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Perceptions of young South Africans living at a vocational centre in Hillbrow, on the violent attacks of foreigners: Exploring the view of South Africans on the violent attacks of foreigners in Hillbrow

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Perceptions of young South Africans living at a vocational centre in Hillbrow, on the violent attacks of foreigners

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School of Human and Community Development

Faculty of Humanities

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DECLARATIONS

I hereby declare that this research is my own unaided work and that I gave full acknowledgement to the sources that I used. It has not been submitted previously for any degree or examination at any other university.

Theko Thamaga: ……

Date: …….

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ACRONYMS

DHA	Department of Home Affairs
EFF	Economic Freedom Fighters
HRW	Human Rights Watch
HSRC	Human Sciences Research Council
ID	Identity Document
IJR	Institute for Justice and Reconciliation
LHR	Lawyers for Human Rights
MES	Mould, Empower and Serve
NAP	National Action Plan
NPA	National Prosecuting Authority
PIB	Protection of Information Bill
RDP	Reconstruction Development Programme
RWB	Reporters Without Bothers
SANEF	South African National Editors' Forum
SAPS	South African Police Service
SAHRC	South African Human Rights Commission
SAMP	Southern African Migration Project
USA	United State of America
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
WPFI	World Press Freedom Index

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION AND ORGANISATION OF THE REPORT

1. INTRODUCTION

Ever since the first homo sapiens migrated from Africa, human relocation has been a continuous process. Today with increased globalisation and international relations, migration has accelerated. The global impact of migration in one way or another has strengthened economic, political and social relations internationally. The reality of increased migration is also evident in the African continent. The push (war/poverty) and pull (jobs/career opportunities) factors activate the enduring, continuous migration in Africa. South Africa which is often perceived to be thriving economically, particularly in other African countries, has attracted 2.2 million migrants as per Statistics South Africa 2011 census. There is proliferation of in-migrants (domestic migrants) which relate to pull factors due to unequal economic strength of provinces in the country. Subsequently, there is an increase in population concentration in urbanised areas of South Africa. South African urban sites are commonly characterised by antagonistic competition for limited resources. However, it is particularly foreign, African migrants who experience noticeable racial discrimination, xenophobia and prejudice in this competition. The establishment of an understanding about what underpins the violent attacks on foreign nationals in South Africa is vital in developing insight and appropriate interventions that could address the afore mentioned problem. In recent years South Africa has witnessed noticeable events of xenophobic attacks in numerous township communities. These incidences captured the attention of the world and instigated research from scholars. This study explores the views of young South Africans living at a vocational centre in Hillbrow about violent attacks on foreign nationals. Chapter one outlines the description of research problems and the rationale for the study. Furthermore, the discussion of the research methodology and the organisation of the research report are documented.

Mould Empower & Serve (MES)

MES was the research site of the study, it is situated in Hillbrow, Johannesburg. This is a non-government organisation offering shelters to homeless youth, children and families. The organisation also provides free on the job training to young people in Hillbrow. The organisation has four branches in South Africa: Johannesburg (Hillbrow), Kempton Park, Cape

Town and Port Elizabeth. Education and skills development programmes, residential care and early childhood development programmes are fundamental social development services provided by MES. The organisation caters for more than 700 people a year, and 150 young people enroll for computer skills at its vocational school on a semesterly basis.

1.1 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM AND RATIONALE FOR THE STUDY

Violent attacks on foreigners are a worldwide phenomenon. These violent attacks on foreigners occur randomly in various countries. Germany for instance since the World War II has experienced the resurgence of extremist groups targeting foreigners (Tuttle, 1994). The hostility towards immigrants is evident on a global scale; consequently, the legal rights of immigrants are violated in several ways. Article 1 of Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) states that "all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights". Human Rights Watch 1998 (HRW) reported that violence against foreigners does not instigate law-enforcement responses the same way as violence against citizens does. Almost all governments across the world prefer border control and management of immigration rather than integration (Stewart, 2009). Subsequently, foreigners without legal documents, often as results of ineffective, institutional bureaucracy, are vulnerable to various forms of abuse, including physical abuse (Dammers & Mehendale, 2010). The current immigration policies in the United States of America (USA) stress the management of migrant inflow, and utterly overlook the long-term benefit from immigration labour forces. A continued inability of any state to develop and enforce a workable system of migrant integration poses challenges to their peaceful existence.

The violent attacks on foreigners are perceived to have been instigated by socio-economic factors in South Africa (Kersting, 2009). It could be argued that violence and persecution of immigrants exists irrespective of global or national economic conditions (Beets & Willekens, 2009). This substantiates the complexity of violence towards foreigners. Since the violent attacks on foreigners and xenophobia are closely related, each has been used to explain the other. However, it has been noted that the manifestation of xenophobia does not explicitly explain violent attacks on foreigners globally or nationally.

In South Africa the violent attacks are perceived as a long-standing consequence of apartheid (Moagi, 2014). In the post-apartheid era, there are still central tensions and dysfunctions in society and politics that give rise to violent attacks on non-nationals (Dodson, 2010). These violent attacks in some cases were believed to be led and organised by certain groups of people

seeking to achieve their own economic and political interests (Misago, Landau & Monson, 2009). However, a 2008 Consortium for Refugees and Migrants in South Africa (CoRMSA) report states that "violence was not a consequence of a 'third force', poor border control, or poor service delivery".

This claim still does not align with messages expounded by alleged perpetrators in South Africa. For instance, the attackers frequently indicated that foreign nationals take their women, deal in criminal activities and offer cheap labour. Hence the report further recognises that these factors could have contributed to overall tensions but did not prompt the violence. Hence the population of the study were young South Africans, who are unemployed and from disadvantaged background. The alleged perpetrators involved in violent attacks of foreigners, looting and vandalism of property are mainly youth (Dodson, 2010). The choice of the study sample does not suggest that participants are perpetrators or have in any way participated in the attacks of foreigners, but rather to provide relevant perspective through their personal experiences of the study subject. This on the other hand necessitated the adoption of narrative design in the study. As the personal experiences of young South Africans through their own accounts about study subject were solicited.

Incidences of violent attacks on non-nationals are not new in South Africa. For example, in 1994 there was destruction of property suspected to be owned by foreigners. In 1998, a Senegalese citizen and Mozambican migrants were pushed out of a train while it was in motion and in 2000 killings of foreigners were reported on the Cape Flats in Cape Town (Kersting, 2009). However, 2008 and 2015 marked the highest rates of xenophobic attacks South Africa has ever experienced. These attacks took place in various township communities. Violent attacks on foreigners are said to be the result of institutional marginalisation of foreigners and poor governance (Valji, 2003). On the other hand, the resentment and discrimination towards non-nationals could be due to frustrations with lack of access to limited resources and misconceptions about the presence of foreigners in South Africa. These are considered as fundamental factors leading to violent attacks on foreign nationals. Nonetheless, it must be acknowledged that these features lack substance in explaining the scale of cruelty and harm that foreign national are subjected to at the hands of South Africans.

Lack of education about immigration and the history of migrants also appear to be problems among South Africans (Solomon & Koseka, 2010). Violation of human rights are explicit consequences of violent attacks on foreign nationals. However, this has not prompted any interventions from the state. Recommendations made by SAHRC in 2009 on how to address xenophobic attacks and heightened protection of foreign nationals were ignored by relevant

government departments (Mangena, 2015). The need for educational interventions regarding immigration through emphasis on South African history and cultural values of "Ubuntu" (which translates to Humanity) are of paramount importance. Training about tolerance is not only crucial for the police force in the country, but could also be helpful for all South Africans. It is clear that currently there are no feasible programs of integration and implementation of robust immigration policies in South Africa (Dodson, 2010). Firstly, this shows that the recurrence of violent attacks is probable in South Africa. Secondly, the attitude of the government leaders regarding the violent attack of foreign nationals is reactive and without empathy. Fassin (2012) asserted that "the experience of empathy precedes the sense of good". The idea of tolerance can be ineffective in the process of integration, as it may reinforce sympathy over empathy, and the prejudice may reach a highpoint whereby one is not willing to tolerate. Conscientising South Africans with the values embedded in their African culture could play a fundamental part in addressing the inhumane behaviors displayed in South Africa.

The violent attacks on non-nationals have undesirable consequences that are an obstacle to achieving social development. The social well-being of people is compromised as a result of violence (Landau, 2009). The violent attacks result in the violation of human rights, they undermine social justice. This study is significant to social development in that it articulates the importance of human rights, which contribute positively to the achievement of social cohesion, physical security and inclusive accessibility to social development programmes. An inclusive society is likely to achieve social development goals such as skill diversification and cultural coalescence in a safer environment, in which education, gender equality and economic growth are encouraged. Violent attacks on foreign nationals are not just a human rights problem but disrupt social development too, for instance, the shutting down of small businesses, children being removed from schools, and hygiene issues at the temporary refugee camps which threaten human health and dignity, which is a repudiation of social justice. Therefore, the study hopes to influence the leadership to champion interventions of migrants' integration in South Africa and for the prospective employers to comply with and execute the employment equity act to ensure fair and equal treatment of all employees irrespective of their nationality.

1.2 AIM, OBJECTIVES AND QUESTION OF THE STUDY

1.2.1 Research aim

The aim of the study was to explore the views of young South Africans living at the vocational centre in Hillbrow about violent attacks on foreign nationals.

1.2.2 Research Objectives

i. To investigate the understanding that young South Africans, in Hillbrow, have on the violence against non-South Africans

ii. To explore the perceived factors leading to ill-treatment of non-South Africans in South Africa.

iii. To examine young people's views on interventions that could facilitate the integration of non-South Africans in the Hillbrow community.

1.2.3 The research question

The study sought to answer the following question:

What are the views of young South Africans, in Hillbrow, on violent attacks on foreign nationals?

1.3 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The study utilised qualitative research, which necessitates studying participants while they are in their natural settings, and narrative design was applied as a research strategy. The experiences, views and tenets of participants through their stories were inquired, regarding violent attacks on foreign nationals, the details are discussed in the next chapter. A Non-probability sampling technique was employed to select a sample of fifteen participants, chapter 3 will provide details. Furthermore, the study interviewed two key informants. Two different semi-structured interview guides were developed to suit the difference in scope between participants and key informants. The interview guides used were made up of open-ended questions which allowed a free flow of responses. The developed research tool used in the study was pre-tested with participants whose responses do not form part of this research report, this enhanced the integrity of data. A total of fifteen face to face interviews with participants including two key informants were conducted. A thematic approach was used for data analysis.

