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ASSESSING HOW MIGRATION IS UNDERSTOOD IN SOUTH AFRICAN TOWNSHIPS

A Case Study of Katlehong Township

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A Dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Masters in Migration and Displacement at the African Centre for Migration and Society (ACMS), School of Social Sciences - University of Witwatersrand

DECLARATION

I, Mzendana Asiphe (2416456), declare that this research is my own, unaided work. It has not been submitted before for any other degree, part of degree or examination at this or any other university



ABSTRACT

South Africa is one of Africa's primary destinations for international migrants. Johannesburg and its surrounding areas are at the centre of these migration patterns. Yet while hundreds of thousands of people may arrive; not all are welcome. Through an exploration of popular attitudes among South African residents of Katlehong – a migrant rich township situated in the Southeast of Johannesburg – the researcher explores popular reactions to those coming from beyond South Africa's borders. This research paper establishes a ground to understand how migration is interpreted in Katlehong, an area subjected to migration challenges as mentioned by news coverages and other researchers.

This thesis examines the *de facto* allocation of rights to space. A qualitative approach is implored which engages the community leaders of Katlehong township. This is done with the aim of assessing how migration is understood in the township. It explores the construction of these views, variation in attitudes, and the connection between these attitudes and xenophobic violence.

Based on the interviews with the people across the socio-economic and professional spectra; it found that while township residents understand migration and often are domestic migrants, they still maintain selective criteria in determining who *should* settle in the already occupied areas of Johannesburg. This understanding is associated with a social construction of space and ideas that some people do not belong in certain spaces of the city. This is presented as an unconscious decentralization of power which has given the people the right to govern township spaces, the people with these spatial claims further dictate the terms and conditions of the use of space in townships.

Sentiments regarding migration remain uneven, with some who do not mind having them within their midst and others who do not want them at all. In townships; some perceive migrants as people who want to take over their township due to their non-adherence to the standards and rules set out in these spaces; essentially causing tensions within these townships. These expressions serve an important role in understanding how townships like Katlehong view migration.

The dissertation concludes that people in Katlehong understand what migration is and their understanding is not exclusively based on their experiences. Their perspectives are also shaped by unconscious influences. Due to how people in the township understand migration, patterns of belonging have changed.

Key Terms: Migration, foreign nationals, xenophobic attacks, intolerance, perception

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

For we walk by faith, not by sight.

2 Corinthians 5:7

- I would like to express my earnest gratitude to my supervisor Professor Loren Landau for his guidance and transfer of his knowledge to enrich mine.
- To my mentor and adviser Professor R. Thakathi, for allowing me to pick his brain every now and then, thank you.
- To my family for their words of support and prayers.
- To Hlonela and Qukeza Nokele; thank you for being my second brain when mine was taking involuntary breaks.
- Last, but certainly not least, to my classmates; thank you for always being available.

Table of Contents

CHAPTER ONE: BACKGROUND AND INTRODUCTION 8

1. Introduction 8

1.1 Background: Migration and the politics of belonging in Post-Apartheid South Africa 8

1.2 Migrants and the politics of belonging in South Africa 9

1.3 Katlehong as a Research Site: A site of Inequalities and Violence 10

1.4 Research Objectives 14

1.5 Research Questions 14

1.6 Summary of the findings 14

1.7 Outline of the report 15

CHAPTER TWO: URBAN GOVERNANCE AND TOWNSHIP GOVERNANCE 16

2. Introduction 16

2.2 Urban Governance 18

2.3 Township Governance 19

3. Theoretical Framework 23

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY 29

3. Introduction 29

3.1 Methodological approach: Qualitative approach 29

3.1.2 Case Study 30

3.1.3 Population 30

3.1.4 Sampling 30

3.1.5 Data collection process 31

3.1.6 Frame analysis method 33

3.2 Strength and limitations of the approach 35

3.3 Ethical considerations 35

CHAPTER FOUR: DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS, AND INTERPRETATION 36

4.1 Introduction 36

4.2 Objective one: Investigating how migration is understood in Katlehong township 36

4.3 Objective two: to analyse what constitutes for the varied understanding of migration which subsequently informs the attitude towards migrants. 41

4.4 Objective three: To understand the connection between the attitude towards migrants and the Post-Apartheid South Africa that the people have envisioned. 44

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSIONS AND REFLECTIONS 46

5.1 Introduction 46

5.1.1 Summary of the study 46

5.1.2 Summary of the findings 47

5.2 Future research & Recommendations 47

References 49

Appendix A 60

Appendix B 61

Appendix C 63

CHAPTER ONE: BACKGROUND AND INTRODUCTION

1. Introduction

"We, the people of South Africa, recognize the injustices of our past; honour those who suffered for justice and freedom in our land; Respect those who have worked to build and develop our country; and believe that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, united in our diversity." Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996.

1.1 Background: Migration and the politics of belonging in Post-Apartheid South Africa

Post-Apartheid migration has completely redefined the notion of belonging in the country (Crush and McDonald, 2001). Citizens' conflicting views about migrants have made those who hold values of exclusion to redraw the boundaries locally, which has led to the modernisation of exclusion. Crush and McDonald (2001), further highlight that previous research on migration produced themes that are important to conceptualize the underlying reasons for anti-migrant sentiments in the country. These are: "(a) the basic level and character of human rights awareness amongst the South African citizenry; (b) citizen's views of immigration and the presence of non-citizens in the country; (c) the kinds of rights citizens are willing to extend to non-citizens including refugees; lastly (d) migrant perceptions of their treatment in South Africa" (Crush and McDonald, 2001:108). Indeed, some scholars further argue that, although the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (1996) states that, "South Africa belongs to all who live in it, united in our diversity", there has been a disjuncture between theoretical and practical implications of these Constitutional acclaims because the rights of non-citizens are not seriously protected (Misago et al (2015).

According to Kumar (2017); the basis of a society is a social relationship, because the people in society relate to one another and this has joined them together to form a unity. Kottak and Conrad echoes that a society encompasses different people with diverse backgrounds united by a defined territory (2002). Therefore, it is important to understand the construction of a society to know where migrants are naturally positioned within South African societies. Kumar, further argues that a society must not be viewed as just a place but an area where there is construction and deconstruction of social relations (2017). Social constructs are subjugated on societies. These constructs are based on specific behaviours and similarities, which automatically exclude those who are considered different.

In places like Katlehong, basic rights are viewed as an entitlement for citizens; foreigners are seen as competitors in the welfare system (Tati, 2008). Therefore, people's attitudes and claim

to rights in South African communities pronounce how they feel about the integration of migrants with the rest of the society. Mosselson (2010), explains that in the case of South Africa, migrants settle in communities that have already established the criterion for acceptance and tolerance. Migration is mostly considered a threat to social settings in townships like Katlehong, which are based on social inequality and spatial injustice. The South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC) explains that migrants struggle to access social services due to being considered ineligible to benefit from the socio-economic rights of the country (Mthethwa 2019). What is central here; is that the people in these spaces defy the state as it is the responsibility of authority to make decisions on the rights of migrants. The people who live in these dwellings make this their job because these spaces 'belong' to them.

1.2 Migrants and the politics of belonging in South Africa

Crush (2001), explains that South Africa has the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) and Watchdogs for Human Rights such as the South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC) which intends to prioritise and protect human rights. However; the constant fight for recognition, respect and human dignity by migrants prove otherwise. It should be noted that human rights in this context speak to all humans regardless of their status in the country. According to Crush, the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa has been criticised as too accommodative (2001). Although the Constitution may seem too accommodative as the country does not encompass South Africans only, it however serves as a pronouncement that ties South Africa and the people who live in it. Furthermore, the country is mandated by the rule of law and international human rights law to take care of all people within their borders regardless of their immigration status (Alfaro-Velcamp, 2017). However, the citizens do not appear to agree on how migrants within South African borders should be treated (Mataure, 2013).

According to Schippers (2015), the extension of human rights to migrants remains a heated debate in the country. Some wonder what rights may be suitable to the migrants and some feel that no rights at all seem suited enough (McDonald, Mashike and Golden, 1999). People have reserved the right to determine rights that seem sufficient to migrants and who should belong in their communities, while secluding those they do not prefer. Landau pronounces that there is some sort of eligibility criteria for one to be able to make claims to rights in a community (2014). According to the White Paper on International Migration for South Africa 'states' have a legitimate right to decide who they want to open their communities to (Department of Home Affairs, 2017). Therefore, societies cannot decide on behalf of the State where one should

belong in the country. Notwithstanding, societies do not have legal grounds to turn migrants back to their country of origin however; the manner in which they treat them can be a way of reinstating who belongs where. People fear change and anything different from what they have been accustomed to, hence societies fear migration (Landau, 2013).

International and internal migrants get to settle in communities that are already occupied; in most cases a conflict ensues between the community members and the migrants. It is in this context that the focus of the study is based; at the local level of the state. According to Jones (2013), townships influence a person's identity; these spaces are characterized by inadequate resources and a certain group of people depending from city to city. Thus, xenophobic attacks have rather proved this point because during these attacks there are statements that order migrants to return to their home country. The issue of rights and belonging in the country has become imperative, reports have been received on instances where it is used to justify the horror that migrants face due to the question of their nationality.

1.3 Katlehong as a Research Site: A site of Inequalities and Violence

Katlehong Township is an Apartheid township; situated in the East of Johannesburg in Ekurhuleni Municipality (Truscott, 2010). The history of the township can be traced back to the 1940's with migrant workers settling into the township to work in mines (Taylor, 2021). The Group Areas Act of 1950 forcibly removed black, coloured and Indian South Africans from central metropolitan areas to the outskirts of towns and cities where they were housed in government run locations or 'townships'; satellite settlements to provide cheap labour for the cities" (Jones, 2013:27). Some of the people in the cities live in townships while others occupy the suburbs. Townships in South Africa came as a requirement during the Apartheid era. The use of the term 'Township' was strengthened by the architects and land planners during Apartheid, that one could distinguish between a black township and a township that was occupied by white people (Findley and Ogbu, 2011). To date, Katlehong Township has an estimated population of about 407,294 people and continues to grow due to the natural growth of the population and migration (Mokoena, Moyo, Makoni, and Musakwa, 2019).

