minutes
Interviews	Participation	30 minutes

Time of day that you propose to conduct your research. Please mark with an “X”.

<i>School Hours</i>	<i>During Break</i>	<i>After School Hours</i>
	X	

School term/s during which the research would be undertaken. Please mark with an “X”.

<i>First Term</i>	<i>Second Term</i>	<i>Third Term</i>
		X

DECLARATION BY THE RESEARCHER

I declare that all statements made by myself in this application are true and accurate.

I have read and fully understand all the conditions associated with the granting of approval to conduct research within the GDE, as outlined in the GDE Research Briefing Document, and undertake to abide by them.

Should I fail to adhere to any of the approval conditions set out by the GDE, I would be in breach of the agreement reached with the organisation, and all privileges associated with the granting of approval to conduct research, would fall away.

Signature:

Date:

DECLARATION BY SUPERVISOR / PROMOTER / LECTURER

I declare that: -

The applicant is enrolled at the institution / employed by the organisation to which the undersigned is attached.

The overall research processes meet the criteria of:

Educational Accountability

Proper Research Design

Sensitivity towards Participants

Correct Content and Terminology

Acceptable Grammar

Absence of Non-essential / Superfluous items

Surname:

First Name/s:

Institution / Organisation:

Faculty:

Department:

Telephone:	
Fax:	
Cell:	
E-mail:	
Signature:	
Date:	

N.B. This form (and all other relevant documentation where available) may be completed and forwarded electronically to Ebrahim Farista (ebrahimf@gpg.gov.za) or Nomvula Ubisi (nomvulau@gpg.gov.za). The last 2 pages of this document must however contain the original signatures of both the researcher and his/her supervisor or promoter. These pages may therefore be faxed or hand delivered. Please mark fax - For Attention: Ebrahim Farista at 011 355 0512 (fax) or hand deliver (in closed envelope) to Ebrahim Farista (Room 911) or Nomvula Ubisi (Room 910), 111 Commissioner Street, Johannesburg.

Appendix 2 Approval letter from the Department of Education Head Office to conduct the research within schools



education
Department: Education
GAUTENG PROVINCE

For administrative use:
Reference no. D2012/160

GDE RESEARCH APPROVAL LETTER

Date:	31 August 2011
Name of Researcher:	Mpofu-Chimbga W.W.
Address of Researcher:	
Telephone Number:	
Email address:	walterchimbga@yahoo.com
Research Topic:	The role of Secondary Schools in averting Xenophobia in South Africa
Number and type of schools:	FIVE Secondary Schools
District/s/HO	Johannesburg East

Re: Approval in Respect of Request to Conduct Research

This letter serves to indicate that approval is hereby granted to the above-mentioned researcher to proceed with research in respect of the study indicated above. The onus rests with the researcher to negotiate appropriate and relevant time schedules with the school/s and/or offices involved to conduct the research. A separate copy of this letter must be presented to both the School (both Principal and SGB) and the District/Head Office Senior Manager confirming that permission has been granted for the research to be conducted.

The following conditions apply to GDE research. The researcher may proceed with the above study subject to the conditions listed below being met. Approval may be withdrawn should any of the conditions listed below be flouted:

1. The District/Head Office Senior Manager/s concerned must be presented with a copy of this letter that would indicate that the said researcher/s has/have been granted permission from the Gauteng Department of Education to conduct the research study.
2. The District/Head Office Senior Manager/s must be approached separately, and in writing, for permission to involve District/Head Office Officials in the project.
3. A copy of this letter must be forwarded to the school principal and the chairperson of the School Governing Body (SGB) that would indicate that the researcher/s have been granted permission from the Gauteng Department of Education to conduct the research study.

1

Making education a societal priority

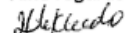
Office of the Director: Knowledge Management and Research

9th Floor, 111 Commissioner Street, Johannesburg, 2001
P.O. Box 7710, Johannesburg, 2000 Tel: (011) 355 0506
Email: David.Makhado@gauteng.gov.za
Website: www.education.gpg.gov.za