1.5 KEY CONCEPTS OF THE STUDY

1.5.1 Violent attacks

In the context of this study, these are the intentional attacks organised by groups of South Africans against foreign nationals living in South Africa, on the basis of their foreign nationalities. The attacks take the form of physical punishment such as torture of another person's body, beating, burning someone alive, stabbing, necklacing, stripping someone naked in public places, taking someone's property by force or damaging of another person's property. Violent attacks are made up of obvious actions that are easily named, Elizabeth Grosz cited in Palmary (2016, p 80) refers to it as "empirical violence" which assume public limelight and physical forms.

1.5.2 Violence

A process that hurts, humiliates, marginalises, denies someone access to basic needs and violates human rights, unfair treatment of another person. Violence involves actions of one or more people which causes the suffering of another person and it also involves judgement of the victim or observer.

1.5.3 Vocational centre

In the context of this study, this is a post-secondary school that offers practical courses and training for young South Africans from around Gauteng. The centre is ran by Mould-Empower-Serve (MES) organisation, which is a non-profit organisation based in Hillbrow, Johannesburg.

1.5.4 Foreigners

In the context of this study, this refers to a person born in or coming from another country other than South Africa, and it also refers to both legal or illegal migrants, asylum-seekers and refugees. It is used interchangeably with foreign nationals and non-nationals.

1.5.5 Human rights

In the context of this study the term 'human rights' refers to all rights enshrined in the constitution of South Africa under the Bill of Rights. Human rights are a national concept, but also international concept, interpreted by the United Nations in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other international instruments. Human rights are justifiable claims that should not be based on personal emotions, but on the appreciation of regulations which are postulated by legal framework or moral rights and principles of self-determination.

1.6 ETHICAL CONSIDERATION

The researcher carefully adhered to the standard of ethics in conducting the study, in the effort to ensure that the study was carried out in an ethical manner. In determination to ensuring that the study was equitably conducted in relation to ethical considerations, the research made continuous observations of substantial ethics prior to and also in the process of the study. The aspects of ethical considerations included in this study are as follows: informed consent, non-maleficence, confidentiality, deception of participants, violation of privacy and anonymity. The researcher encouraged participants' autonomy by enlightening them beforehand that participation in the study is entirely voluntary. The participant information sheet which outlined the purpose and the procedures to be followed in the study were distributed to key participants before commencement of the study. Participants were also provided with consent forms prior to commencement of the study, which were later obtained from each participant at the beginning of interviews. Then, assurance was given to all participants that the data and transcripts of the interviews would be kept confidential by means of not using their real names. Furthermore, it was clarified that their identities would not be disclosed, and all their responses would not be linked to their identities in this research report.

1.7 OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY

This research report is made up of five chapters as outlined below:

Chapter 1: Introduction and background of the study

The overview of the study is documented in this chapter. The rationale of the study, the intended objectives, research question and also the overview of the entire research report are outlined. A human rights approach captures the theoretical framework of the study. The ethical considerations of the study are summarised.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Literature review and the theoretical framework are presented in this chapter. The literature review focuses on violent attacks on foreign nationals, which in South Africa entails physical punishment, and damage to property, particularly owned by non-nationals. The factors underpinning the perpetrators' motives among other things include assertions that foreigners deepen competition for scarce resources, are involved in criminal activities, render cheap labour and have disproportionately increased in number.

Chapter 3: Research methodology

The chapter presents the discussion of methodology entrenched on the qualitative research approach. The focus is on the process assumed to conduct the study. The chapter makes reflection on the process of data collection, data analysis and the way in which the researcher guaranteed the trustworthiness of the study.

Chapter 4: Presentation of research findings

In this chapter the presentation and discussion of the findings and sub-themes of the study are disclosed. The findings are presented in relation to theory and relevant existing studies.

Chapter 5: Conclusion and recommendations

This is the last chapter of the study and it presents the summary of the findings. Conclusions and recommendations will be made which are guided solely by findings which are documented in the research report.

1.8 CONCLUSION

This chapter is the basis of the study as it introduces and presents the overview of the study. A human rights approach as the theoretical framework of the study has been introduced, which guides in the conceptualisation of the study. The study adopted a qualitative approach and intends to explore the views of young South Africans living at the vocational centre in Hillbrow about violent attacks on foreign nationals.

CHAPTER 2

1. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The violent attacks on foreign nationals in South Africa is a complex phenomenon resulting in noticeable inhumaneness and abuse of human rights. The conceptualisation of these attacks is crucial to expansion of knowledge and understanding of the problem. The ongoing violent attacks on foreign nationals' signals a lack of awareness about human rights from both victims and perpetrators. The reluctance of the state to take accountability demonstrates the gravity of neglect to the significance of protecting human rights. Hence a human rights approach to this study was employed in order to advance and influence understanding of the phenomenon in order to inspire the empowerment of vulnerable groups. A human rights approach does not only help in describing or explaining the problem but also imparts knowledge that empowers the most vulnerable groups in the society (Newman, 1999).

2.2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In light of the nature of the research subject it was appropriate to employ a human rights-based approach. Poland and Adamiak, (2012, p. 55) clarified that "human rights approach is about empowering people to know and claim their rights and increasing the ability and accountability of individuals and institutions who are responsible for respecting, protecting and fulfilling rights". The violent attacks on foreign nationals in South Africa have negative consequences for human rights violations, for instance, foreigners' children removed from school, the foreigners' dignity generally disrespected, and the torturing and killing of foreigners disregard their rights to live. The constitution of South Africa stipulates that "Everyone is equal before the law and has the right to equal protection and benefit of the law". However, it is clear that foreign nationals are not enjoying this right in South Africa.

As mentioned earlier, the institutions that should be protecting every individual irrespective of their nationality, race, gender or any other characteristic were seen to be violating human rights themselves (Misago et al., 2009). Poland and Adamiak (2012, p. 55) maintained that "human rights approach means that all forms of discrimination in the realisation of rights must be prohibited, prevented and eliminated". This approach puts emphasis on strengthening the most vulnerable and marginalised individuals or groups by educating them about their rights and

responsibilities. Violent attacks on non-nationals in South Africa are violations of human rights, thus a human rights approach is appropriate in helping to explain this phenomenon.

The principles of non-discrimination, meaningful participation, empowerment, and accountability are entrenched in a human rights approach (Achiume, 2017). Promotion of human rights is central to this approach, hence any endeavour to encourage meaningful participation and empowerment demand consciousness of rights. In South Africa, particularly in township communities affected by violent attacks on foreign nationals, the violation of human rights has become norm. Promotion of human rights entails enactment of educational interventions that would empower people with knowledge about their rights and their responsibility to respect the rights of other people (Falola & Hoyer, 2017). The victims of xenophobic attacks and perpetrators thereof need to be engaged and participate meaningfully in the processes of empowerment through human rights. One could argue that the current situation of xenophobia in South Africa has not prompted any sense of urgency from the state to redress the injustices of xenophobic attacks.

The state is the sole protector and promoter of human rights. The application of human rights approach in the study does not only help in advancing the understanding of the implication of xenophobic attacks on foreign nationals, but also raises awareness about the vulnerability of foreigners (Achiume, 2017). As the approach is founded on the principle of meaningful participation, then integration should be a fundamental component of a reparation process. A human rights approach is about conceptualising legal instruments and international treaties of human rights into effective policies, practices, and practical realities (Falola & Hoyer, 2017). Therefore, the involvement of the state is crucial in the realisation of the society that is cognisant of the importance of human rights. Currently, in South Africa human rights organisations seem to be the only bodies involved in the promotion of human rights. Then one could argue that the state has refused to take accountability concerning the violation of human rights resulting from xenophobic attacks. Musuva (2015) noted that there is a state of exception pertaining to human rights violations. This could be a contributory factor to the constant violation of human rights in the society at large. There is a general lack of effort by the state to operationalise legal instruments of human rights. The state needs to be actively involved if impunity for xenophobic attacks and other enduring human rights violations are to be successfully combatted.

A human rights approach provided structure for the study and guided the researcher to focus on certain elements of the subject of the study, which one would commonly overlook in everyday life. The recurring nature of xenophobic attacks in the country could be seen as limitations on understanding perpetrators about migrants' rights and the aftermath pain caused by these actions on foreign nationals. The violence unleashed on foreigners is shielded by South Africans' lack of knowledge or ignorance of the universal nature of human rights. A human rights approach to this study prompted broader reflection on humanity and wellbeing of all persons and showed the greater need for human rights education. Furthermore, the approach exposed that there is a lack of knowledge about migrant statuses and non-existence of meaningful programmes that sought to address these problems in South Africa, hence violation of foreign nationals' rights is being used as way of sending a message of demand for service delivery to the government. South Africans have a tendency of taking law into their own hands, such actions are deemed corrective measures, even when such measures undermine the constitution of the country and other international conventions of human rights.

2.3 LITERATURE REVIEW

2.3.1 International and national perspectives of migration

International migration is fraught with challenges on the global scale (Crush & Ramachandran, 2010). Hjerm, (2005, p. 71) notes that migrants almost everywhere in the world are not well received, as they are regarded as outsiders. The uncertainties of locals about the presence or intentions of foreigners create divisive circumstances for non-nationals. In the United States, foreigners are viewed with suspicion, fear and hatred, even when these immigrants are needed for cheap labour (Mahunhu, 2011). Tensions and hostility towards immigrants is expressed in various ways globally (Dammers & Mehendale, 2010). It could be expressed through racism, exploitation, marginalisation and violence. The violent attacks on immigrants seem to appeal to perpetrators because they entail physical actions. Violent attacks on foreigners is closely related to xenophobia, though these two can also happen separately and driven by different factors (Tuttle, 1994). In South Africa for instance, violent attacks are used to explain xenophobia and the other way round. Thus, the violent attacks on foreign nationals could be understood by looking closely at xenophobic attitudes (Dodson, 2010). Violent attacks are considered as threats to physical security and human rights.