Katlehong township is a product of the Apartheid government that still suffers from inadequate service delivery and the increasing population does not make things any easier. As a township based in the city that most people desire to work and live in, the population of the township has doubled since 1996 making it the third-largest township after Soweto (Mokoena et al, 2019). Like most South African townships, Katlehong is characterized by poorly maintained basic

services, poor health conditions, and informal settlements (Patel and Essa, 2015). Regardless of the state of Katlehong, internal and international migrants continue to move into the township. The municipality is quite urbanized, with some people occupying informal settlements and the urban suburbs (CoGTA, 2020). Townships like Katlehong are based on fractional living standards and those who come from the rural areas and across the border also form part of this.

According to Truscott, Katlehong is retail-based along with rental property and therefore the increasing population puts on strain on the economy of the township (2010). It is the opportunity posed by the retail market of the township that attracts migrants, this is done to ensure sustainability of their livelihoods is attained. However, the influx of people, internal migrants, and international migrants has put a strain on the social, economic, and environmental state of the township. Due to the population growth, the township has experienced a growth of informal settlements over the years (Parker and Hamann, 2020).

South African townships have a history of different forms of violence that is traceable to the Apartheid era. According to Misago (2016), xenophobia in contemporary South Africa is a great challenge with attacks being more frequent in most townships and informal areas (Misago, 2016). According to Kirshner (2012); attacks are more common in townships and areas of informal settlements which are known for poor living standards with a huge number of unemployed persons and rising crime rates. A study conducted by Crush, Tawodzera, Chikanda, Ramachandran, and Tevera in 2017 attests to this, it indicates that most of these xenophobic attacks occur in areas that are already characterized by poor service delivery. It is the limitation of these resources that the people in the townships find it hard to share the little they have. Therefore, in South African townships, public attitudes towards migration can be either based on the socio-economic state of the place or the experience people have regarding migrants.

Mokoena et al, further state that the township is characterized by poverty and unemployment due to it being excluded from economic activities in the apartheid era (2019). The township has been involved in service delivery protests as a result of the inability of the government to provide the residents with basic services, like infrastructure, water, and electricity (Booysen, 2007). According to Kynoch, township violence can be traced from the 1990s (2013). Therefore, the township has a history of violence that continues to cause great concern for the people living in these spaces as it hinders progress. With the pressure experienced in the

township, the retaliation has been directly aimed at keeping international migrants out. According to Misago et al (2015), migrants who happen to live in urban areas that are poor and branded by violence are likely to be exposed to xenophobic attacks. People in the township see migrants as competitors for the few resources they have and a cause for their suffering. Harding (2019) states that the basis of the xenophobic attacks occurring in the township is a government responsibility. Mkhize believes that these attacks are a clear indication of hatred for foreign nationals who occupy these spaces (2016). Harding explains that the community organizer of the township believes that as much as the residents do not tolerate foreign nationals, the attacks are politically orchestrated (2019).

According to Nyar (2011), the township is known for intolerance and violence towards foreign nationals since the wave of xenophobic attacks in the country. Nyar says that the township was implicated in the May 2008 xenophobic attacks, which caused major destruction in Sakhile informal settlements, leading to the death of foreign nationals (Nyar, 2011). In September 2019, 800 foreign nationals were displaced due to a xenophobic attack that occurred in Katlehong (Mthethwa, 2019). According to Mthethwa, this was after a hate message that was making rounds in social media which targeted the foreign nationals and those who looked like them Katlehong (2019). South African communities are mobilized to demand the exclusion in these spaces, based on socially created criteria of who should and should not belong in the country (Modi, 2003). This criterion to belonging has victimized migrants and allocated a group of people in the country the right to decide the fate of those who move.

Although these hate crimes are publicly planned and displayed, Mthethwa says that two community halls in Katlehong have sheltered and provided food for most foreigners who were victims of the attacks (2019). This reinstates that while others are set to exclude migrants from their communities, some people have assisted migrants within the same communities. According to Seleka (2019), the residents in Katlehong remain conflicted about the presence of migrants amongst them, the varied views continue to divide the township and causing greater strains. For instance, during the interviews, a pastor who also runs a tuck-shop in the township highlighted his involvement in the community on how he supports the local soccer team along with a migrant shop owner in the area by sponsoring them with food supplies during matches. This indicates that while others are planning on the displacement of foreigners in the township, others have taken it upon themselves to assist them during this time. There is a fundamental tension in South Africa because while the legal frameworks stipulate that South Africa belongs to all those who live in and others promote the protection of migrants, there are also those who

do not agree and this can be seen by the events of xenophobic attacks. The disagreement when it comes to who must form part of the country manifests in deadly events that cause a stir nationwide. These attacks start in small forms from terrorizing street vendors to targeting shop owners and grow into a bigger context that grabs the attention of the nation (Siddique, 2004). He further stipulates that the current xenophobic attacks are different from those that occurred during the apartheid era because now the focus is not on race but nationality and boundaries. According to Misago et al (2015), xenophobic attitudes can be understood to be socially organized at local levels of the country Therefore, it could be argued that South Africans are now concerned about who should belong and be welcomed in the country, a factor that promotes exclusion and discrimination.

Migrants in such cases are then excluded from basic services, for which this is a human right violation because according to the Global Compact for Safe, Orderly, and Regular Migration, migrants have the right to basic services as these are essential to one's survival (Klein Solomon and Sheldon (2018). This, therefore, suggests that while the Constitution is accommodative of everyone within the borders, resources are not sufficient for everyone and this causes xenophobic attacks. For instance, townships like Alexandra have experienced, along with service delivery protests social and economic difficulties (Crush et al, 2017). However, Neocosmos (2008) says that poverty should not be a determining factor and one that leads to actual violence.

Katlehong as a township is also under investigated in the field, because most researchers have focused on townships like Alexandra and Diepsloot. The township as a whole is still experiencing issues of poor service delivery, especially when it comes to housing. For many of the City of Ekurhuleni residents access to housing has been only a dream with some resorting to building their own shacks (Marutlulle, 2017). It is because of the aspects mentioned above that these sections are suitable to establish their understanding of migration. Furthermore, the township was a suitable area to assess whether the socio-economic and political factors surrounding the township have an impact on the attitude towards foreign nationals occupying Katlehong. In this paper I am not arguing that intolerance is unique to the case of study, as this study may fit another context anywhere else in the country.

It is clear that people at the grass-root level of the country challenge the authority of the constitution and therefore decide to regulate their space based on who has the right to it and who should belong.

1.4 Research Objectives

It is in the context of the social construction of space, rights, and the law that this study seeks to:

(1) Assess how migration is understood by residents of Katlehong Township because how migration is perceived is displayed in the treatment migrants receive in the townships they settle in. When South Africans in township areas believe that indeed migration is a burden, it is then likely that they will not want people who are a contributing factor to their struggles to be part of their communities.

(2) Investigate what constitutes the varied understanding of migration which subsequently informs the attitude towards migrants. According to Mthethwa (2019), there are people who do not necessarily disapprove migration but the predominant xenophobic attacks also proves some discontentment. Understanding this variation will inform us of the factors that influence the views of the people and how these factors further impact the society as a whole.

(3) Understand the connection between the attitude towards migrants and the Post-Apartheid South Africa people have envisioned. The constitution provides a vision for South Africa however there is also a vision that the people in townships have, one that has become popular. Therefore, this will also help us to understand where do the two visions reconcile.

1.5 Research Questions

The following set of research questions were addressed as means of achieving the objectives mentioned above.

- What is the understanding of migration in Katlehong township?
- Do people of Katlehong think migrants have a place in their township?
- How do they feel about migrants forming part of the future they have envisioned for the township?
- What do they think should be done concerning migration in South African townships, and what does this mean for the vision that the constitution has for South Africa?

1.6 Summary of the findings

The findings indicate that there is a disjuncture between what the constitution seeks to achieve regarding the future of the country and the visions that the people in townships like Katlehong have. As a township of great inequalities and poor service standards, people want development,

safety and effective service delivery. This is why we see a type of township governance that is designed to exclude migrants and sets strict rules on terms of belonging, in order to enable the township to grow towards achieving the envisioned future. This however has made it difficult for migrants to integrate in the township peacefully causing tensions that are demonstrated through attacks, further destroying the progress towards the envisioned future of the township. This will be made more explicit in the following chapters.

1.7 Outline of the report

Chapter Two: Literature Review

This chapter focuses on Literature reviewed relating to urbanization and how urbanization in townships causes conflict over space, rights, and belonging. It touched on spatial regulation and township governance.

Chapter Three: Research Methodology

This chapter place focuses on the research methodology, population, sampling techniques, data techniques, and data analysis used in this study.

Chapter Four: Data Presentation, Analysis, and Interpretation

This chapter will discuss, analyse, and interpret the findings of the study

Chapter Five: Conclusion and Recommendations: The final chapter will summarize the conclusion and make recommendations for the study

This chapter contains an introduction, a brief background of the study, along with the significance of the study. It further comprises the objectives of the research and research questions, ethical consideration, delimitation of the study and it gives out a brief research outline.

CHAPTER TWO: URBAN GOVERNANCE AND TOWNSHIP GOVERNANCE

2. Introduction

This section will engage with existing literature on the urbanisation of governance and township governance. The chapter will discuss and analyse previous body of knowledge that has been conducted on the topic to determine what is not known about the study theme.

There is a gap of knowledge in reference to the understanding of migration as a holistic feature of the country. The general public is cognizant of what migration is, however a lot of research papers and articles that influence this knowledge concentrate more on international migration to a point that it has become known as the only type of migration that seems to exist. This is not at all denying that there are studies about local migration but a lot of what is known by the people or what people choose to know pertains to international migration. This understanding has led people to believe that migration only talks to people coming from other countries, in turn this knowledge has become widespread. As much as people are aware that they do not originate from where they are currently located, they do not necessarily regard themselves as migrants. For that reason, this study deliberately focused on Katlehong as a township that does not only comprise of international migrants but internal migrants as well, therefore giving a holistic approach to the understanding of migration.