4. A letter / document that outlines the purpose of the research and the anticipated outcomes of such research must be made available to the principals, SGBs and District/Head Office Senior Managers of the schools and districts/offices concerned, respectively.
5. The Researcher will make every effort obtain the goodwill and co-operation of all the GDE officials, principals, and chairpersons of the SGBs, teachers and learners involved. Persons who offer their co-operation will not receive additional remuneration from the Department while those that opt not to participate will not be penalised in any way.
6. Research may only be conducted after school hours so that the normal school programme is not interrupted. The Principal (if at a school) and/or Director (if at a district/head office) must be consulted about an appropriate time when the researcher/s may carry out their research at the sites that they manage.
7. Research may only commence from the second week of February and must be concluded before the beginning of the last quarter of the academic year.
8. Items 6 and 7 will not apply to any research effort being undertaken on behalf of the GDE. Such research will have been commissioned and be paid for by the Gauteng Department of Education.
9. It is the researcher's responsibility to obtain written parental consent of all learners that are expected to participate in the study.
10. The researcher is responsible for supplying and utilising his/her own research resources, such as stationery, photocopies, transport, faxes and telephones and should not depend on the goodwill of the institutions and/or the offices visited for supplying such resources.
11. The names of the GDE officials, schools, principals, parents, teachers and learners that participate in the study may not appear in the research report without the written consent of each of these individuals and/or organisations.
12. On completion of the study the researcher must supply the Director: Knowledge Management & Research with one Hard Cover bound and an electronic copy of the research.
13. The researcher may be expected to provide short presentations on the purpose, findings and recommendations of his/her research to both GDE officials and the schools concerned.
14. Should the researcher have been involved with research at a school and/or a district/head office level, the Director concerned must also be supplied with a brief summary of the purpose, findings and recommendations of the research study.

The Gauteng Department of Education wishes you well in this important undertaking and looks forward to examining the findings of your research study.

Kind regards



Dr David Makhado

2011/09/01

Director: Knowledge Management and Research

Office of the Director: Knowledge Management and Research

9th Floor, 111 Commissioner Street, Johannesburg, 2001
P.O. Box 7710, Johannesburg, 2000 Tel: (011) 355 0506
Email: David.Makhado@gauteng.gov.za
Website: www.education.gog.gov.za

Appendix 3: Declaration by supervisor/promoter/lecturer

DECLARATION BY SUPERVISOR / PROMOTER / LECTURER	
I declare that: (Name of Researcher).....	
1. is enrolled at the institution / employed by the organisation to which the undersigned is attached.	
2. The questionnaires / structured interviews / tests meet the criteria of:	
<input checked="" type="radio"/> Educational Accountability <input checked="" type="radio"/> Proper Research Design <input checked="" type="radio"/> Sensitivity towards Participants <input checked="" type="radio"/> Correct Content and Terminology <input checked="" type="radio"/> Acceptable Grammar <input checked="" type="radio"/> Absence of Non-essential / Superfluous Items	
Surname:	Meier
First Name/s:	Corinne
Institution / Organisation:	Unisa
Faculty / Department (where relevant):	Teacher Education
Telephone:	083 660 8394
Fax:	0266 343 923
E-mail:	meier@unisa.ac.za
Signature:	C Meier
Date:	15 August 2011

N.B. This form (and all other relevant documentation where available) may be completed and forwarded electronically to Diane.Buntting@saai.gov.za. The last 2 pages of this document must however contain the original signatures of both the researcher and his/her supervisor or promoter. These pages may be faxed to (065 554 1781) or hand delivered (in sealed envelope) to Diane Buntling, Room 509, 111 Commissioner Street, Johannesburg. All enquiries pertaining to the status of research requests can be directed to Diane Buntling on tel. no. 011 843 6503.

Appendix 4: Declaration by the language editor

C/O Professor C. Meier
Department of Early Childhood Development
College of Education
P. O. Box 392
Pretoria
0003

To whom it may concern

REF: DECLARATION BY THE LANGUAGE EDITOR

I the undersigned Oswald Davies hereby declare that I did the language editing for the thesis titled: ***The role of secondary schools in averting xenophobia in South Africa*** authored by Walter Wawuruka Mpofu-Chimbga.

For any further information, please feel free to contact me through the address given above.

Yours

Oswald Davies

.....

Appendix 5: Questionnaire for South African learners

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR SOUTH AFRICAN LEARNERS

I am a student at the University of South Africa studying for a PHD in Psychology and the title for my thesis is: The role of secondary schools in averting xenophobic attacks in South Africa.