Crush and Ramachandran (2010, p. 210) mention that, "migration has been neglected in the global policy debate". There appears to be major obstacles to realising the welfare of migrants elsewhere. These lead to a situation where non-nationals are considered to be 'outsiders' and referred to as 'them' (Landau, 2009). The resentment towards foreign nationals in South Africa demonstrated through violence could be attributed to the ideas of nationalism. Young black South Africans blame foreign nationals for a number of social problems, inter alia crime, unemployment and human trafficking (Bernado, 2015). These perspectives inform the way in which violence towards foreign nationals is understood by South Africans. Violent attacks on foreign nationals are often considered as a legitimate way of restoring order in communities by the nationals (Misago, 2012). South Africans expect no punishment as the consequences of their crimes committed against foreign nationals. Police were blamed for protecting foreigners, because of the misconceptions held by many, young South Africans about foreign nationals (Wallis, 2013). Some of those misconceptions are that foreign nationals are criminals, they take away their jobs, etc.

The sociocultural perspective emphasises how cultural values, social norms, and social roles influence the way people behave (Trope, 2004). Violence in South Africa cannot be isolated from the historical ethos of apartheid. Black South Africans were discriminated against and dehumanised during the apartheid era, violence being one of the major weapons used by the apartheid state (Wallis, 2013). "Because of centuries of oppression, generational violence has been carried over and endured," said Stanley Henkeman, head of the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation (IJR) (Bernado, 2015). These entails that South Africans have not dealt with the historical injustices of apartheid entirely and any form of oppression generates internalised anger and hatred. Oppression in general generates anger, and in the context of South Africa, the nationals developed anger during oppression of apartheid, which is triggered by current forms of oppression. There are no robust policies or programs to facilitate the healing process adequately (Everett, 2011). South Africa should deconstruct its policies to focus on practical programmes of integration. The general population does not understand the categories of immigration (Landau, 2009).

In locating violence against foreigners within the South African context, Tella (2016 p. 145) asserts that "media and government's rhetoric play a very significant role on shaping public opinion". People's perceptions of what is right or wrong are influenced by social norms and social roles (Trope, 2004). Violence is seen as a method to dominate foreigners and as a

corrective measure to maintain order and moral standards in the society. Moagi (2014) notes that "structural violence is the inherited trend to revolt and is further increased by the learned trends of the oppressor instilled by the fear of losing jobs and housing and facing the socio-economic consequences of poverty". South Africans put themselves in the position of the oppressor, whose social role is characterised by power over the oppressed. This set of social norms legitimises violence towards the marginalised, unwanted and less human group, in this case, foreign nationals (Warner, Finchilescu & Finchelescu, 2003).

Police officers often use racial profiling to categorise and arrest alleged, illegal immigrants (Valji, 2003). This is also evident on the streets, where police officers use characteristics such as complexion, stature and presence of vaccination marks to identify and to arrest or detain illegal migrants (HRW, 1998). The process of identification being utilised by police is very humiliating and dehumanising. Valji (2003) contends that institutions that are supposed to protect foreign nationals are in fact responsible for inflicting more pain on them. Wallis (2013, p. 121) observes that "there is also an increase in the number of incidences of police brutality against foreign nationals because the police themselves share the same xenophobic sentiments as the community". These contentions demonstrate the existence of institutionalised violence/xenophobia against foreign nationals.

Moagi (2014, p. 26) noted that "many South Africans, who have been disregarded by the South African government after initially being promised free housing, employment and education, are now starting to militate against the government". Frustrations among the unemployed South Africans mainly youth, whom were promised better service delivery by the government has grown out of control (Moagi, 2014). The socio-economic explanatory model pays attention to excessive inequality and poverty. Discrimination in the distribution of wealth has a damaging potential on society and could be considered as the root cause of violence towards foreigners. The competition for limited resources is becoming intense for the poor in South Africa (CoRMSA, 2009). As the poor grapple with economic, social and political challenges, their anxiety also escalates especially when their effort yields non-remedial resolutions. Harris (2002, p. 35) maintains "psychological interpretation of scapegoating must not be divorced from the socio-economic realities of contemporary South Africa". In the study conducted by Moagi (2014) many respondents reported that foreigners are taking their jobs, women and businesses. The psychological effects of relative deprivation rests on social association (Harris, 2002). This occurs at the level of acquisition of resources, from which women have been

excluded in the past. Therefore, young people feel deprived of their perceived rightful share of economic freedom in democratic South Africa.

The violent situation in South Africa has been blamed on the lack of commitment to reintegration, especially after the violent attacks on foreign nationals in May 2008 (Misago, 2012). Misago (2012, p. 31) emphasises that "successful integration should be informed by an adequate understanding and resolution of root causes of the conflict and violence". The South African government does not prioritise integration of non-nationals as there has always been just a come-back or resettlement in the communities where anger and anxiety towards foreigners has not been addressed (Wallis, 2013). For instance, refugees who fled their host townships in Cape Town in 2019, to live in and next to the Methodist church in Greenmarket square, have been asked to return to the same local communities which they fled from for safety reasons. The court order issued in February 2020 for their removal from the church, did not make any provision of alternative accommodation or plans for reintegration into the communities in which they once lived. Without proper reintegration of foreign nationals in South African communities, the violent attacks are likely to recur. Public education on categories of migrants could facilitate reintegration by developing an understanding of migration.

2.3.2 Legal framework and xenophobia in South Africa

South Africa, as a member state of the United Nations, is charged with responsibility to observe the international treaties which inter alia The Charter of the United Nations (1945), and The Universal Declaration for Human Rights (1948). These conventions emphasise the principle of equal rights and self-determination of individual persons regardless of their race, gender, religion, sex and nationality. The constant plight of foreign nationals in South Africa and the government's unresponsiveness thereof, point to non-compliance of the country to the international treaties it is thought to be signatory to. The International Covenant on Economic Social and Cultural Rights (1966), further stipulates that all people should realise their freedom to economic, social and cultural development. Xenophobia in South Africa exists, if not always but often alongside racial discrimination. The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (1965), postulates that racial discrimination refers to any form of exclusion based on race, colour, descent, and nationality. Furthermore, the international conventions put responsibility on the member state to ensure that everyone, notwithstanding their nationality should be protected from cruelty, inhumane or degrading treatment, mainly in

the outlook of the state representatives (Everett, 2011). The actions undertaken by the South African government in respect of xenophobia do not demonstrate its commitment and legitimate obligation to safeguard the wellbeing of all individuals living in the country. This is seen to be validated by a culture of impunity, the non-existence of remedial processes in the aftermath of xenophobic attacks and resettlement of victims into communities that are prone to violence.

The South African government's unwillingness to address xenophobia is reflected upon as revealing complicity in xenophobic attacks on foreign nationals. There is a noticeable level of impunity for the perpetrators of xenophobia-driven crimes in South Africa. The fact that xenophobia in South Africa is mainly characterised by violence should have prompted considerable arrests that led to serious verdicts. On the contrary, the arrest of perpetrators was just a policing momentum reaction resulting in non-meaningful charges not reflecting the gravity of crime committed (Booyzen, 2009). This could suggest that the physical torture of a person or the seizure or damage to his/her property, specifically if that person is a foreign national, in South Africa is deemed as a light offence; thus, perpetrators go unpunished. Misago (2016) asserted that there is a denialism on the side of the government, whereby, xenophobic attacks are normalised and labelled as 'just a crime and not xenophobia'. This could better explain the government's reluctance to initiate new, operative strategies and make robust, policy changes in order to counter xenophobia. The xenophobic attacks in South Africa portray the unlawful exercise of physical force, which amounts to crime as per the constitution. Even if xenophobia was not perceived as a crime in South Africa, the outward violence accompanying it should be enough to prosecute the perpetrators.

Freedom or protection from all forms of violence whether in private or public, as well as torture and cruelty are listed under 'non-derogable' rights in the constitution. Which are those rights that cannot be violated under any circumstances. However, xenophobia in South Africa has been nothing other than plain violation of the constitutional rights. Foreign nationals in South Africa face not only mob violence but an entrenched xenophobic attitude in almost every domain of their interactions (Misago, 2016). As discussed in this chapter, foreign nationals face utmost restrictions of their access to justice, for instance, physical harm, property destruction or theft are common during xenophobic attacks. However, foreigners are not reimbursed for their losses and the circumstances of foreign nationals in South Africa are understated (Moagi, 2014). Many foreign nationals lose their livelihood, as the majority are self-employed. In other words, xenophobia impacts negatively on social development, as people's effort to address

poverty and hunger is undermined. Xenophobia has ruinous legal rights consequences for foreign nationals, and this requires an effective criminal justice system to rehabilitate perpetrators and offer moral support for victims of xenophobia.

The South African government developed the National Action Plan (NAP) as an effort to fight xenophobia and related intolerances. Although this plan was launched in 2016, it has not yet been implemented. The deferment of the NAP's implementation could be attributed to the government's denialism of the reality of xenophobia in South Africa and its negative implication on social justice. The NAP would not make any difference unless there is a political will on the side of the government to champion its execution. The constitution guarantees the right to protection and the realisation of many other fundamental rights. The Service Charter for Victims of Crime in South Africa, affirms the state's commitment to reinforce the constitution as a way of reforming the criminal justice system to protect and promote constitutional rights (Booyzen, 2001). Therefore, it could be argued that South Africa does not have a legal problem, but rather a systemically disinclined political will. The unbiased commitment to uphold the rule of law and consistent adherence to national and international instruments of human rights is of fundamental value to combating racial discrimination and xenophobia. Policy and legal rights-related instruments should inform constant interventions that are not only reactive to xenophobic events, but also offer proactively enduring awareness and education about xenophobia and human rights in South African societies.

2.3.3 Reasons for violent attacks on foreigners

The South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC) (2008) states that "the catalysts for the May 2008 xenophobic attacks in South Africa have been found in the high levels of poverty and poor service delivery in local municipalities". This could help in explaining the state's reluctance to take decisive action against the attacks of foreign nationals. Moagi (2014) added that "many South Africans, who have been disregarded by the South African government after initially being promised free housing, employment and education, are now starting to militate against the government". The inefficiency of government to act against xenophobic attacks could suggest that they understand that these attacks are actually directed at them. Then, the government's admission that these actions are xenophobic means that the state should address the real causes of the problem. This could be facilitated by, inter alia, the redistribution of basic services, job creation and the establishment of programmes.