Furthermore; the country's mining sector has produced a viable economy that has influenced people against migrating to foreign countries. A lack of experience of migration may prove to be difficult for them to relate to migrants and understand their reasons for migrating into the country. Consequently, there is gap in understanding migration from a peripheral point of view. This can also be seen as a contributing factor to the xenophobic attacks that continue to occur in the country.

According to Turok (2012), South Africa is known as the largest industrialized economy in Africa which makes it one of the most urbanized countries. It was after the growth of the mining industry and the discovery of gold in Witwatersrand that people saw an opportunity for a better life (Turok, 2012). He further explains that the mining industry required workers that led to the introduction of circular migration. Hence, the urban population was different in the mining cities in comparison to other cities. This attracted people from all parts of the World which consequently expanded boundaries of the city space. In the earlier days, there was extensive government intervention that was geared towards encouraging and accelerating a particular form of rural-urban migration. The government made use of many policy instruments, laws,

and institutions that came in handy to control household mobility, encapsulated within these devices used by the government were racially discriminatory and geographically selective restrictions (Baffi, Turok, and Marcuzzo, 2018). These restrictions included people's ability to own land, their ability to live where they wished, their ability to secure employment, and their access to education and training. After the year 1994, townships rapidly grew as some of the restrictive laws were removed (Turok, 2014).

Since then, Contemporary South Africa has experienced migration of all kinds and the population growth continues to overpower the state of cities. McGranahan and Satterthwaite explain that urbanization can be understood as the outcome of rural-urban migration and an expansion of urban boundaries (2014). Reasons surrounding rural-urban migration in South Africa are similar to that around the World but the difference is in economic opportunities. The perception of the people in rural areas and international migrants was that cities in South Africa were more privileged. Migration and urbanization are processes that offer hope for the future" (Kok and Collinson 2006:1). However, the city spaces are not well equipped to accommodate more people and that is the case for the townships. According to the Integrated Urban Development Framework (2016), cities are extremely dysfunctional and do not serve the purpose of catering to their population. The government struggles when it comes to spatial justice and the potential for a better future becomes gloomy (Kok and Collinson, 2006).

As a result, South African cities and townships have widening economic gaps. Statistics collected from around the World have shown that South African cities are the most unequal and visibly divided in the World today (Vacchiani-Marcuzzo, 2005). Migration, internal and international has increased the population in South African townships (Kok and Collinson, 2014). Many of these townships are dealing with crises relating to lack of access to services and poor local government (Watson, 2009). It is the changes that come with urbanization that has prompted townships like Katlehong to put restrictive access to space, rights, and resources. The majority are of the view that migration is accompanied by security and safety, respectively. As such, they are inclined to criminalize and control mobile domestic and foreign populations (Landau and Segatti, 2013). Although some people live peacefully in urban parts of South Africa, other migrants are discriminated against and abused. However, the restrictions have increased the growth of shacks and informal settlements in townships because once migrants are restricted access to space they build their own (Turok, 2012). The South African charter proclaims that 'South Africa belongs to all those who live in it, united by diversity (Keogh, Hodgson, and Jeewa, 2020). However, it appears that due to the socio-economic challenges of

the township, a unified South Africa in diversity seems rather impossible. It is therefore the responsibility of the local government to ensure that urbanization is inclusive and resources are shared adequately in those spaces (Tacoli, McGranahan, and Satterthwaite, 2015).

2.2 Urban Governance

According to Avis (2016:1), urban governance is "the process by which governments (local, regional and national) and stakeholders collectively decide how to plan, finance and manage urban areas". This relates to the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, which sets out the responsibility of each government in ensuring the effective functioning of the country. Avis proclaims that the national, municipal, private sector institutions, and political institutions all have a role to play in the governance of urban spaces (2016). He further states that urban governance moulds the character of urban areas and how they function.

The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa is the governing law in the country that provides for the rights of the citizens. Chapter 2 of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996 states “Every citizen has the right to enter, to remain in and to reside anywhere in, the Republic”. Ideally, this would mean that any citizen who wants to live elsewhere in the country can do so without any consequences or rejection. However, that is not the case for contemporary South Africa. Constitutionally, the State is enforced with the power to demarcate the country through the Municipal Demarcation Act of 1998 which stipulates the geographical boundaries of each municipality (Goodenough, 2004). The constitution entrusts municipalities with the power to govern their own affairs as stipulated in Chapter 7 section 151 (3) (Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996).

According to Maloba (2015), every sphere of the government must ensure that there is peace, unity, and integrity in the country as advised by section 41 of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa. He further states that through rule of law, the local government is supposed to build communities that are based on rules, principles, and communities that are regulated. Chapter 3 of The Municipal Systems Act 32 of 2000 stipulates that the MEC of the province must make by-laws of the local government and each Municipal Council is responsible for the implementation and safeguarding of these by-laws under their territory (Municipal Systems Act 32 of 2000). Therefore, it can be argued that national stability, development, and social order rests with the local government. However, local government does not operate without guidance, it is informed by policies that are formulated by the national and provincial

government. Ultimately, decentralizing power to local government is understood as a way of bringing the government to the people (Rao, Scott, and Alam 2014).

According to Smit (2018), local government plays an active role in urban governance. Smit further states that urban governance's primary focus is on land management, with the second one being the provision of services to the people (2018). However, some urban areas are still branded with issues relating to spatial segregation, under-development, and poverty. Regardless of the afore mentioned issues, these spaces are populated by an influx of people migrating from rural areas to urban areas and this is likely to continue over the years (Draft National Spatial Development Framework, 2018). This increasing population has furthered the disparities in city space, with some cities showing signs of failure. The urban space is now a space of negotiation and contestation because the place is too crowded and there are fewer resources to share amongst everyone. The state of these urban spaces has not only meant poor living standards for the people living in them but it also has a direct impact on how migrants are treated in spaces that have dire conditions. Due to the short comings of these urban spaces people contest for services and immigrants have to negotiate with the natives in some cases in order to be counted on the few resources that are available. In retrospect, xenophobic violence in these spaces is inevitable because in these urban spaces the understanding of migration is accompanied by the pressure that comes from the living conditions the people are faced with.

When townships continue to grow in population, townships are governed by changes caused by an influx of people whom are dependent on a sparsity of resources. This tension is then expressed by the contestation of rights and the question of who belongs in these spaces.

2.3 Township Governance

Although the legal supremacy in spatial management and regulation rests with the State, some people have taken it upon themselves to redraw boundaries and determine means of control (Landau, 2010). This has changed the setting in the hierarchy of power because space is no longer governed by the State or municipalities. Lessing (2020) highlights that there are criminal groups in societies that have developed coercive control over boundaries and have undermined state powers by means of replacing the State entirely. In some cases, these groups safeguard the township but can also be targeting migrants and their businesses. A study conducted in Cape Town, Khayelitsha township by Super in 2016 revealed that in urban spaces where there are challenges that seem to be ignored by the government, communities come together and handle their own affairs. However, it is in these instances that informal organisations surface.

Super (2016); further suggests that the government bans these organisations as they are considered to be competing with the State.

What we see now in urban spaces are people making exclusive claims to [1]space-based on them being the first occupants of the land or being born there (Paller, 2019). Geschiere and Nyamnjoh definition of autochthony is as follows; a way of people tying themselves to the soil of a certain place because they first got there (2000). These individuals have taken over the townships making the rest of the population believe that the only way to belong in these spaces is to follow the directive that they set. This has unconsciously given the people in these spaces the power to decide on the rights of others, a mandate that is legally entrusted to the State (Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996). For instance, not all migrants are chased away from the townships, meaning that while some are accepted others are rejected. Williams (2017:17) attests that "land ownership in South Africa has long been a source of conflict".

The claim of space by the natives reveals the ethnicity that is glued to space. Migrants are then expected to behave a certain way in order to have a common feature that is matched with the people in these spaces. This is a notion that serves as a common expectation for the community leaders of Katlehong due to the belief that the only way to live peacefully is if migrants follow their ways. Moyo (2020) states that it is expected that migrants during their stay will disregard all that makes them relate to their country of origin. This is built on the hope that migrants will eventually be like the rest of the citizenry once they practice the norms and standards of the township, resultantly this would remove the 'outsider' label on them.

This shift of regulating power has changed what it means to be a citizen and terms of belonging for the rest of the country. The societal norms and standards that we see in societies today have been made norms of classification and anyone else who is a stranger to the society is seemingly a threat to societal order. This is a framing strategy, intended to label others as strangers or outsiders. Landau (2012) echoes that exclusive claims to resources and spaces within the country are intense during the series of xenophobic attacks on African migrants. According to Paller this categorization is also socially constructed to create exclusion (2019). Therefore, this means that it is not particularly formal citizenship status that makes one an outsider according to the eyes of those who have decided to regulate urban spaces. Landau (2010) highlights that even South Africans who were considered too black during xenophobic attacks were harassed and some arrested. Klotz (2000) says that this labelling changes over time as the social context

[1] Gustavson and Cytrynbaum (2003) define space as a place that secures meaning from human occupation

change. Citizens have established more restrictive designs of membership (Holston, 1999). Holston explains that for years, citizenship and nationality have been used as forms of association to space and a country. Migration has caused the country to take up new ways of defining who is a South African citizen and that involves clearly stating who an outsider is, an approach that is determined to keep them outside of their territory (Klotz, 2000). Contemporary urban spaces function on a different level, one that seems to be the law in South African cities.

According to De La Paz (2012), citizenship means being a recognized member of a political community, with a defined set of rights and obligations. However, Holston states that in most societies being a citizen does not necessarily mean that one has access to rights and this has disvalued the concept of citizenship (1999). The terms of spatial regulation in cities prove the statement of Holston to be true. The people making claims to space are in this case superior to others further causing greater inequalities in the townships. "It is not only non-citizens who face discrimination but people moving within South Africa are often equally labelled 'outsiders' and excluded based on ethnicity, language, and geographic origins" (Misago et al, 2015:19). This has restricted some people of the population from fully practicing their rights, a human rights violation (Karuri-Sebina and Mammon, 2016).