- I would greatly appreciate it if you willingly assist me to gather information in order to complete my research by honestly answering this questionnaire in the spaces provided.
- Feel free to offer as much information as possible in the way you feel as your identity will never be revealed to anyone and there is nowhere in this questionnaire where you are required to write your personal details.
- The questionnaire's contents will remain private and confidential and will not be accessed by anyone else for any other purposes except for the purposes of this research.

PLEASE TICK ONE BOX PER QUESTION NEXT TO THE ANSWER THAT YOU WANT TO CHOOSE OR FILL IN THE ANSWERS IN THE SPACES PROVIDED.

1. Which grade are you doing? _____

2. Gender Male ☐ Female ☐

3. Age _____

4. Home language _____

5. Place of residence _____

6. Have you ever come into contact with a person from another country? Yes ☐ NO ☐

If 'Yes', please briefly describe when, why or how you got into contact with the person/persons from another country in the space below.

When:

Why:

How:

7. Given an opportunity, would you become a friend to a person who comes from another country besides South Africa? Yes ☐ No ☐

8. According to you, who commits more crimes, locals or foreigners?

9. Should foreigners be given the same rights as citizens? Yes ☐ NO ☐

Please give reasons for your answer.

10. Are foreigners responsible for the high rate of unemployment in South Africa?

Yes ☐ No ☐

11. Have foreigners contributed in any way to the high rate of poverty in South Africa?

Yes ☐ No ☐

Why do you think so?

12. Are you aware of any foreigner who is accessing government grants? Yes ☐ No ☐

13. Do you think it is fair for foreigners to access government grants?

Yes ☐ No ☐

Give reasons for your answer.

14. Many African countries assisted South Africa in a number of ways in fighting against Apartheid. Do you think South Africa is obliged to return this favour by allowing foreign nationals to come and live in South Africa? Yes ☐ No ☐

Please give reasons for your answer.

15. Should foreigners who are in South Africa legally be free to travel wherever they wish to go? Yes ☐ NO ☐

Please give reasons for your answer.

16. What do you understand about the word 'xenophobia'?

17. What are the causes of xenophobic violence that occur time and again in South Africa?

18. What are the effects of xenophobic attacks?

19. How would you feel if you go to another country and you are called kwerekwere?

20. Do you support the introduction of African studies whereby different African

countries' cultures and customs are taught? Yes

☐

No

☐

Please give reasons for your answer.

21. Would you be interested in a learners exchange program whereby you would visit a neighbouring country? Yes

☐

No

☐

Explain why you say either yes or no.

22. Poverty is the main cause of xenophobic attacks? Yes

☐

No

☐

If no, what do you think is the main reason for xenophobic attacks?

23. Would you support the deportation of foreigners from South Africa? Yes ☐ No ☐

Explain why you say either yes or no.

24. In your opinion how many people from other countries do you think live in South Africa?

1. Between 1000 and 100 000 ☐

2. Between 100 000 and 1 000 000 ☐

3. Between 1000 000 and 2 000 000 ☐

4. Between 2 000 000 and 3 000 000 ☐

5. Between 3 000 000 and 4 000 000 ☐

6. Over 5 000 000 ☐

25. Do you have any information that you feel you need to add that was not covered by the questionnaire? If yes, Please feel free to provide such information in the space provided below.

Appendix 6: Interview schedule for foreign learners

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR FOREIGN LEARNERS

May I begin by thanking you for accepting to be interviewed as part of a research for my Doctorate Degree in Psychology titled:

The role of secondary schools in averting xenophobic attacks in South Africa.

Your honesty and comprehensive answers will be most appreciated and feel free to offer as much information as possible as your identity will never be revealed. Any additional useful information will be gratefully appreciated.

1. For the purpose of this interview, please choose a secret name that you would like to be called by, just for the interview.
2. Your age please?
3. What is your country of origin?
4. Please explain the circumstances that led you to come and stay in South Africa.
5. Briefly describe what you understand by the term xenophobia.
6. What do you think causes xenophobia?
7. Have you ever been called by a derogatory term, that is, a word that you are not comfortable with?
8. If your answer is yes in the previous question, please provide the term.
9. Has someone treated you in a way that you feel is not fair? If so please explain how.
10. Do you feel that the teachers treat foreign learners the same way as they do to locals? If not so, can you elaborate further?
11. Do you have any friends that are locals either at school or home?
12. What is the language you use to communicate in and outside the class with other learners?
13. How do people react when you speak in your mother language?
14. Have you ever witnessed a xenophobic incident or incidents at your school? If yes please briefly explain the incident/incidents.