The xenophobic attacks in South Africa could also be understood in terms of the historical dispensation of colonialism and apartheid in the country (Charman & Piper, 2012). During colonial rule and apartheid, black people in South Africa were subjected to oppressive racial relations. Moagi (2014) believes that there are psychological factors emanating from historical experiences that influence South Africans' prejudiced attitude towards foreigners. This argument corresponds well with Fanon's assertions and his ideas of the oppressed and oppressor relationship. Fanon (1961, p. 87) argues that "the oppressor, who never misses an opportunity to let blacks tear at each other's throats and it is only too willing to exploit those characteristic flaws of the lumpenproletariat, namely its lack of political consciousness and ignorance". The state could be seen to assume the role of the oppressor, as poor people wait in hope that service delivery will be improved, the state officials are busy enriching themselves while the majority of the population live in destitution. The broken trust in the state is attributed to the reinforcement of anger and frustration among many South Africans. Subsequently, these feelings find expression through violent attacks on foreign nationals or 'others'. The xenophobic attitudes trapped within the angry local masses are exacerbated by the shortcomings of the state to deliver on pledged fundamental services (Misago, 2016). The proliferation of violent attacks on non-nationals in South African communities are manifestations of xenophobia.

Due to lack of political consciousness as referred to by Fanon, South Africans try to send the message to the government in any way possible. Moagi (2014) contends that "as a result, they revolt against the closest agent to them – foreign nationals". However, it should be noted that these explanations do not serve as justification for violent attacks on foreign nationals, but as an attempt to understand the factors perpetuating these atrocities. It could be true that South Africans are revolting against the government by attacking foreign nationals, but this is marked by dismaying negative attitudes towards foreigners (Alvarez & Bachman, 2008). It is also expressed through violence towards something deemed worthless – in the form of unwanted and hated strangers; in this case foreign nationals are treated as such. Therefore, the argument that South Africans are angry at government does not eliminate the xenophobic tendencies among them. This entails that even if the government was to provide housing and create jobs, it will not serve as an automatic eraser of negative attitudes towards foreigners.

2.3.4 The role and focus of the media on reporting on xenophobia

The role of media on xenophobic attacks is very important, particularly on how the incidences of violence against foreign nationals are reported. During the May 2008 violent attacks, the media were criticised for spreading messages that intensified the problem rather than curbing the spread of violence against foreigners (Everett, 2011). Xenophobic attacks in South Africa require fair and sensitive reporting, that is without unnecessary exaggeration and or reduction of the reality of situation. What is omitted in the critiques on mass media is the recognition that media platforms are privately owned and have an objective that guides their views and reporting style. For instance, journalists or editors are individuals with autonomous perceptions and opinion; unfortunately, these find expression in news reports that are common sources of knowledge and information for the public.

Deliberate effort to ensure fairness and accuracy should be fundamental components of media production. Tester (2001, p. 25) mentioned that "the concern to be 'accurate and fair' is legitimised by the side of the field of journalistic practice which associates news with objectivity and at most, a commentary which is clearly based in the 'facts' of the case". One could argue that lack of accuracy in media reports is because they are obsessed with profit and readership expansion rather than objectivity. It is difficult to find journalistic production that pursue the values of accuracy and fairness (Bell, 1998). Media institutions are socio-political organisations representing particular values; hence, the prospects of impartiality and fairness are deteriorating simply because media represents undisclosed ideologies administered by propagandistic institutions.

The statements such as "the cluster of aliens" and "Zimbabweans flooding into the country" are controversial and not detached from persuasion of violence towards foreigners (King, 2013). The attitudes of journalists play a crucial part in determining how they make representations of their views about violent attacks on foreign nationals. The views held by journalists' influence the way in which journalistic production is presented to the public. The majority of South Africans want all foreigners ejected from the country (Crush, 2001). Journalists are individuals who in some cases share the sentiments held by the majority of locals towards non-nationals. For instance, if police, home affairs officials, and health care providers use their institutional roles to display their unbecoming, personal attitude towards foreigners, then journalists cannot solely be exempted from such subjective perceptions. Institutional exercises and anticipated professional practices do not eliminate personal

attributes shaped by culture, ethnicity or religion (Fairclough, 1995). Therefore, journalistic production is likely to represent the views of journalists rather than expounding neutrality and objectivity.

In his thesis Mbetga (2014) pointed out the significance of making distinctions between objectivity and human affection which commonly inform people's individual representation, imagination or perspective. Journalists focus on what appeals to their conscience, thus in relation to violent attacks on foreigners they have been accused of sensationalism in the way they report and write about events of violence. According to Fairclough (1995), journalists should not strive for objectivity, but focus rather on fairness. Objectivity is considered as a reductionist way of rendering events or stories, and media institutions perceive this as being untruthful and biased. Instead of the pursuit of truthfulness and unbiased reporting, media sensationalise the unfolding events of violence, which in turn is attributed to fuelling the attacks on foreigners instead of being informative and raising anti-foreigner violence awareness. Alongside objectiveness, fairness and truthfulness in reporting, media institutions should be thoughtful of the diversity in the society that consumes its news productions. The consequences of careless or ill-informed reporting could be damning and negatively impactful on human rights violations. Journalists and reporters often grumble about constraints being placed on their freedom of expression, which is their legitimate right worthy of fighting for, claiming that freedom of expression is necessary if there will be accurate and credible news. However, an endeavour to claim one's rights demands constant consciousness of your responsibility to respect the rights of others (Crush, 2001).

On the other hand, one could argue that journalists play their role within their rights of freedom of expression (Landau, 2013). The violent nature of xenophobia in South Africa requires a kind of reporting that is contextually conscious of the political history and current economic conditions. The effects of apartheid resulted in South Africa being a divided society in terms of race and economic inequality. Without the collective efforts of all South African organisations, including media corporations, to facilitate unity and integration of foreign nationals, the country is likely to see a recurrence of violent attacks. Thus, sensitive journalism would be significantly appropriate in a society like South Africa. This would include an approach to journalism in which the protection and promotion of human rights would be fundamental to all public/private institutions and media corporations.

The government has often pointed out the effects of media reports, thus shifting blame to journalism as contributing to the intensification of xenophobic attacks. Ndou (2015) reported that “Durban is being engulfed in Afrophobic/xenophobic violence after King Goodwill Zwelithini – in a speech delivered in March 2015 – fanned the hatred and envy among some South Africans towards black foreigners living in our country”. This was after King Goodwill Zwelithini proclaimed that foreigners should leave the country, and that their businesses put South African cities in their current state of dilapidation. The king’s comments were considered xenophobic and insensitive, especially coming from a leader of his stature in the Zulu nation (Ndou, 2015). The media created a platform which the king should have used positively to clarify and correct the misrepresentation of his remarks, if there was any. On the contrary, the king accused media of having hidden agendas on the issue of xenophobic attacks on foreign nationals. King Zwelithini went on to say, "I believe that the media must open itself up to being investigated if they have nothing to hide” (Smith, 2015).

Most importantly, the media should play a substantial role in the promotion of human rights as indicated earlier in this section. Thomas, Mary and Vellore (2007, p. 29) stated that “since media are the eyes and ears of any democratic society, their existence becomes detrimental to the sustenance of all democratic societies”. South Africa, as a democratic state, must uphold the protection of human rights and the dignity of every person as essential. Hence media is entrusted with responsibility to safeguard the rights of all individuals in a democratic political spectrum. On the contrary, media is not merely a witness of events, but is alleged to be contributing destructively to violence against non-nationals (Thomas, et al, 2007). However, it has to be acknowledged that through media platforms, the public get to know about the events of violence against foreigners and other forms of human rights violation. Therefore, instead media should constructively share incidents of human right violations in a manner that will educate people about their human rights and empower them to take a firm stand against violation of their rights as well as those of other people.

While journalists may be accused of fuelling violent attacks on non-nationals in South Africa, it is crucial to highlight the growing tendency to undermine media freedoms by South African party politicians. There have been reports of assaults, death threats and cyber-bullying of journalists by politicians in South Africa (Finlay, 2018). However, the issue of attacks on and harassment of journalists is not exclusively a South African phenomenon, but rather a global media issue. Finlay (2018) outlined the statistical information documented by Reporters

Without Borders (RWB), which shows that South Africa ranked 28th on the World Press Freedom Index (WPFI). This information highlights the extent to which media freedoms and the right of journalists to freedom of expression are not fairly observed nor respected on a global scale.

There are noticeable efforts by South African political party leaders to silence and to halt media freedoms. The ANC has been deliberating on passing the Protection of Information Bill (PIB) which could criminalise journalists' uncovering of any information considered to be confidential by the state. This entails that journalists could even be jailed for exposing corruption, even though this would be serving the public's interest. Freedom of expression is under attack, if there is contemplation by the ANC on PIB, hence the harassment of journalists and the physical violence prevalent in South Africa (Gumede, 2017). EFF members, on the other hand, have recently attacked a photographer, and some journalists have reported having received death threats on social media. Female journalists are mostly targeted. For instance, Karima Brown of 702 radio station and Ranjeni Munusamy of the *Sunday Times* both reported harassment, intimidation and online threats after they had obnoxious encounters with political leaders. Munusamy approached the South African National Editors' Forum (SANEF) for protection and the matter was taken to the equality court, but there have been no serious legal consequences yet for the alleged perpetrators. Finlay (2018, p. 16) pointed out that "these online attacks are often highly gendered, including death threats and threats of rape, and can also be accompanied by physical assault, threats and harassment". It could be argued that female journalists are more susceptible to attacks than their male counterparts in South Africa and elsewhere. These circumstances draw attention to violence that is intrinsically penetrating in South Africa, and constantly complemented by gross violation of human rights.