According to Karuru-Sebina and Mammon (2016), the social construction of citizenship at the community level requires reimagining the concept of urban citizenship. The impact of this is that even international migrants might not see a need to acquire a formal citizenship status if it does not hold any value. This will further weaken the South African legislation as well as question the meaning of citizenship. What we see in Contemporary South Africa is a disjuncture in policies, the law, and the people. Furthermore, this has caused disorder in South African townships. Bremmer (1998) proclaims that in cities, the chances of people sharing space and one desired destiny are becoming slimmer by the day. Jürgens, Donaldson, Rule, and Bähr (2013), argue that this is not the imagined post-Apartheid South Africa, rather if the aim is to move forward then the new South Africa should stand for a rainbow nation that is deracialized and promotes mobility that is not restricted to boundaries. As a result, the gap between inclusive South Africa as denoted by the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa has altered the reality on the ground and it is widening daily in the country (Murray, 2013).

International migrants in particular are constantly being watched because of the assumption that they are involved in criminal activity. Therefore, there is a limitation to their activities and how they navigate the city space as they are under surveillance. Misago et al (2009) suggests

that members of the Community Policing Forums (CPFs) in communities have been involved in criminalizing migrants, which has further perpetuated xenophobic violence. According to Minnar; these are the same people who represent the South African Police Services and as such are responsible for guarding the community from crime (2010). For instance, some migrant street vendors face barriers and threats of being deported if they continue to trade in these city spaces. Lessing articulates that this can be understood as criminal governance which tends to prosper where there is low state presence (2020). This has impacted how migrants survive as some rely on selling fruit and vegetables to sustain their lives. The Social Law Project (2014) highlights that in the absence of legal regulation, some migrants are denied permits to trade in these spaces. Landau (2010) explains that in some instances, the police have contributed to the exclusionary forms of belonging attached to space by not recognizing documentation that states the legal status of migrants. This is contradictory to what the constitution pronounces, where it clearly states in the Bill of Rights, that people have a choice to choose their profession (Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996).

Modi explains that after 1994, South Africa was faced with the responsibility of building an inclusive South Africa due to the history of a discriminatory nation in the past (2003). Nevertheless, the manner in which township residents regulate migration and their attitudes towards it, says a lot about spatial regulation and rejects inclusive nation-building. In this context, migration is understood as a cause for chaos. This framing has influenced how South African townships protect themselves from the chaos associated with migration in order to maintain the status quo of these townships. When migrants are perceived as invaders, the sensible thing for the township would be to keep the invaders out, in this manner the township becomes a safe haven. According to Tati (2008), the public does not differentiate those who have permanent residence from those who do not in the case of international migrants and this has resulted in everyone who is perceived as a migrant being kept out of society. For instance, during the 2008 xenophobic attacks, some people were not foreigners but fell victim to the attacks due to their lack of proficiency in the native language spoken in the community (Vearey et al, 2014). This highlights that ethnicity is tied to belonging in townships.

Ogunyemi explains that claims over land are to specify who came first and last to know who deserves what in terms of the space being offered (2012). Migrants come into the country for various reasons; one of these reasons is to seek employment as means of providing for themselves and their families back in their country of origin. These individuals accept any paying job no matter the remuneration, however, some people in the country believe that they

are taking jobs that are meant for them. Hence, there are set rules of belonging which are constructed to serve them and intimidate migrants like terms of running a spaza shop in the township. However, Modi (2003) attests, that most migrants are doing menial jobs which South Africans are not willing to do. Therefore, keeping migrants out of communities does not mean South Africans will eventually agree to do the odd jobs that migrants were doing or necessarily solve the unemployment challenge the country is faced with. According to Landau et al (2011), the claims and perceptions regarding migrants leaves them in the cold and out of local government's territory, putting them at greater risks.

3. Theoretical Framework

Theoretically the gap in migration studies is wild in terms of the factors that are considered to contributing to xenophobia in the country. How migration is understood is not counted as one of the contributing factors to xenophobia, therefore this study will bridge that gap. The discrimination of migrants, claims to space, in addition to the exclusion of migrants is based on how migration has been framed which initially lead to a specific understanding about migration. In South Africa, townships are framed as this threat, burden, and a chaotic feature of society and this has been made public knowledge. This is what Musuva (2017) termed a framing theory which is used as a tactic of communication to draw the attention of the people.

Musuva (2017:104) explains that “the framing theory is located within the field of political communication, which is an interdisciplinary field involving a variety of disciplines such as political science, mass communication, journalism, sociology, and psychology". Framing is in the way things are explained/portrayed to a point that they become known as how media and research have explained it. Musuva further explains that to frame is to focus on how some people view things and turn that into a reality for everyone else, it involves communicating the situation so that it is well known (2017). An example of this is how the Europeans portrayed migration as dangerous to discourage people from migrating. Scheufele (2004) says that the main focus of framing is attitudinal change. This means that migration is framed in order to influence the attitude of people to view it the same way it has been portrayed. One could say that this attitudinal change is a success because xenophobic attacks are proof of the negative attitude towards migrants. "Frames draw attention to some aspects of reality at the expense of others, so to define them we must take into account what is described and what is left out" (Abreu, 2015:424). In the framing process, views expressed are selective and are not necessarily an accurate representation of the situation (Matthes, 2012). For example, Bell argues that there is no link between migrants and crime problems across countries (2019).

According to Matthes, frames are a part of the culture that is associated with how people in power construct information; how the selection of information can influence the attitude of those who are listening (2012). For instance, not much is public knowledge about the contribution of migrants towards the country of destination, but much focus is placed on diminishing migration and the public follows this. The media plays an active role in this framing by drawing the attention of the public with big, bold newspaper articles that can be easily seen or accessed by the public. Chong and Druckman, (2007) profess that strong frames are very persuasive and tend to appear as facts while playing to the emotions of the audience. The public in this context becomes the audience and due to how migration is seen as a factor that come to destroy all that makes the people South African.

The frames surrounding migration have instilled fear, discrimination, exclusion in the people of South Africa which has led to xenophobia.

Misago (2019: 1) state that "xenophobic violence generally refers to any acts of collective violence (by local communities, groups or crowds) targeted at foreign nationals or "outsiders" because of their being foreign or stranger". Xenophobia has shaped the experiences of foreigners in the country as it consists of negative remarks and attitudes that could potentially endanger the lives of foreigners. Misago (2016) explains this as xenophobic violence which refers to the action taken by local communities and organized groups to manifest their attitude towards foreigners. For instance, the findings suggest that the only way migrants can live peacefully in Katlehong would be if they abide to the set standards and rules of the township. In these spaces, the locals consider themselves superior because migrants depend on them to peacefully integrate into society (Mosselson, 2010). This means that although the state grants access to migrants, the manner in which they live in societies is dependent on the people's level of acceptance or intolerance. Moyo and Zanker (2020) explain that xenophobic attacks are also orchestrated by the people in power who have something to gain from these violent riots. Therefore, xenophobia is an act of individuals and groups with formal and informal power that is used to benefit them. Below are the micro-politics surrounding xenophobia and how it has configured the service being rendered to the people.

Xenophobia: a manifestation of South African micro-politics

According to Neocosmos (2010:17) "xenophobia exists at the interface of state subjectivity and popular subjectivity". He explains that xenophobia is a result of politics which are concerned with the clarification of boundaries; those who belong in them, and who have rights within

these boundaries. Resultantly, this political game tends to emphasize that South African land belongs to persons whom originate from South Africa. Which places those who are not aside. Politicians have also been involved in this exclusion strategy through their support of anti-migrant groups to maintain the vision of the overall community (Maina, Mathonsi, McConnell, and Williams, 2011). This has led to politicians being actively involved in these violent attacks and perpetually becoming the actual perpetrators (Maina et al, 2011). This clarifies the role politicians play in the regulation of space and claims to it South African townships.

Neocosmos (2010) attests that the discrimination between the natives and the native foreigners is another form of racism that is embedded in the politics of the country. Masikane, Hewitt, and Toendepi (2020) explain that xenophobia has uncovered the race aspect that emanated from migration given that majority of the intolerance and hatred is targeted towards black migrants. It is further stated, that South Africa has a history of racism, yet many people still suffer under the race umbrella, communities faced with socio-economic challenges view black foreigners as competitors. Xenophobia is the consequence of the ongoing contrary practices in the formation of post-Apartheid South Africa. Further illustrated are the claims to space South Africans make and that the country's land belongs to them and not foreigners. Pillay (2017) attests that cultural, religious intolerances, and racism in South Africa are the major contributors to the hate crime produced by the xenophobic attacks. Adjai and Lazaridis (2013) argue that xenophobia is an organized crime. However, Gordon (2015) states that xenophobic attacks are understood as a true ramification of the economic and labour market prevalent in South Africa.

People during xenophobic attacks are convinced that almost everything wrong in their lives is a result of migrants in their midst. Therefore, how the people in townships perceive migrants has a lot to do with how migration has been framed. Matthes states that frames can be found in organized settings and a community is an organized structure that can easily spread an understanding of a particular situation (2012). Migration is commonly defined as a crisis by the government and the people in receiving countries. According to Lindley (2014), a crisis is framed as though it was an urgency that requires a high level of attention. The chaos that is often linked to migration can be seen as a consequence of migration being understood as a crisis. According to Hiropoulos (2020) the manner in which migration is framed influences the reaction of the people. Some of the community leaders in Katlehong believe that although migration is inevitable, in absence of it, there would not be so much instability in the country. Migration has been framed to be seen as something that the government must urgently fix and

therefore should take priority in being addressed. Vearey and Walker (2019) maintain that much of the ignorance regarding migration ensues from institutional departments that are meant to play a crucial part in safeguarding the lives of migrants instead of blaming them for their failures. Moyo (2020) says that the power dynamics exposed by migration also relate to the power embedded in media and influential people.