15. In light of a number of xenophobic incidents reported in the media, what do you think can be done to avert such incidents in future?
16. Are there issues that you feel need to be readdressed with the South African education system so that it caters for the needs of foreign learners?
17. Have you ever been sidelined in any school activity because of your foreign status?
18. Do you think human rights contained in the South African Constitution are for everyone or only for South Africans?
19. Generally, are the local people in various spheres of society friendly or hostile to people who come from other countries?
20. If the situation improves in your home country, would you prefer to continue staying here in South Africa or to go back home? Please give reasons for your answer.
21. What do you think are the effects of xenophobia?
22. Lastly, is there any additional information that you would like to add besides that you have already supplied on the topic under discussion?

Appendix 6 An example of interview notes with one learner participant

<u>QUESTION</u>	<u>SUMMERISED ANSWER</u>
1. For the purpose of this interview please choose a secret name that you would like to be called by, just for the interview.	OLGA
2. Your age please?	17
3. What is your country of origin?	DRC
4. Please explain the circumstances that led you to come and stay in South Africa.	I RAN AWAY FROM HOME AT NIGHT BECAUSE OF A TERRIBLE WAR.

5. Briefly describe what you understand by the term xenophobia.	XENOPHOBIA IS HATRED TOWARDS PEOPLE OF FOREIGN ORIGIN
6. What do you think causes xenophobia?	THEY HATE YOU.
7. Have you ever been called by a derogatory term, that is, a word that you are not comfortable with?	NO BUT THEY LAUGHED AT MY SKIN COLOUR, THEY SAY I TOO BLACK
8. If your answer is yes in the previous question, please provide the term.	N/A
9. Has someone treated you in a way that you feel is not fair? If so please explain how.	TEACHER SOMETIMES SPEAKS TO ME IN A LANGUAGE I DONT KNOW

10. Do you feel that the teachers treat foreign learners the same way as they do to locals? If not so, can you elaborate further?	I DON'T KNOW
11. Do you have any friends that are locals either at school or home?	I STAY NEXT TO ITUMSENG SO WE WALK TOGETHER TO SCHOOL.
12. What is the language you use to communicate in and outside the class with other learners?	I AM CONGOLESE SO MY ENGLISH IS BAD AS I WAS DOING FRENCH IN DRC, THEY LAUGH ME EVERYDAY, I DON'T WANT TO TALK BUT TEACHER ALWAYS SAYS OKGA OKGA EVERYDAY
13. How do people react when you speak in your mother language?	I DON'T WANT TO TALK TOO MUCH IN FRONT OF PEOPLE, WHEN I TALK, THEY LOOK AT ME AND I FEEL BAD
14. Have you ever witnessed a xenophobic incident or incidents at your school? If yes please briefly explain the incident/incidents.	THE BOYS WERE FIGHTING EACH OTHER I DON'T KNOW WHY

15. In light of a number of xenophobic incidents reported in the media, what do you think can be done to avert such incidents in future?	I DON'T KNOW
16. Are there issues that you feel need to be readdressed with the South African education system so that it caters for the needs of foreign learners?	I WANT TO LEARN IN FRENCH
17. Have you ever been sidelined in any school activity because of your foreign status?	I DON'T WANT TO DO MANY THINGS SO I DON'T KNOW
18. Do you think human rights contained in the South African Constitution are for everyone or only for South Africans?	I DON'T KNOW A LOT OF THAT BUT I THINK I DON'T KNOW HOW TO ANSWER.
19. Generally, are the local people in various spheres of society friendly or hostile to people who come from other countries?	SOME ARE NICE SOME ARE BAD.

<p>20. If the situation improves in your home country, would you prefer to continue staying here in South Africa or to go back home? Please give reasons for your answer.</p>	<p>I DONT KNOW HOW IS HOME NOW BUT IT WAS VERY TERRIBLE, BUT I DONT HAVE FAMILY HERE IN SA</p>
<p>21. What do you think are the effects of xenophobia?</p>	<p>PEOPLE DIE AND SOME RUN AWAY</p>
<p>22. Lastly, is there any additional information that you would like to add besides that you have already supplied on the topic under discussion?</p>	<p>NO</p>