2.3.5 Socio-economic factors

The democratic political state transition in South Africa was established on negotiated settlements whereby a considerable number of promises were made, which have still not been realised. These unfulfilled promises leave multitudes of nationals with unresolved questions that add to their frustrations and state of helplessness (Moagi, 2014). The majority of South Africans are still subjected to abject poverty and the country is also marked by extreme economic disparities. Zondi (2008) pointed out that the South African economy fashioned by different epochs (colonial, apartheid and democratic) within diverse administrative

dispensations has contributed to society's inequalities. The apartheid era gave way to a democratic society that is marked by the co-existence of enormous wealth with abject poverty (Thomas, Mary & Vellore, 2007). There are obvious setups based on racial separations and economic stratification. Zondi (2008, p. 28-29) mentioned that "most poor settlements on the margins of major urban centres are crowded incubators of poverty, social alienation and cut-throat competition for inadequate resources in which black youths are the dominant group of the poorest of the poor". The economic disparities in South Africa are appalling and perhaps a contributory factor to violent attacks (Nell, 2009). Young black nationals in poor townships, as Zondi (2008) mentioned, are prone to violence and other criminal activities. The behaviour is fostered by the state's inability to distribute resources and basic services equitably. Subsequently, young black South Africans express their justifiable anger through irrational, unjustifiable xenophobic behaviour.

Abject poverty is predominantly evident in black communities, and this could help in explaining the looting of tuck-shops owned by non-nationals and supposed claims that foreigners are taking jobs meant for nationals (Landau, 2013). The townships that experienced the substantial xenophobic attacks of May 2008 were associated with gang violence and fierce service delivery protests (Coplan 2009: 76). The basis of poverty may also help in answering the question of why only black African immigrants are targeted by the perpetrators of violent attacks. The majority of poor African migrants left their home countries either because of political warfare or economic instability (Evans, 2015). Owing to their poor background, foreigners engage in low-wage jobs and small scale businesses; thus South African townships become their usual areas of residence because of the affordability of rent.

Foreigners in South Africa have demonstrated commitment to self-reliant activities, namely informal business (Landau, 2011). This does not exempt them from being perceived as competitors for scarce resources by locals. Foreign nationals' presence is perceived to intensify competition for limited resources and other basic public services. These accusations against foreign nationals include competition for jobs, primary health care, and housing. According to Nyamnjoh (2006) South Africa adopted policies that cultivated the prevalent socio-economic inequalities. The post-apartheid government is often accused of adopting neo-liberal policies which dismally fail to address people's immediate needs – education, housing, jobs, health-care, and clean water. There is a rising rate of unemployment, retrenchments and economic

inequality. Thus, the South African foreign policy could be seen as a contributory factor in the recurrence of xenophobic attacks.

The socio-economic explanatory model pays attention to excessive inequality and poverty. The discriminative distribution of wealth has destructive effects on society and could be seen as a cause of xenophobia. Crush (2001) stated that "the forms of xenophobic violence are induced by frustration among the poor who have been left out, especially the poor black population". In addition, Thomas et al (2007) emphasised that poor societies are more susceptible to civil chaos. There is a close association between poverty and violence (Lee, 1996). The violent attacks on foreign nationals seem to be induced by frustrations among the poverty-ridden black people of South Africa. This can be said to be exacerbated by the apartheid regime's racially discriminative policies, whereby black people were denied access to productive resources.

The socio-economic explanation also considers the unemployment rate and severe competition for jobs, between non-nationals and mainly poor nationals (Crush, 2001). These propositions seem to have been accepted by many people as the likely factors leading to xenophobic attacks. It is self-evident that being without a paying job aggravates poverty, and this could explain the discontent of citizens and their categorisation and denunciation of non-nationals as job thieves (Thomas et al, 2007). However, this explanation is limited in the sense that it does not clarify the fact that the majority of targeted foreigners are self-employed, operating small informal businesses. Therefore, accusations that foreigners take job opportunities meant for nationals does not entirely explain the hostility towards foreign nationals.

Bernardo (2015) said that "they (the state) have failed us. They have failed to build a culture of social cohesion and the people of this country do not feel a part of it". South Africa is a divided society: after 21 years of democracy not much has changed in terms of racial economic disparities. Inequality and poverty are persistent problems in South Africa today (Bernardo, 2015). There are no feasible or radical programmes or realistic actions to facilitate the process of migrants' integration into South African society.

2.3.6 Violence

For various reasons, South Africa is seen as a violent society. "Because of centuries of oppression, generational violence has been carried over and endured," said Stanley Henkeman,

head of the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation (IJR) ("Xenophobia", 2015). It could be argued that in the post-apartheid era not much has been done to reconcile the tensions instigated by the apartheid regime. The oppressive symbols of apartheid are still everywhere evident in South Africa today. The economic inequality along racial groups is still plainly evident in South Africa (Charman & Piper, 2012). In democratic South Africa much focus has been placed on socio-political progress, while economic development has been neglected. Consequently immense wealth sits alongside with abject poverty in the society at large (Thomas et al, 2007). Economic inequality plays an insidious role in the configuration of violent crimes. Nell (2009, p. 235) pointed that "there is a higher prevalence of crime in countries where there are big differences in income". There is no political will or practical programmes to facilitate the healing process adequately (Everett, 2011). This situation makes the implementation of strategies that will ease the integration of foreign nationals in South Africa difficult, if not impossible. Hence, African migrants become a convenient scapegoat for the expression of violent crime.

The elements of structural violence initiated by the apartheid regime persists in democratic South Africa. Jeremy Cronin, of the South African Communist Party (SACP) cited in Bernado (2015, p. 25), mentioned that, "We still see the effects of centuries of inequality and the frustrations of not seeing adequate change are evident in the images of violence seen on a daily basis". It is not surprising that South Africans use violence against foreign nationals, since almost every collective protest results in criminal violence or property vandalism. For instance, student protests and service delivery protests are constantly marked by violence and the destruction of property. The violent attacks on foreigners in South Africa have drawn international attention, which has led to discourses about the country being the most xenophobic in the world. The manner in which xenophobic attacks have been displayed in South Africa are in some way reflective of the pervasiveness of overall violence embedded in the society (Valji, 2003). As indicated earlier in the chapter, xenophobia is a global phenomenon. However, South Africa is unique in its levels of physical violence exhibited towards foreign nationals.

The culture of violence in South Africa has been reflected considerably in the existing literature. The normalisation of violence illustrates this contention. The fact that xenophobic attacks are constantly recurring supports the argument that there is violence has been normalised in South Africa (Lau, Seedat & Suffla, 2010). When considerable numbers of

people partake in a joint action to cause harm to others, it is a validation of the gravity of problem embedded in the society. The absence of protests against xenophobic violence by locals seemingly indicates their complicity in it. Daniel (2018) posits that "In South Africa service delivery protests are defined as demonstrations, often violent in nature". Often the police force responds with violence to these protests: for instance, in Marikana when mineworkers demanded wage increases in 2012, police killed 34 people. When students demanded free education, under the burner of 'fees must fall', police shot at students while students vandalised property. When South Africans protested against foreign nationals in 2008 and 2015, a considerable number of people were killed and property was destroyed.

The fact that police respond with violence to collective demonstrations shows that in South Africa violence is normalised and seen as a way of resolving problems. The violent attacks on foreign nationals could be seen as emulation of how police themselves often address issues perceived as lawless (Harris, 2002). There is a widespread perception of impunity for offenders of violence against foreign nationals. The fact that perpetrators of collective violence are not punished suggests that their actions are not considered as serious crimes. Generally, there is a poor judicial response to and monitoring of cases arising from collective violence (Misago et al, 2009). An offensive crime seems to be justified when it occurs during a mass demonstration. Those who get arrested are only charged for public violence, and subsequently such charges get dropped. The society at large and the judiciary appear to be sympathetic to perpetrators, rather than the victims.

Bernardo (2015) said that "in South Africa, we have large populations of foreign nationals living in the most economically vulnerable areas where there is strong competition for employment, for housing, and for survival". South Africans living in these communities are not happy with their lives; they do not feel a sense of belonging but alienated from what should be their home (Ndaba et al, 2015). Marx's theory of alienation emphasises the pain of being estranged from something one was personally involved in producing (Cohen, 1977). Even though Karl Marx's conception of alienation focused on the domain of work, it could be useful to understanding the perceptions of poor black people. The majority of poor black people feel as if they have been betrayed after the struggle for democracy and freedom, and that the benefits of this struggle have constantly been taken away from them by a few powerful individuals. A similar approach to violence that reinforced the negotiations between the ANC and the apartheid government has become a viable option for poor black people. This is evident in

service delivery protests and the students' protests under the "fees must fall" motto as mentioned earlier in this section. These demonstrations may be rational and sometimes legally authorised, but they are often accompanied by violence from both protestors and the police force.

2.3.7 Law enforcement

The South African government has an inherent duty to ensure that the constitution is upheld by everyone living in the country. The South African constitution and the Promotion of Equality and Prevention of Unfair Discrimination Act, 2002, precisely forbid any forms of prejudice such as racism and sexism (Misago et al, 2009). However, prejudice against foreign nationals is very central to the very structure of the democratic government. Home Affairs for instance, as one of the government departments, which almost every foreigner would have to interact with in order to comply with the immigration laws of the country, is alleged to be using discriminatory treatment towards foreign nationals. Thus, it appears that this institution inflicts more pain on foreign nationals through discrimination, disrespecting their dignity and adding to their despair in the country (Bernado, 2015). The inefficiency of the Department of Home Affairs makes its services a time-consuming burden for non-nationals, which disrupts the daily economic activities necessary for them to meet their needs.

The judicial processes, for their part, have proven fallible in not prosecuting the perpetrators of violent attacks on foreign nationals (Crush, 2001). The charges of violent attacks on foreign nationals have been disproportionately withdrawn, which may indicate that these cases were not prioritised, something mentioned earlier. This could also be as a result of the hasty deportation of victims and potential witnesses (Charman & Piper, 2012). The National Prosecuting Authority (NPA) has made efforts to ensure that justice is served, but there were obstacles such as missing witnesses due to deportations or failure to obtain interpreters (Misago et al, 2009). Subsequently, there is a high degree of impunity, which can be seen as facilitating the recurrence of violent attacks on foreign nationals.

The way state institutions respond to violent attacks does not serve to marshall social cohesion and integration in the affected communities. Law enforcement is indeed necessary to tackle criminal actions; however, it does not resolve xenophobic attitudes (Ndaba, Mkhwanazi, & Makhafola, 2015). The former South African Police Commissioner Riya Phiyega deployed joint national operations and intelligence structures to co-ordinate law enforcement in areas affected by violent attacks on foreign nationals. This move was necessary only as an emergency

precaution to prevent the violence from escalating. Thereafter, there should have been an implementation of massive programmes to facilitate peace, integration and cohesion in these communities.