Arowolo (2017) states that when issues are framed the focus is on shifting the attention of the people from more important issues and limiting them to a specific way of thinking. Some xenophobic attacks have proved to be on issues regarding poor service delivery and in those instances, migrants are scapegoats to broader issues (Hiropoulos, 2020). During the protests what is more vocal is how migrants are a burden and not how townships - like Katlehong - are isolated from receiving efficient service delivery. Therefore, this neglects the purpose of these attacks and much more attention is directed at how townships are full of migrants. This controls how the people think, to the extent of political party leaders convincing their constituents that if there were no migrants in these spaces then there would be adequate service delivery. Therefore, migrants are the problem. According to Gomo (2010) the attitudes people hold are formed through experiences, observations, and interaction. The framing theory, therefore, gives a broader understanding of the dynamics that have contributed to how migration is understood at local levels of the country and how this understanding has caused chaos.

Below are the frames produced by the media, political speeches and rallies, including rumours that have passed around in the society. This framing has subsequently led to a popular belief and understanding of migration as a whole.

- Migration as a burden

The people in townships view migration as a burden because it adds pressure to an already struggling population of the township. The people primarily assume that migration will shift the focus of the government from providing them with basic services. In some instances, this statement is used in political debates for people to believe that the inadequate services are a result of the increased number of people that the government has to cater for. In this case the public sees those who migrate as people who flee their country of origin to seek asylum in South Africa (Segatti and Landau, 2008). For instance, Turton (2003) puts forth that people consider forced migrants in particular as demanding migrants who require a specific kind of attention, such as accommodation, a secure environment, and freedom. It is this level of reliance that has deemed migrants as an extra responsibility that the government should be

concerned about and this has provoked the general citizenry to react to foreigners. However, it is also important to note that some migrants enter the country and open up the business which generates employment for South Africans and that also contributes towards the development of the country (Khosa and Kalitanyi, 2015). Primarily when people are employed this means that provision can be made to feed themselves and their families, therefore decreasing pressure from the government. This then means that the government can focus on other issues that demand their attention.

- Migration as a threat

The threat framing of migration relates to how the people in townships see the migration. According to Milioni, Spyridou, and Vadratsikas (2015), this is a stereotype that assumes that the presence of migrants is a threat to society, their safety as well as their wellbeing. This framing emanates from the belief that migrants are criminals and destruction to societal order because of their differences seem to be a threat to the cultural homogeneity of the country. Migration is further seen as the triple threat (Causing unemployment, poverty, and inequality) in South Africa (Khosa and Kalitanyi, 2015). However, they argue that the threat perception is understandable but not entirely true because not all those who migrate depend on the government. For instance, the findings highlight that the people in Katlehong see migration as a threat based on their conditions and this makes them believe that their presence will worsen their current state. Gordon (2018) believes that the general public is ill-informed about the numbers and the impact of migrants in the country. This belief is drawn from multiple platforms that frame migration in a negative manner and influences the people in townships to want nothing to do with migration. Allen, Blinder, and Mcneil (2018) believe that much of the attitude towards are channelled by the media. This has therefore shaped the lives of migrants, making it difficult for them to sustain their lives because they are perceived as an unfavourable feature of society. The exclusive claims to rights, space, and belonging based in South African townships can be seen as a result of how migration has been framed.

Migration has brought to light power dynamics that are at interplay in the country and community levels. While the constitution is accepting and welcoming, the people on the ground are not, therefore this has caused clashes with the law that is supposed to govern township spaces. The violent social tensions relating to spatial regulation as a result of overcrowding dilemmas have produced new terms of belonging, rights, and citizenship. Therefore, townships are now governed by social norms and standards that dictates how migrants should behave,

what time should the streets be empty and the conditions set for those who are considered criminals.

This chapter reviewed the literature that spoke to urbanisation, spatial regulation, and township governance in relation to migration in townships. It further analysed the framing theory as a factor that has also led to a certain understanding of migration. Due to the change caused by urbanisation, people in township spaces are over populated but yet remain poor form infrastructure to services and resources. This has resulted in people in these spaces being protective of the little they have and excluding those they feel that they are not deserving. This has took-away the authority of the state to govern and placed townships under the domination of those who claim the space to themselves. This is a result of how people in township see migration, a perception that is not merely based on just experiences but also views channeled by external factors.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

3. Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of the methodology employed in the study. It discusses the research design, population, sampling, data collection methods, and data analysis**.**

3.1 Methodological approach: Qualitative approach

This research is based on qualitative data collected from the community leaders of Katlehong townships, to address the main aim of this study "Assessing how migration is understood in South African Townships". This study was prompted by the debates pertaining to rights to space, who belongs in these spaces, and how these spaces are regulated. How migration is understood is influenced by a number of factors, exploring these factors requires a methodology that can effectively and holistically cover the views expressed by the respondents. The key informants in this study were not limited to a tick box exercise because of their role in the township, they were presented with an opportunity to thoroughly engage with the topic at hand. This approach enabled a conceptualization of the views expressed by the community leaders, to understand the underlying factors that have shaped the way the people of Katlehong perceive migration. Through a qualitative approach and the explanations drawn from the informants the researcher was able to align a connection between the presence of migrants in the township and the future the people of Katlehong desire for their township and how this subsequently lead to intolerance.

The researcher has first-hand experience of how migrants are treated in South Africa, the terms they are referred to and the opportunity to gain knowledge about migration as a whole. Having grown up in Soweto township, the researcher was aware that in the township there are spaza shops that are owned by South Africans and some that are owned by migrants. However, there is a lack of knowledge and experience regarding those who are directly affected by migration in one way or the other. Hence it was against this backdrop to understand how migration is perceived in townships such as Katlehong and how their understanding is constructed. As a researcher, the researcher yearns to obtain insight on how people in townships interpret their experiences and social realities in order for them to make sense of the World around them. According to Corbin and Strauss a qualitative approach is better suited for this type of study as it is concerned with studying human behaviour, conditions, social structure, and experiences (2008).

3.1.2 Case Study

Katlehong as an urban area represents the conditions, settings, and experiences of most urban areas in the country. These are conditions such as under-development, poor service delivery, and issues of unemployment. The township witnesses' migrants as a threat because of these socio-economic conditions which do not only shape how the people in the township understand migration but also extends to how migrants are treated in the township. The topic under study can be better understood through a real-world context, as a township Katlehong has had their fair share experience with migration, this reality has helped in clearly demonstrating how these experiences and events are interpreted by the people at the grass-root level.

3.1.3 Population

The research targeted the population of Katlehong township; the township is located in the southeast of Johannesburg, in Ekurhuleni Municipality. The township over the years has experienced challenges of xenophobic attacks and therefore makes it a place of interest for the purpose of this study. According to Babbie, (2008:121) "the population for a study is the group (usually of people) about whom we want to draw conclusions". However, it was not possible to interview the entire population of Katlehong and for that reason, this study focused on two sections in Katlehong township, namely Siluma view, and Sikhosana section. These areas are situated in a manufacturing city that had several factories and therefore attracted a lot of labour migrants (Baffi, Turok, and Marcuzzo, 2018). The people in these sections have occupied these spaces for most of their lives (Groenewald, 2020). The sections present a complex population, with some being born in these areas and others who come from elsewhere in the country and the World at large.

3.1.4 Sampling

Sekaran & Bougie (2016:61) defines a sample as "a subset of the population in question and comprises a selection of members from that particular population". The community leaders from Siluma view and Sikhosana section were purposely selected, when a colleague connected the researcher with persons the colleague has previously worked with on previous community projects. These people had actively engaged with the community of Katlehong and showed interest in ensuring its development. A number of 14 people were selected to manage the number of people to interview, 9 of whom were males while 5 were females. It is important to note that gender was not a significant factor in this study nor was it the focus, as the interview was more situated around active leaders of the township.

The sample comprised of; Pastors (3) Councillor (1), Community Liaison Officer (1), members of the street watch committee (4), (2) members of the African National Congress Youth League, and Small business owners (3). Although the sample size did not necessarily represent the views of the entire population of Katlehong regarding migration, it however comprised of people who have more knowledge of what is happening in the community. These individuals are the first point of interaction when issues in the township arise and they have either heard how people feel about migrants or seen the sentiments of the people thorough xenophobic attacks in the township. The true identities of the respondents are protected in this research because of the vital role that the informants play in the township. Therefore, all respondents will be referred to by their respective roles in the township.

3.1.5 Data collection process

In order to gain in-depth understanding of how the people of Katlehong township view migration, the researcher developed an open ended-question and an interview schedule. These techniques assisted the respondents to extend their answers and thoroughly express themselves about the question at hand. As means of ensuring the validity of the techniques, the documents were sent to the supervisor to quality check whether they would help in achieving the set objectives of the study. According to Galvan (2017) these data collection techniques are effectively useful in collecting first-hand information.

The key informants' interview schedule, participation information sheet (appendix B)**,** and the consent form (appendix C) were developed before the data collection process. The initial plan was to conduct the interviews online, however, during rapport-building sessions in the township, realization was that online interviews were not going to work as most of the respondents did not have access to a device that had a reliable application. Although this posed a great challenge, the other option was to physically conduct interviews, unfortunately this was not ideal in a time of a pandemic. Nonetheless, there were two interview sessions and this made it easy to maintain a safe environment for the participants. On both interview sessions, the researcher explained that it was important to keep facial masks on during the interviews and to maintain a safe social distance as per COVID-19 regulation.

The first session of interviews took place on the 14th of November 2020 in Siluma View section, where the researcher interviewed the (3) pastors who led different congregations in the community, the councillor, (2) members of the street watch committee, and (2) members of the ANCYL. The interview was conducted in English in order to have a common language, these

interviews were recorded upon permission granted by the respondents. During the data collection period, the researcher took notes of the physical behaviour of the respondents to get a sense of how they were feeling about certain questions and how this connected with how they answered the questions. The 3 pastors were individually interviewed at the comfort of their houses, one, in particular, was very excited that he was considered important by such a prestigious university, he even offered the interviewer spinach from his fresh garden.