The intervention of the South African Police Services (SAPS) in the 2015 xenophobic attacks was praised for its immediate response to the scenes where violent attacks exploded, in comparison to May 2008 responses (Ndaba et al, 2015). Police play a crucial role in addressing criminal activities. South African police operations are limited to instant situational incidents like collective violence, a response that is informed by their scope of practice and training. Bernardo (2015) highlighted the dilemma pertaining to policing in South Africa as follows: "We should spare a thought for police, they are accused of being traitors by South Africans if they protect foreigners and if they do not, they are seen as being in cahoots with criminals". This argument may recognise the SAPS's inability to halt violence towards foreigners, but it also suggests that the police are complicit in this chaos, if they (police) concern themselves with the opinions of civil society at the expense of upholding law and order and victimised individuals in need of protection. Thus, South African police officers are legally irresponsible duty bearers. Some police officers were seen in footage participating in the actions of looting shops belonging to foreigners (Ndaba et al, 2015). In other words, victims of violence are deserted even by those who are supposed to protect the livelihood and wellbeing of every person.

2.3.8 Racial discrimination

In South Africa the violent attacks on foreign nationals are selective in terms of race. Bernado (2015) emphasised that "no country is free of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance". These concerns are also evident in South African society. Xenophobic sentiments exist across all racial groups, something that has been shown in the survey conducted in 1997 by the Southern African Migration Project (SAMP) (Crush, 2001). However, it has to be noted that xenophobic violence is mainly displayed by black nationals against black non-nationals. This is so despite the fact that South Africa has a considerable number of Chinese, European and Asian immigrants. Black African immigrants could be seen as the most unwanted group of foreigners, judging by the level of resentment displayed towards them through violence.

Henkeman of the IJR (cited in Bernado, 2015, p. 14) mentioned that "to assume race was not part of the violence and xenophobic attacks was a mistake". Those who wrote on South African

xenophobia did not pay attention to the element of race satisfactorily. Racism in South Africa is perceived through the narrow lens of black and white. Police officers frequently harass African migrants by subjecting them to demeaning interrogations in public places about the legitimacy of their presence in the country (Valji, 2003). This is also evident on the streets, where foreign nationals, particularly African migrants, have to endure regular body searches and are solicited for bribes by police officers (HRW, 1998). Valji (2003) contends that institutions that are supposed to protect foreign nationals are in fact responsible for inflicting more pain on them. This, then, could be regarded as institutional discrimination rather than racism.

There have been a few arrests of those who participated in the killings and torturing of foreign nationals, as well as the looting their shops (Bond et al, 2012). And even in cases where the perpetrators have been arrested, as mentioned earlier in the previous sections of this chapter, charges have been withdrawn and this sets a precedent that attacking African foreign nationals is not a punishable crime. In other words, black African immigrants are resented and discriminated against more than other groups of immigrants, especially by other black South Africans. On the other hand, African foreign nationals are subjected to racial discrimination by employers, who are mainly white males in the South African context. This is because the ownership of industrial corporations is still mainly white in South Africa, resulting from economic disparities shaped by the apartheid regime. This form of racism manifests in the industrial exploitation of African foreign nationals by treating them as sources of cheaper labour (Valji, 2003). This highlights the gravity and ubiquity of racial discrimination experienced by African foreign nationals in South Africa. It also conveys the blatant violation of human rights, whereby the equality of all individuals as stipulated in the constitution and the employment equity act is not applied consistently in South Africa.

The issue of racism attached to these xenophobic attacks does not seem to raise alarm in many people, but it is clear that white foreign nationals are not brutally attacked. Bernardo (2015, p. 21) stressed that “The social capital of white skin still has value and attackers would rather turn on a black skin”. Race is an important factor in contextualising and understanding the violent attacks on foreign nationals in South Africa. These identifiable factors could also validate the argument that violent attacks on foreign nationals constitute a xenophobic attitude. The discrimination against African migrants in South Africa cannot be divorced from racism and xenophobia. However, this does not mean the two cannot be explained and manifest

independently in South Africa. It is the complexity of violent attacks and exploitation of African migrants that expose the reality of racism and xenophobia in South Africa.

Nikelo (cited in Bernardo, 2015) said "we think we can't be racist because others were racist towards us". Black South Africans want to be seen as victims even when they are actually perpetrators against others, for a particular social problem. Thus, only whites can be racist and oppressive, while blacks can be the oppressed and radical, but not when their actions suggest otherwise. These misconceptions are perpetuated by many analysts and commentators such as Andile Mngxitama, who is influenced by the writings of Steve Biko. He is of the view that black people cannot be racist, because they do not own means of production, therefore they have nothing to protect (Mngxitama, 2010). When one is constricted by a worldview of nationalism, one would usually assume the perceptual illusion of country ownership, and to protect it at all cost. However, this does not clarify the selective targeting of black African immigrants. The violent attacks on foreign nationals could be seen as a form of self-hate. The colonial and apartheid epochs concomitantly and deliberately marginalised black people, it wouldn't be surprising if black people think that to be superior is to have a white skin. The apartheid regime oppressed black South Africans not because they had done anything wrong, but because they were black. There could be a sense of admittance to guilt of blackness among black people as a result of persistent physical and psychological torture from the apartheid era. Consequently, blacks developed a sense of self-hatred. However, again the consistent selective targeting of black African foreigners but not black nationals, unless one was mistaken for a foreigner, conflicts with the argument of self-hate.

2.3.9 Institutional xenophobia

The violent abuse inflicted on foreign nationals in South African communities is appalling and inhumane as expounded in the literature (Alvarez & Bachman, 2008) and (Misago et al, 2009). The violent attacks on foreign nationals are an exhibition of a negative attitude held by the majority of South Africans. The disturbing aspect of these attitudes is the fact that public institutions entrusted with the responsibility to disseminate basic services are tainted by similar attitudes. The DHA and SAPS are the most implicated institutions in the ill-treatment of foreign nationals (Gqirana, 2015). These two institutions have the responsibility of ensuring that every person living in the country adheres to the rule of law. Foreign nationals are obliged to make contact with these institutions in order to attain compliance with the country's constitutional requirements in relation to their immigration statuses and for protection. Notwithstanding that, public officials employed in these institutions form part of the country's citizenship. Hence,

their attitude towards foreigners may not entirely differ from that held by the majority of ordinary citizens (Crush, 2001). Furthermore, healthcare service providers are alleged to show discrimination against foreign nationals, and this usually leads to the violation of human rights, which is enshrined in section 2 of the Bill of Rights. The provision of primary health care is a universal right and one of the fundamental goals for sustainable development. Foreign nationals in South Africa do not enjoy this right as citizens do. Therefore, the existence of institutional xenophobia in South Africa has negative impacts on human rights and impedes the execution of efforts to achieve the sustainable development goals for 2030.

The South African constitution is considered as one of the best in the world in terms of its inclusiveness and recognition of human rights for everyone who lives in the country. However, there is a general lack of political will by state institutions to exert the powers enacted as law in order to ensure that the objectives of the constitution are realised (Dodson, 2010). The overall disinclination of government to address xenophobic attacks and uninterrupted abuse of foreign nationals by government officials confirms the pervasiveness of institutional xenophobia in the country. The violent attacks are a disturbing manifestation of an internalised negative attitude towards foreign nationals (Musuva, 2015). However, the most agonising aspect of xenophobic attacks is being denied one's legitimate rights of existence and equality as a person. State institutions anywhere in the world should be custodians of human rights.

The survey conducted by SAMP (2011) postulated that 70% of foreigners would not report cases of robbery or violence, while 90% experienced abuse by police officers. These detrimental statistics did not prompt any counteractive interventions by the state in the form of repairing the broken police service in South Africa. Wallis (2013) added that "there is also a high incidence of police brutality against foreign nationals because the police themselves share the same xenophobic sentiments as the community". The absence of remedial strategies aimed to fix the SAPS could well legitimise the reality of institutional xenophobia in South Africa (Gqirana, 2015). The state as the sole advocate for humanity and protection of rights is seen to be complicit in the plight of foreign nationals.

It could be said that foreign nationals are more vulnerable in South Africa because the institutions that are supposed to protect them often neglect and abuse them. In addition, HRW (1998) stated that foreign nationals are the target of random violence and robbery by ordinary residents, but sadly government officials are alleged to be accomplices in such criminal activities. The Human Sciences Research Council [HSRC] (2008) in its report on crime

statistics in South Africa noted that "criminals perceive immigrants as an easy target because they are unlikely to go to the police". Foreign nationals have little trust in the SAPS, and this results in their reluctance to report crime committed against them. In most cases foreigners would not be taken seriously, and would treated with contempt and even interrogated as if they were criminals (Musuva, 2015). It could be argued that the general negative treatment of foreign nationals by police officers and Home Affairs officials is an expression of a xenophobic attitude, which can be said to confirm the reality of institutional xenophobia in South Africa.

Institutional xenophobia is noticeable in South Africa, particularly towards African black foreign nationals. The HSRC (2008, p. 15) reported that "negative attitudes toward foreigners encourages and condones abuse by police, army, and Home Affairs officials not only against those suspected of being undocumented immigrants, but also against non-South Africans who are lawfully in the country". It is clear that there is an intense hatred towards foreigners in South Africa; even within the public institutions foreigners are subjected to resentment.

The right to physical security of foreign nationals should be protected by putting adequate measures in place and ensuring that such measures are implemented in a manner that would not compromise the safety of foreign nationals (Wallis, 2013). Any intervention should ensure the protection of foreign nationals in the same way that nationals are protected. Valji (2003) emphasises that "Immigration investigations and arrests are the responsibility of the police and not a separate immigration authority". Police officers have an important role to play, particularly when it comes to conflict resolution and fostering a safe environment in communities. This would also form a central part in the integration of foreign nationals in South Africa.