The members of the ANCYL and street watch committee members formed a group discussion. The group discussion was not planned; however, when the researcher visited the township to establish a rapport between said researcher and the respondents people showed interest in the topic under study that they debated. At first the researcher did not know how to approach handling a group discussion during the interview as the researcher had no idea how to manage the time or conflict in the group. Interestingly, the process was enlightening because it was conducted as a dialogue that prompted people to engage with each other. The discussion was at a ground field where young boys were playing soccer not too far from where the interview was held, the members in the group could easily make an example of what they were talking about by pointing at features that were visible from where we were. However, the challenge was the noise control because the football ground is a public space it was impossible to just tell people to keep it down. The other challenge brought that I came across was some questions adequately addressed because other members felt that the question was dragged for too long. This then meant that some questions were not equally answered causing some kind of biases in the research questions. The interaction of the group interview was however very vibrant and a learning experience for me as a researcher.

The second batch of data collection was done in the Sikhosana section of Katlehong beginning of December 2020 because the remaining respondents kept on shifting the appointments. All the interviews of the day were recorded upon receiving permission from the respondents. On the day of the interview, the researcher was scheduled to meet with the remaining (7) respondents. However, during the interview a member of the street committee had to be excused from the process due to other commitments. The first interview was with the councillor who welcomed the researcher in his home car garage A conversation ensued, over a glass of juice which was offered by his wife. The councillor had his mask on and distance between the researcher and interviewee was adhered to during the course of the interview. As the day progressed I proceeded to interview the Community Liaison Officer and the other member of the street watch committee, the respondents were individually interviewed at the offices. Later

that day the researcher managed to interview (3) small business owners and one of them even offered a tour of his store during the interview. The process was very informative about the type of a society Katlehong is and it explained the basis of intolerance towards migrants.

3.1.6 Frame analysis method

According to Dzilenski (2017) studying frames has been extensively used on qualitative research by coding data based on the focus or theme of articles, news headlines, and public opinions and how these consequently impact the issue under study. Therefore, one could say there is not much of a difference between frame analysis and thematic analysis because a framing analysis produces themes and focus angles of the news, rumours and public speeches. This means that how an issue is understood depends heavily on how the issue is framed, for example when migration is framed as ticking time bomb then it will be understood as something that urgently needs to be attended to before it explodes. Linstrom and Marais explain that the framing analysis serves four purposes "(1) to define problems (2) diagnose a cause (3) make value judgments (4) and suggest remedies" (2012:21). Furthermore, they explain that in a qualitative study, framing analysis focuses on repeated texts and engages extensively with text materials to identify frames.

The interviews were transcribed and a framing analysis was conducted. This involved drawing meaning from the responses of the community leaders when they talk about migration. To further analyse the framing of migration by the people of Katlehong, it was important to first look at how migration is understood by the people in the township and if their understanding of migration is influenced by external factors besides their own experience with migrants. The analysis also looked into the external factors such as the media, government institutions, organized groups and how they frame migration from the headlines to how migration is spoken about. This analysis played a significant role in analysing how the understanding of migration is constructed. Furthermore, the process revealed the impact these factors have on how migrants are regulated, the notion of rights and belonging in townships like Katlehong.

I looked out for persistent and frequently used themes, the type of language used and the solutions provided by the community leaders of Katlehong regarding migration. According to Pan and Kosicki, framing analysis can be presented as observed thematic texts (1993). The observed themes from the respondents when then coded in the following manner.

Figure 1: Coding framework

Interview Transcript	**Coding framework**
1 Question- What do you think migration is? Respondent- *It is the movement of people from one place to the other* 2nd Respondent- *it involves people moving from their original place to another place* 3rd Respondent- *we are all migrants because we come elsewhere in the country.*	Relocation of people
2 Question: How do you see it fit into the community? Respondent: *These people do not belong here* Respondent 2: *They do not fit in with the rest of us* Respondent 3*: Well, there is enough space for everyone, so they can be part of the township as* well	Belonging Space
3. Question: Do you think Katlehong can benefit from migration? Respondent: *Migration can be beneficial if we were all united and we were working together* Respondent 2*: so many people would benefit from migration because of employment opportunities but some of these people are unregistered and do not pay taxes* Respondent 3*: If they were not planning to take over our area, then we could all benefit but they just want to be above us as the people of this township*	Advantages and disadvantages Documentation Cooperation Rights to space

The above coding framework is an illustration of how themes were produced from the respondents. Once these words/ codes appear more than once then a theme is developed. During both the interviews (14 November and 05 December 2020) when talking about immigration, the above terms were noticeable from the respondents. Each of these terms represents how these individuals understood migration. These were then used to describe the themes that were identified during data analysis, these themes will later be discussed in the data presentation chapter.

3.2 Strength and limitations of the approach

In research every analysis method has its advantages and disadvantages and this can be expected with the framing analysis method as well. Although through the framing analysis it was easy to do the coding and produce themes that were one-sided, primarily because they served the narrative of the respondents regarding migration. For example, if a respondent believed that migrants are criminals then the response to the questions would only reveal that belief. In utilising the framing analysis, the researcher was able to understand how xenophobia is produced. The other limitation is the credibility of the source/ factors that influence how people in Katlehong view migration. In some instances news content is manipulated to fit a specific agenda, which further causes biasness in what is published. This controls how people think because of what is out there to influence their opinion.

The third limitation is the methodological approach used to study migration. According to Kariithi a qualitative approach is not adequate in studying migration (2020). Kariithi further states that the actual figures produced by a quantitative study are the ones that prompts the government to take action when it comes to migration, crime, and xenophobia. However, Mohajan (2018), points out the strength of a qualitative approach by stating that it is instrumental in phenomenological research and migration is a phenomenon that needs a clear narration of events and psychological views. Kariithi (2020) further argues that quantitative methods provide an unblemished understanding of immigration and xenophobia because they provide facts on numbers when it comes to both migrants and xenophobia.

This study sampled a small part of the Gauteng Province, in Katlehong township. It was limited to only community leaders and small business owners in the township because of the leadership role they play in the township.

3.3 Ethical considerations

Ethical clearance to conduct this work was granted by the faculty of Humanities from the University of Witwatersrand. Confidentiality was maintained throughout this research to ensure no harm came to the participants. However, it cannot be guaranteed after the research has been finalized that as they might be identifiable because of the leadership roles in the township. This was mentioned to the participants and they continued to sign a consent form granting their permission to voluntarily participate in the study.

This chapter explained the methodological approach and methods used in the study, following the necessary procedures to achieve the research objectives and produce a worthy study.

CHAPTER FOUR: DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS, AND INTERPRETATION

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the analysis of the data collected from the community leaders of Katlehong based on (1) How migration is understood (2) how they see it fit in their community (3) How it affects the ability to achieve the envisioned future of the township (4) and; what they think should be done concerning migration in South African communities.

The people in Katlehong township understand migration from the perspective of them being migrants as well. In spite of this, their perception of international migrants suggests that it is only them who can move around and occupy spaces around the country. They have excluded themselves from the rest of the migrants because they are South Africans. The findings raised the dynamics of spaces and politics of nationality. The results suggest that when migrants are chased away from townships it is a strategy of ensuring that migrants do not take over these spaces.

Three themes emerged from the data collected (1) Relocating of people (2) Migrants should be documented (3) Rights to space and these will be discussed in this section. The themes were then organized to rate if the desired objectives of the study were achieved.

4.2 Objective one: Investigating how migration is understood in Katlehong township

- Theme One: Relocating of people

"It is the movement of people from one place to the other, like our great-grandfathers who moved from the rural areas to find jobs in the city, that is migration". (Pastor, 14 November 2020).

In responding to the open-ended questions that the respondents were asked, what was common is how they understood migration as relocating of people. This was the definition of migration. The pastor during the first interview session made an example of migrants who come into the country and would end up selling brooms and smaller items to sustain their lives while they are here.

"Migration is inclusive of all those who travel from their country of origin to South Africa either for exchange of ideas, transference of skills or just to look for a better place to live in" (The councillor, 05 December 2020).

"Most of us are migrants because our place of origin is not Johannesburg, therefore that makes us people who have moved from elsewhere to find a better life in the city". the pastor added (14 November 2020).

The above statements prove that community leaders understand migration based on their background because most people come from elsewhere in the country like rural areas, therefore almost everyone is a migrant in cities that they settle into. This understanding resonates with Tacoli, McGranahan, and Satterthwaite's (2014) description of rural-urban migration, where they highlight that people from rural areas come to the city in search of a better life. Although there is a recognition of what it means to be a migrant, it is the classification of migrants by the people in Katlehong that the township reacts to all that come with migration and what it means for 'their' township. Lindley (2014) says that migration is understood as a crisis and this has influenced the negative reactions that have dominated the nation. In the township, there is some form of superiority when it comes to rural-urban migrants, even though international and internal migrants are motivated by the same conditions (Melo and Ames, 2016). This reveals the entitlement to space by the natives.

- Theme two: Migrants should be documented

"Undocumented migrants should not be allowed to open or run a business in the township, because the procedure to opening a business involves producing all the necessary documentation and paying taxes" (Business owner, 05 December 2020*)*

"People who run spaza shops around here are illegal migrants, these people sell flour and bread using the front door but sell drugs to our children using the back door" (Pastor, 14 November 2020)

These statements show that the issue of documentation and ensuring that businesses operate legally in the township is important for the people of Katlehong. It is believed that when migrants are illegal into the country they are also involved in illegal activities. It is this belief that perpetrates xenophobic attacks in the township. Furthermore, the township is administered to keep migrants away from mixing with the natives, so that the people feel safe in their spaces. The people in the township believe that if documentation can be well handled then all problems that associated with having illegal migrants in their area could be mitigated. However, it is all migrants that are affected during xenophobic attacks, because no one asks for documentation that proves one's legal status in the country. This, therefore, suggests that even if migrants

occupy the township were legal into the country but they would still be subject to discrimination and exclusion.

"Well, we have to understand that these people are in a quest to find means of sustaining their lives, documentation may take forever and on the streets it is expensive, I understand where they are coming from and their struggle" (Pastor, 14 November 2020)

"*They should be documented as the law says but us beating them and chasing them out of the community is not helping them or us"* (The councillor, 05 December 2020)

The question of legality with regards to migrants is based on the knowledge that before migrants are granted access into the country they are supposed to be registered. Documented or not, migrants in these spaces are still discriminated against, beaten, and excluded from benefiting from government services. However, the views about illegality when it comes to migrants who own businesses in the township is not mainly from the people, rather it is influenced by external factors which continue to paint migrants as these illegal people with no place in the community.