Foreign nationals are accused of all sorts of criminal activities. As a result of this perception they are subjected to harsh and dehumanising treatment by police and home affairs officials. Valji (2003) notes that when they are detained by police almost all suspected undocumented foreign nationals from African countries are to all intents and purposes perceived to be and are treated as criminals. This may be seen to substantiate the evidence of institutional xenophobia and the violation of human rights by institutions that would normally be expected to uphold the constitution and protect them (Gqirana, 2015). One could argue that the abuse of foreign nationals by state institutions explicitly highlights the intensity of xenophobia in South Africa at large. Lawyers for Human Rights (LHR), universities and the SAHRC documented the abuses and inhumane conditions at Lindela repatriation centre over the past 16 years. Misago

and Landau (2009) mentioned that the shortcomings of DHA led to a situation whereby foreigners remain in the country without proper documentation due to red tape, bribe solicitations and the general negative attitude of DHA officials. SAPS carries out deportation processes that lead to considerable numbers of foreign nationals being detained at repatriation centres. At these deportation centres, particularly Lindela, foreigners end up in the hands of the Bosasa group, a private security company contracted to manage many of the centres that has been reported to use excessive force against and intimidation of foreign nationals (Musuva, 2015). The extent to which foreigners suffer in South Africa usually takes place in the form of violent mob attacks, while it is actually engrained also in the private space of official agencies. This is an apparent indication of institutional xenophobia, which can be more damaging to human rights and the general wellbeing of foreigners, particularly because it is orchestrated within the official system. Often incidents of institutional xenophobia are not always obvious to the public like violent attacks, unless they are deliberately investigated or researched.

Institutional xenophobia can also be linked to racial discrimination in South Africa. White foreigners are not usually treated by the police as having suspect documentation, and this could be due to the supposed privilege of their skin and not necessarily because they have legal standing as immigrants (Everett, 2011). Xenophobic attitudes and racism are interrelated in the South African context as mentioned earlier in this chapter; however, it would not be accurate to equate the two. Handmaker and Parsley (2000, p. 45) stated that "There is a direct link between the alarming degree of xenophobia and racism prevailing in our society. The existence of such beliefs in people who are entrusted with the job of upholding the law [is a] danger to society". When officials share xenophobic sentiments with the rest of the society, it becomes an institutional dilemma. This is because prejudicial attitudes often undermine professional ethics. Hence, the healthcare service providers, and public service providers at large, tend to display their prejudicial sentiments irrespective of laws and policies that govern their organisations and professions. Therefore, education about immigration laws and awareness of human rights are needed by public service providers as much as they are for South African citizens at large.

2.3.10 Xenophobic attacks

The United Nation Commission on Human Rights (UNCHR) reported that "despite the efforts undertaken by the international community at various levels, racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related forms of intolerance, ethnic antagonism and acts of violence are showing signs of increase". Valji (2003, p. 10) added that "Internationally, the rise of intolerant

attitudes towards outsiders has accelerated in the past decade." Xenophobic attitudes are a threat to human rights and social cohesion on a global level. Foreigners are at risk of being discriminated against almost anywhere in the world. For instance, a large number of Libyans immigrants fleeing to Europe due to political instability in their country are subjected to xenophobia from the receiving European countries. Ironically, African immigrants from other African countries attempting to cross through Libya are fleeing instabilities in their countries, but are subjected to xenophobic abuse in Libyan refugee detention centres. In South Africa, however, it should be noted that only African black foreigners are targeted. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, racial discrimination and xenophobia are evident in South African society.

Xenophobia is not only an African problem: its manifestations are evident internationally. Newman (1999) notes that "National boundaries, passports, border patrols and fortifications function as reinforcements of racial segregation at the world level, since they provide effective control mechanisms for keeping non-whites (of the South) out of white areas (of the North) of the world if so desired". Poverty and political conflicts in various countries increase the numbers of migrants internationally. Valji (2003) also added that "Increasing xenophobia globally is a result of racist attitudes of the past coupled with increasing economic disparities". Almost every country has immigrants, but they are not subjected to violent attacks at the scale that African foreign nationals experience in South Africa. However, before going any further it is imperative to highlight the link between migration and social development. Poverty in most instances encourages migration, while migration may result in xenophobic attacks. Therefore, if social development issues such as poverty, inequality and security are not addressed adequately, the disproportionate rising immigration issue could not be curbed. This could also lessen the pervasiveness of xenophobic attacks, although it would not erase xenophobic attitudes engraved in South African communities and the world at large.

Many who wrote on this subject contended that xenophobia is not just a South African phenomenon, but an international one. Valji (2003) emphasised that "xenophobia is by no means unique to this country and incidents of discrimination appear to be on the rise internationally since the end of the Cold War and the acceleration of global integrative forces". What seems to make the South African xenophobia unique is its nature of physical violence, and it is an important distinction to take note of. Thus, the confusion over whether the violent attacks on foreign nationals are xenophobic or just acts of criminality emanates from these distinctions. In democratic South Africa, when white people physically abuse a black person

on the basis of his blackness there seems to be no confusion as the incident would commonly be considered as racism and not just an act of criminality (Coplan, 2009). However, in the case of violent attacks on foreign nationals, contrasting views and narratives arise. Therefore, it is imperative to conceptualise xenophobic attacks in the South African context. Hence this study sought to explore the perceptions of young South Africans about their understanding of violent attacks on foreign nationals.

Manzo (1996, p. 23) notes that, “the impulse to 'bash' foreigners is an effect of global conditions and the re-inscription of certain groups as foreign". Thus, xenophobia should be analysed by taking into account the national and global context if is to be understood broadly. Xenophobia constitutes prejudicial attitudes towards those who are considered outsiders (Gqirana, 2015). However, the way in which attitudes are expressed varies from place to place. Xenophobia differs in concentration and demonstration in various settings (Musuva, 2015). Violence and abuse of human rights through xenophobic attacks could be dependent on factors such as the level of education and economic opportunities (Dodson, 2010). Poor people and the less educated are susceptible to many misconceptions about foreign nationals. And this premise could be the reason why there is a lack of unified voice against violent attacks on foreign nationals in South Africa (Moagi, 2015). The previous section in this chapter attests to this claim, and also the existing literature shows that poverty-stricken communities are the most affected by xenophobic attacks.

2.3.11 Gender disparities on xenophobia

The HSRC reported that the majority of foreign nationals are men. This could be the result of the expected gender roles in most societies. Men tend to feel the pressure to acquire provisions for their families, and they are likely to be politically active and often not too attached to their children. This could explain why men move into other countries more easily (Newman, 1999). Political conflicts in African countries also contribute to gender disparities of immigrants in South Africa. In most cases men are at the forefront of political conflicts, subsequently they suffer more political persecution than women (HSRC, 2008). Nevertheless, women are also victimised by the eruption of political conflicts, most of them are subjected to abuse and rape. Child rearing is pertinent in explaining the reasons for the larger number of male rather than female foreign nationals in South Africa or elsewhere.

Men are customarily expected to provide for their families, this might explain the reason why most foreign nationals in South Africa are males and are motivated to start businesses in South

Africa. Ndaba et al (2015) argued in contrast of this view by stating that "the exclusion of foreigners from government services actually instilled a sense of self reliance on them". A commitment to make a living through informal businesses is evident even among female foreign nationals. Unlike South Africans, foreign nationals do not have a sense of entitlement or expectation for government to help them meet their basic needs. Subsequently, foreigners work hard and for long hours to ensure that their businesses succeed (Evans, 2015). South Africans perceive the success of foreign nationals with jealousy, which expresses itself through xenophobic attacks. The looting of tuck-shops owned by foreign nationals could be seen as an indicator of jealousy among South Africans towards foreign nationals. However, jealousy could exist even among nationals, tribes or families, but does not commonly turn into violent attacks. Thus, jealousy holds no substance as an explanation for xenophobic attacks in South Africa. However, it might have a significant impact on existing internalised hatred toward foreign nationals.

The HSRC (2008) reported that it was particularly young South African males around age 26 to 33 who are more explicitly hostile towards non-nationals. These young men perceive foreign nationals as their competitors. This was obvious in their accusation that foreign nationals take their women (Ndaba et al, 2015). Such utterances also validate the gender disparities among foreigners and also among South African perpetrators. National men are at war with non-national men, hence accusations that 'foreigners take our women' can only be made by males under customary circumstances. As South African men remain unemployed they become insecure, and are intimidated by the success of foreign nationals' businesses. It should be noted, however, that these agitations find their expression in xenophobic attitudes among South Africans towards non-nationals (Landau, 2011). A sense of jealousy does not explain the violent attacks on foreign nationals, the same way as criminality does not explain nor eliminate the actuality of xenophobic attitudes in South Africa.

The HSRC 2008 report quoted one of the respondents from one of their focus groups, who mentioned that "They (foreign nationals) have money so they gain access to everything" – inter alia, women. This could refer to the fact that foreigners are willing to take almost any kind of employment, such as cleaning, packaging, working at low paying stores and doing garden work, while their South African counterparts tend to be unenthusiastic about doing such menial jobs. Foreign nationals start saving their little income to start small business, and as soon as their businesses settle, the idle locals become jealous (Landau, 2011). The high unemployment rate affects both men and women. In resolving this, women would prefer men who can support

them financially, and do not consider their nationality. As predisposed by the apartheid regime, whereby violence was a common mechanism used to demand freedom, nationals resort to violence.

It has to be mentioned, however, that women and children of African origin also suffer the same plight as their male counterparts. During the 2008 and 2015 xenophobic attacks, a considerable number of immigrant women were victims of rape and sexual assaults (Everett, 2011). Female immigrants often experience sexual abuse by police officers, while children drop out of school due to xenophobic attacks. Female African foreign nationals also experience exploitation as domestic or retail employees: they are often preferred for menial jobs for the reasons of evasion of tax and minimum wage as stipulated in the employment equity act. Gender-based violence is often narrowed down to physical abuse, whereas it encompasses a variety of equally destructive facets such as psychological and emotional abuse, harassment, rape and exploitation (Palmary, 2016). Women immigrants are more susceptible to these abuses, particularly during the xenophobic mayhem in South Africa. Violence against women in general is a serious barrier to the realisation of gender equality as envisioned in sustainable development goal five, 2030.