One should ask 'how are people aware that migrant business operators are illegal and are they even illegal for that matter'. The news and politicians have framed this belief and this has had dreadful consequences for both migrants and South African townships. Conversely, freedom of movement is a human right, and states are posed with the responsibility to protect human rights (Shelton and Carozza, 2013). However, we see this to be violated in Katlehong. This conflicting play-out tells us that although the authority to legitimize migrants is the responsibility of the State, on the ground, it depends on the people in townships where migrants settle and not necessarily the State or documentation.

- Migrants are framed as criminals

"*I understand that we are all here to make a living but I have seen these people hanging by the bus stop at night and every time we have to chase them away because they are a lot of people who work nightshifts here and they are not safe*" (A member of the street-watch committee, 14 November 2020)

The way in which xenophobic events are framed in the news and articles supports the narrative that it is the illegal migrants who increase the stats of crime and rape in the country. When migrants are blamed for almost every crime that occurs in the country, this becomes the basis of hate crimes and intolerance, whether these allegations are true or not. People in townships

then react because they fear that foreigners are invading their homes and safety can no longer be guaranteed due to their presence in communities (Mnyaka, 2003). A respondent mentioned a story that occurred in Katlehong township regarding the manner in which a South African whom rented out a shop to a foreigner had his hand cut off by the migrant due to rent issues.

Although others might have experienced what it is like to live with migrants within their spaces; some act on fear of what they are told by others. How people talk about migrants also contributes to how migration is understood. The common criminal language being used to describe foreigners does not only come from leaders of these movements but also involves politicians and government officials who are supposed to inhibit such behaviour but influence it or do nothing about it (Holmes, 2019). The criminalisation of migrants is also revealed by Alfaro-Velcamp and Shaw (2016) where they talk about how migrants are forced to purchase documents from corrupt officials in order for them to be accepted in South African spaces. Therefore, this shows that criminality cannot be associated with migrants alone.

"*Our children are not safe in our own neighbourhood because we have illegal migrants who are not even supposed to be here"* (Community Liaison Officer, 05 December 2020)

According to Khumalo (2020), a group called 'put South Africans first' associates all crimes such as sex slavery, robbery, drugs, and human trafficking with migrants. Khumalo further states that the group represents South Africans and feels that those are the people that should be prioritized (2020). He mentions that the leaders of the group feel that the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa should strictly be for South Africans with the purpose of avoiding the problems that come with welcoming foreigners into the country. Therefore, this automatically limits the rights enshrined in the constitution to only natives. It is against this backdrop that the determination to reinstate who is a citizen by means of access and eliminate those who are not.

- Migrants as job stealers

"We cannot progress like this, we do not have jobs in our own country, while migrants earn a living right under our nose" A member of the street-watch committee, 14 November 2020).

According to McKnight there are a range of factors that could be counted and closely linked to the hostility towards migrants, unemployment takes first place because of the economic and social pressure that it is accompanied by it (2008). It is therefore expected, but not promoted

nor condoned that migrants who come into the country for employment reasons are subjected to rejection (Read, 2016).

"*There are a few South African owned small businesses around the township because every corner is filled with migrants, how can people sustain their lives if these migrants only employee their people" (*Small business owner, 05 December 2020)

"It is not that our people are lazy as these foreigners say but the legal route to actually owning a business is a long process, unlike them who run illegal businesses" (Councillor, 05 December 2020)

Most South Africans when they hear about the presence of migrants within their communities, they fear that they will lose their jobs. As much as that notion seems to be prominent amongst many people, it is not necessarily true because the majority of foreigners are self-employed (Read, 2016). For instance, most vendors are foreigners who sell fruits and vegetables to make ends meet. This is not necessarily taking another person's job because most vendors sell the same thing, meaning that there is space in the market for others.

"It is important to also consider that migrants are not picky when it comes to jobs that are available, these people are determined to do whatever it takes to feed themselves" (The Community Liaison Officer, 05 December 2020)

Migrants escape their country of origin for numerous reasons, one of them being unemployment or fewer job opportunities. They then come to the country to seek employment, but irrespective of the history of importing economic migrants by the country, these migrants are killed and turned away in communities (Mabiala and Soami, 2013). It is within the migrant's right to have a fair chance at a decent life and participation in the labour market will sustaining their livelihoods to improve their socio-economic standards (Kavuro, 2015**).** Chasing migrants away will not be beneficial to the country and not only that but will also affect the relationship of South Africa with other countries (Gordon, 2018).

- Migrants as carriers of HIV & AIDS

Migrants are perceived as carriers of diseases, one of which being HIV & AIDS. The virus has led to tensions and strict rules in destination countries (Segatti and Landau, 2011). This is a framing discourse that perpetrates fear and rejection. The assumption on the spread of HIV & AIDS dates back to the movement of people from rural areas who sought employment in urban

areas and go back home with the virus to infect those at home (Lurie, Williams, Zuma, Mkaya-Mwamburi, Garnett, Sweat, Gittelsohn and Karim, 2003).

"*Our young sisters date these men and become HIV positive, they are now a burden to us so no these migrants are a burden"* (Member of the street-watch committee, 14 November 2020)

A respondent when being asked about the behaviour they expect from migrants, said *"I expect them to stop dating young girls and charming them with money because that is how HIV spreads".* (Member of the ANCYL, 05 December 2020)

While migrants might be less informed and do not have access to prevention tools about the virus, migration is not the core factor that contributes to HIV & AIDS (Vearey, 2018). The rumours about who spreads HIV & AIDS is misinformed because the virus can be spread by anyone. Even those who remain in the rural areas are misinformed about the cause and spread of the virus and this means that people in general, migrant or not, are exposed to HIV and AIDS.

According to Alfaro-Velcamp and McLaughlin (2019), a multiple of migrants get sexually violated, with some being used as sex slaves and become infected by the virus. Furthermore, the interconnectivity that is built between migrants and the virus poses greater challenges for migrants, with some being burnt alive and others kept out of communities because of this stigma.

4.3 Objective two: to analyse what constitutes for the varied understanding of migration which subsequently informs the attitude towards migrants.

- Theme three: Rights to space

The people in the township see migrants as people who want to take over Katlehong because they have dominated some areas in the township, such as the Sontonga mall. They feel that if the rules were reversed they would not be allowed to want to rule in a country that is not theirs.

A small business owner said that *"if migrants were to adjust to the rules of the township, they could form part of us in the future because they supply our shops with products at a cheaper price than local suppliers"* (05 December 2020)

"These people sell alcohol and drugs to our children; you will find a 12-year-old boy drunk in the street because of them. Now how do we live with people who do not care for our children and their future" (Member of the ANCYL, 14 November 2020)

"Migrants are just too rogue, they do not listen or attend our community meetings because they know that we will be addressing complaints from the people on how a migrant did this and that in our own township" (Street-watch committee member, 5 December 2020)

The above statements highlight the terms and conditions for the inclusion and integration of foreigners in the township. This means that some people in the township do not mind the migrants amongst them but as long as they comply with their ways.

A church leader during the interview highlighted that *"migrants are mostly people in need and that as fellow Christians and African people, how we treat migrants should be based on Ubuntu"* (14 November, 2020). The pastor said that our job is not to judge but to help those who come seeking help. He further stated that his church has been trying to help shelter and feed those who cannot provide for themselves and that migrants are also welcomed.

"These people act like this is their home town, walking as if they own the place, why should we be controlled by them in our area" (ANCYL, 5 December 2020)

Issues of foreigners not forming part of the context with regards to migration were brought up during the second interview session. Importantly the people in Katlehong are united in owning the township as theirs. In his study Misago (2019) mentions that people mobilise with the purpose of reaching a consensus about an issue in their communities. It is this collectiveness that forms uniformity regarding migrants and that becomes the word of mouth for the rest of the community. The people of Katlehong are of the view that if migrants want to make claims to the township, they must abide to the norms and the standards of the township. Migrants are understood to be a different group of people, from the manner in which they speak, the way they dress and their culture. These differences have translated into people in townships keeping their guards up as they are not used to something that is different from what they are used to. According to Kumar, society is built as some form of association, and everyone in that space is linked to each other; creating a space of common norms and standards (2017). This is can be seen as community-making which is based on similar beliefs, language, and social relations.

When asked what their views regarding what needs to be done about migrants in the country, some were very adamant that migrants should be sent back to their country of origin. One of the ANCYL members said that *"Even if the migrants came here because of war in their countries, for sure all of that has cleared now and it is time for them to go"* (14 November 2020).

“These are human-beings, ill-treating them and sending them to pack is not the solution as it may seem but what we need is to have control over things, how they get into the country, which jobs they occupy and where to put them” (Councillor, 5 December 2020)

"Migrants should be kept in camps to ensure the safety of South Africans" she went on to say that "only South Africans should benefit from the resources of the country" (Member of the Street-watch committee, 5 December 2020)

The language that is used when talking and the solutions provided with regards to migrants highlight a framing discourse mentioned in chapter two. Some of the words used with regards to migrants carry weight and the solutions provided by the respondents are to their benefit or that of the township as they seem to believe. The statements from the respondents also revealed the framing discourse embedded in news outlets and how it encourages a specific way of thinking when it comes to migration. Furthermore, if people who are leaders who are influential to the community have such views regarding migration then this view spreads to the entire community, leading them to think the same way. Crush (2008) alludes that South African media has played quite a role in the violence and attitude towards migrants in the country.

“*You cannot expect us to simply open our gates for migrants to flood our township while the news says we must take back our land”* (Business Owner, 5 December 2020)

- Migrants as competitors of social welfare services

“*We just don’t have enough to share, people have to understand this because we are seen as these violent people when we fight for what is ours” (*Member of the Street watch committee, 14 November 2020)

The government has a mandate to take care of its citizens, this is inclusive of permanent residents in the country (Tati, 2008). However, civilians find it hard to identify permanent residents from those that they proclaim as undeserving of the social services of the state. Most migrants are just seeking basic needs, like food, shelter, and health care. Nevertheless, Schippers (2015) declares, that the extension of human rights to migrants remains a heated debate in the country. This is because the same basic services that the migrants seek are the same services that most parts of the township seem to lack. A study done by Alfaro-Velcamp and Shaw (2016) concurs that indeed people believe that migrants should return to their countries of origin, if they prolong stay in the country then the socio-economic state will further deteriorate.

"*Just look at how unhealthy that is"* said the small business owner pointing at a busted sewage pipe. "*There are many of these busted sewage pipes here that you will see before reaching the taxi rank, , the government does not care we have to do some things ourselves around here and we are still expected to care about the migrants at the same time"* (Small business owner, 05 December 2020)

ANCYL member mentioned that, "*migrants are hustlers who do not wait on the government to act or provide them with what they might need, they go on to build themselves a place to call home*" (14 November 2020)

According to the people in Katlehong, the resources are far too little share. It is then that migrants are perceived as a burden because they put too much pressure on the resources that are meant for South Africans. Furthermore, the people in the township seem to understand migration based on how their township is, in terms of the socio-economic status. While others believe that migrants are in the same boat as them, constantly seeking to improve their lives.

4.4 Objective three: To understand the connection between the attitude towards migrants and the Post-Apartheid South Africa that the people have envisioned.

When asked if the future plans of the community included migrants, the responses varied amongst the respondents. One of the small business owners in the township highlighted that *"there is no space to share with migrants in the future because the township is already under pressure when it comes to infrastructure"*. He went on to explain that if the township includes migrants in the future, then we should expect chaos because foreigners find it hard to abide by the rules and standards set in the community.

"*How we will achieve the fight to get access to basic services because clearly the government is struggling to cater for all of us"* (Community Liaison Officer, 05 December 2020)

A member of the ANCYL said that as a result most townships around Pretoria and Johannesburg are filled with shacks that are not ideal for the kind of future they want for these townships. He further highlighted that *"the progress made with RDP houses is surpassed by these shacks, children are dying due to flames that are caught easy by these sort of structures". He maintained that "South Africa remains unsafe for South African children as long as migrants are counted in the future we are building for the nation" (*14 November 2020*)*

"We want to support small businesses in the area because they make our local economy viable but we cannot do that while we have migrants running spaza shops illegally here" (The Councillor, 05 December 2020)

The responses raised a lot of questions about the state of migrants in the country, along with the role played by leaders in the townships regarding xenophobia. Questions such as, "if the future of the township does not include migrants, then what about those who are already there?" "Will they chase them out? Will they face exclusion until they decide to leave the area? A lot of this feedback is based on how migration has been framed that it has become a common understanding that there is no place for them in South African townships.

"*We want our space so that we can be able to fight for services to reach us otherwise these strikes will never end but we get frustrated that the services we are fighting to get will still not be enough because we have to share with all of the immigrants here"* (Member of the street-watch committee, 14 November 2020)

Several issues seem to have contributed to how migration is understood in the township. People's experiences with migrants and what they hear about them have influenced the varied views about migration. However, a future that is exclusively for South Africans, seems out of reach because migrants also contribute to that future, especially those who offer the country scarce skills and business owners who have contributed to the standards of living for some South Africans.

This chapter presented the findings of the investigation undertaken to understand how is migration understood in Townships like Katlehong, how this understanding informs how townships are regulated, the contestation to space and rights and how this perpetrates xenophobia.

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSIONS AND REFLECTIONS

5.1 Introduction

This study aimed to assess how migration is understood in South African townships, this was done by drawing insights from community leaders of Katlehong township. This chapter presents overall feedback of the study.

The methodology and approach used for this study was to adequately address questions relating to (1) how migration is understood by incorporating the factors that shape the perspective on migration; (2) how migration fits in Katlehong township; and (3) how it affects the ability of the township in achieving the future it desires? The study site represents the reality of most urban townships in the country. South African townships have become grounds of protests because these are congested areas and suffer from inadequate service delivery. Therefore, Katlehong township gave a comprehensive view of trends that can be seen in other parts of the country.

5.1.1 Summary of the study

Throughout this paper, it can be understood that how migration is perceived and influenced by a variety of factors. This has led to the tensions that are prominent in most parts of the country. The study highlighted that how migration is perceived is based on how people understand the notion of rights, nationality and belonging. Townships like Katlehong have reinstated what it means to be a foreign national in most parts of the country. Rights, nationality and belonging have been used as a tactic to keep migrants outside of townships. This is evident from the intolerance, exclusion and discrimination that migrants face in the hands of the local South Africans.

The study further revealed that a lot of what is believed and known about migration is influenced by external factors like the media, political statements and rumours. The manner in which the news, articles, politicians and the general public talk about migration has shaped how migration is perceived. This framing discourse has not only led to xenophobia but has resulted in instability in most parts of townships. How migration is framed has been accepted as the truth even to those who have not experienced what is it like to live with migrants. This study echoed the views of different authors like Segatti and Landau 2008: Lindley 2014: Hiropoulos 2019, on how migration has become understood as an urgent crisis that needs immediate attention. It further highlighted that people tend to challenge migration based on how it has been perceived, leaving migrants as victims of abuse and isolation in a foreign land.

For many years the South African government has been called to answer for the escalation and abuse of migrants, however, some of the interventions have been in vain with some government officials being the perpetrators of this hate crime.

The change in demographic factors, such as age, race and ethnicity has made people uncomfortable as some react to this change by means of violence and others by putting strict rules of belonging. This has led to a change in spatial regulation and township governance in contemporary South Africa. This change has questioned the terms of citizenship and human rights in the country. Even though the constitutional mandate of the country is to take care of its citizens, the current terms of regulation and governance in townships has challenged that mandate. People in township spaces have taken on that role, causing tension that has gained national attention. The current terms of township governance have not only shadowed the chance to a better future as envisioned by most South Africans and pursued by those who migrate but instead, it has resulted in instability.

5.1.2 Summary of the findings

The results of this study highlight that how migration is understood has a significant effect on how people respond to migration as a whole. How migration is understood has changed and challenged the legal authority concerning belonging and space in the country. The constitution remains disregarded and people establishing their own rules of control over space in the townships. This disjuncture disvalues the notion of a democratic country and state supremacy. It is therefore, important that the features that contribute to this understanding are effectively addressed. Furthermore, when it is acknowledged that discrimination, abuse, and hatred towards migrants are as a result of how migration is understood then the required action to mitigate xenophobic attacks would be known. It is in the contest for rights, belonging and conditions of most South African townships that the country still experiences xenophobic attacks that continue to challenge what the country stands for as per constitutional promise.

5.2 Future research & Recommendations

Future research to expand this topic should be done on assessing factors that influence how people understand migration in South Africa. There seems to be a correlation between these factors and xenophobic breakouts in South African townships. The following are the suggestions that can act as control measures in mitigating xenophobia.

- Television and newspaper content need to be paid more attention to.

- Political leaders need to stick to their political role and do so without impeding on issues of national interest.
- There is a need for migration awareness campaigns and community dialogues that are targeted towards townships that have socio-economic challenges
- Social cohesion needs to be prioritized at community levels because it sets the tone for stability in the country.

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Appendix A

ASSESSING HOW MIGRATION IS UNDERSTOOD IN SOUTH AFRICAN TOWNSHIPS

A case Study of Katlehong Township

KEY INFORMANTS' INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Sex…….

Organisation……

1. In your own opinion, what do you think migration is?
2. How do you see it fit in the community?
3. Do you think Katlehong can benefit from migration?
4. As a community leader, does the future you have envisioned for Katlehong include migrants?
5. what do you think should be done concerning migration in South African townships?

Any other comments…….
……
……
……
……
……
……
……

Thank you for your participation.

Appendix B

UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND, JOHANNESBURG

Participant Information Sheet

Dear Sir/Madam,
My name is Asiphe Mzendana a Master's student in Migration and Displacement studies in the African Centre for Migration & Society at the University of the Witwatersrand. I am interested on how migration is understood, how it does it fit into their society and if it has a place in the future of the community.

As part of my research I invite you to participate in a semi structure interview which will take approximately 20 minutes of your time. The interview may be recorded upon your permission. Please understand that you are not being forced to take part in this study and the choice whether to participate or not is yours alone. However, your thoughts regarding the topic would be appreciated. If you choose not take part in answering these questions, you will not be affected in any way. If you agree to participate, you may stop me at any time and tell me that you don't want to go on with the interview. If you do this, there will also be no penalties and you will NOT be prejudiced in ANY way. You will not be identifiable as I will be referring to you as an informant and not your true identity. However, please note that anonymity cannot be guaranteed, especially within the community that you serve. There will also be no personal costs to you if you participate in this project.

The results from this study will be communicated in a thesis from the University of Witwatersrand which can be made available to you upon request. I therefore request permission in writing to conduct my research at your community. The permission letter should be on your community headed paper, signed and dated, and specifically referring to myself by name and the title of my study.

Please let me know if you require any further information. I look forward to your response as soon as is convenient.

Yours sincerely,
Asiphe Mzendana
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Loren Landau (Supervisor)
0834534183

Appendix C

Consent Form

Assessing How Migration is Understood in South African Townships:
A case study of the Katlehong Township

By

Asiphe Mzendana

I, ……., agree to participate in this research project.
I willingly participate, even though the researcher has explained that people within the community might be able to identify me regardless of not be referred to with my true identity.
The research has been explained to me and I understand what my participation will involve. I agree to the following:

(Please circle the relevant options below).

I agree that my participation will remain anonymous	YES	NO
I agree that the researcher may use anonymous quotes in his / her research report	YES	NO
I agree that the interview may be audio recorded	YES	NO
I agree that the information I provide may be used anonymously for academic purpose of the research	YES	NO

…… (signature)
…… (name of participant)
…… (date)

…… (signature)
…… (name of person seeking consent)
…… (date)