2.4 CONCLUSION

Animosity towards foreign nationals is a global phenomenon. The violent attacks on foreign nationals are not new in South Africa. The situation of xenophobia in South Africa or elsewhere presents the problem of human rights violations. Hence, a human rights approach as a viable support to the structure of the study has undoubtedly exhibited how xenophobia intersects adversely with social development. While the literature review outlined plentiful features underpinning xenophobia, which predominantly highlight gross violations of human rights, it also revealed its detrimental effect on social development. Social development categorically places specific attention on poverty alleviation, social inclusion and education, which are closely linked to human rights. Nonetheless, xenophobia is demonstrated to be an impediment to the fulfillment of human rights and achievement of sustainable development goals.

The next chapter discusses the methodology that was used in the study.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The chapter outlines the research methodology behind the study. The rationale of the research approach is included in this chapter; also provided is the explanation on the research design. The indication of the research population from which the sample was drawn is also provided. The chapter further presents an overview of the research instrument used in the study. In addition, the chapter offers a sampling method, data collection method, and also an explanation on the way in which data was analysed. Lastly, the ethical considerations are mentioned and the limitations of the study are outlined.

3.2 RESEARCH APPROACH

The study adopted a qualitative approach. Qualitative research design was used to comprehend and deduce the meaning that research participants attached or gave to their ordinary experiences of life (De Vos, Strydom, Fouche & Delport, 2006). Social issues affect people in different ways; therefore, experiences and meanings attached to a certain social problem cannot be generalised. A qualitative approach is useful in contextualising issues; hence, its adoption in this study is appropriate considering the nature of the phenomenon being studied. The theoretical framework has proven useful for a qualitative approach, particularly in the process of interpreting and making sense of the research problem and of participants' views (Creswell, 2013).

Since the study intended to gather the views of young South Africans about violent attacks on foreign nationals, a qualitative approach was suitable to support the study in gathering in-depth data that is based on participants' experiences regardless of their objectivity (Marlow, 2005). This allowed the expression of views and experiences in relation to the phenomenon being researched. The participants' subjective views are significant components in guiding the interventions, as Marlow (2005, p. 49) pointed out that "knowledge and understanding is based on the people's everyday lived experiences". This further justifies the suitability of a qualitative approach to this study, as the views of participants are informed by their knowledge and the understanding of the phenomenon was the intention of this research. A qualitative approach was resourceful for the study by way of conveying information that comprised participants' views and observable incongruous behaviour (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). The approach made

it possible for the researcher to tap deeper into participants' beliefs and opinions as to what is right or wrong concerning the phenomenon of the study. There were manifestation of emotions in the process, which entails that the approach was properly utilised and maximal exploration reached.

3.3 RESEARCH DESIGN

The design of the study is crucial in providing the logical structure of the research from the commencement to conclusion of the study. The study used narrative design as a research strategy. Narrative design is a way of making sense and scrutinising the experiences through "cooperation between researcher and participants in a given time and specific place (Clandinin & Connelly, 1990).This design was advantageous in this study, as the researcher interacted with participants to get their perceptions on the subject of study. The experiences, views and tenets of participants through their stories were solicited to develop a better understanding of violent attacks on foreign nationals. Narrative design recognises the importance of subjective accounts. There is a significant link between people's stories and the experiences of their surrounding environment (Sikes & Gale, 2006).

A narrative design was utilised so that the researcher could best explore and understand the stories shared by young South Africans about violent attacks on foreign nationals. Since one of this design's goals is to explore and describe (Fouche & Schurink, 2011), the researcher reflected holistically on the views and experiences of participants, in order to eliminate chances of being biased by giving more attention to certain stories and disregarding others. In using narrative design, however, the researcher realised that it was always crucial to remain objective: as various stories unfold from the participants, one could be frustrated by the abundance of information.

The utilisation of narrative design also required the researcher to remain focused, by ensuring that questions remain within the context of the study (Fouche & Schurink, 2011). Participants who used speech easily were guided to remain within the study context, while those with few words were encouraged by making connections with what had already been told. In addition, Cresswell (2013, p. 76) noted that "the researcher needs to discuss the participants' stories and reflect on their own personal and political background, which shapes how they 'restory' the

account". In discussion, emotions are shared and rapport is easily built, which was demonstrated in this research, substantiating the aptness of narrative design for this study.

3.4 POPULATION & SAMPLING

The study population is the collection of related elements from which the sample would be selected (Clandinin & Connelly, 1990). In order for the study to be feasible there are different techniques that facilitate the process of selecting a suitable population. In an effort to achieve this, the study adopted non-probability sampling technique for the selection of participants. This entails the selective process of picking the sample from the overall representative population (Mason, 1996).

The study population was drawn from 130 young South Africans at a vocational centre in Hillbrow. Hence, a sample was drawn from the study population by means of purposive sampling. Purposive sampling is a sequence of tactical selection of individuals, in a specific location and the way the study would be conducted. Fifteen participants were selected as a sample. Strydom (2011) clarified that sampling is the selection of a reduced number of individuals with exact characteristics of the whole study population. Sampling is imperative for collecting specific issues, occasions or activities that can elucidate and expand the understanding of the phenomenon being studied. The sampling criteria were that participants should be between ages 18-25, they should be unemployed, be in possession of a grade 12 education, and should have been living in Hillbrow for at least three years. In addition, they should be willing to take part in the study and should be available during scheduled data collection times. The selection criteria were important for selecting participants who would fulfil the objectives of the study. For instance, their age was important to the study, as it is alleged that the majority of people partaking in xenophobic attacks of foreign nationals are youth. The status of employment also resonated with the assumption that most of the attackers are unemployed, more especially since the attacks can take place during weekdays, when most of the employed group would be at work. However, by stating these hypotheses the researcher does not mean to insinuate that the popular claims are factual or in any way assumes that the selected participants are perpetrators of violent attacks on foreign nationals.

Key informants were involved in the study to ensure the reliability of the data collected (Fouche & Schurink, 2011). The incorporation of key informants in the study provided sufficient

information that deepened the researcher's understanding of the subject of the study. Key informants should be individuals with distinctive knowledge or confirmed expertise of the context and subject of the study (Kumar, 1989). The key informants were the community development workers employed at the vocational centre and a researcher who has written on issues of violent attacks on foreign nationals.

3.5 RESEARCH INSTRUMENT

Semi-structured interviews with open-ended questions were used in the study. Grinnell (1988, p. 203) argues that "it is easier and more natural for participants to respond orally than to write down the answers". Hence, interviews were done orally and face to face. This elicited freer responses and allowed participants to communicate their views through their expressions regarding the violent attacks on foreign nationals. Greeff (2011, p. 351) noted that semi-structured interview schedules are used in order "to gain a detailed picture of participant's beliefs about, perceptions or accounts of, a particular topic". A semi-structured interview schedule was used with participants, while a different one was used with key informants. This instrument is useful in qualitative research, especially one that is explorative in nature.

As mentioned above, the semi-structured interview schedule consisted of open-ended questions which built upon each other. This also enhanced the researcher's ability to explore the views and not ignore the feelings of the participants about the subject of study (Mark, 1996). Open-ended questions were a useful strategy in extracting more information from the participants. The strategy created a platform for the free expression of thoughts and feelings, and it also stimulated interaction between the participants and the researcher. The researcher realised that the semi-structured interview would not be as useful as it should, unless the researcher is passionate about the subject of study. Showing less interest in the study could lead to yes or no answers even when they are structured in an open manner.

The researcher was not rigid in conducting the interviews: the interview schedule did not limit the researcher from exploring deeper, by probing. The rapport was built by showing interest in what they were doing at the vocational centre. It encouraged participants' flexibility in their replies to the well-organised questions. This is because the semi-structured interview schedule contained a list whereby simple questions came first and were followed by complex ones. (Greeff, 2011). The researcher further learned that participants seemed uncertain at the

beginning of the interview, which makes the arrangement of questions more important. Participants at some point would be overcome by emotions in their response, and the researcher was able to draw them back to the question without snubbing or disregarding their feelings. The researcher used skills such as probing, listening, and empathising and interpreting skills, not just to gain information but also to show participants that they are important and that it was acceptable to express emotions. Two separate interview schedules for the participants and the key informants were developed. The interview schedule for key informants was structured in such a way that invoked their expertise about the subject of the study. This does not suggest a different study, but to gain more in-depth information to enhance the understanding of the phenomenon the study intended to comprehend.

3.5.1 Pre-testing of instrument

Pre-testing of semi-structured interview schedules was conducted to determine if there are flaws, limitations, or other weaknesses within the interview design (Tuner, 2010). Strydom & Delport (2011) emphasised the importance of testing the questions in a pilot study to verify their accuracy and applicability to the purpose of the study. Hence the researcher was able to do adjustments in order to conduct quality inquiries. Pre-testing was conducted with two participants that fit the same criteria as those who later participated in the actual study. The responses of the two participants for pre-testing were not used in the study. It was during pre-testing that the researcher developed confidence in the questions in the interview schedule. It was clear that pre-testing of the interview schedule improved consistency and cogency of the interview schedule (De Vos et al., 2006). The process also gave the researcher confidence and an idea of what to anticipate during data collection. No changes were made to the questions, as the researcher found them all appropriate during pre-testing interview sessions.

3.6 DATA COLLECTION

Data collection was an integral part of the study; hence, it was only carried out after the ethical clearance certificate was granted by the Human Research Ethics Committee (HREC) (non-medical) of the University of Witwatersrand (Appendix D). The ethical concerns observed during data collection of the study were in line with ethical considerations (to be discussed later in detail) as stipulated by University's HREC and the Post-Graduate Committee.

Semi-structured interview schedules were used to facilitate the process of in-depth interviews during data collection. Using the interview schedule provided structure and a systematic format

in the way questions were asked during the interview. However, this does not mean that the researcher's flexibility in asking questions was restricted. In qualitative research, in-depth interviews resemble day-to-day conversations rather than formal events, which are likely to elicit pre-determined responses ((Tuner, 2010). Face-to-face individual interviews were used to collect data. This type of interview gave participants an opportunity to control the way questions were presented by stopping the researcher and asking for clarification (Cresswell, 2013). Subsequently, the participants would stretch their responses and provide more elaborate views, than when the question was not well understood. The researcher also learned that it is important to understand the intended purpose of questions, as this made paraphrasing easy.

The researcher made an effort to establish rapport in the beginning of the interview, in order to create a friendly and welcoming environment within which the participants would be comfortable. Self-introduction between the researcher and the participants was significant in the establishment of rapport. The establishment of rapport during data collection is a crucial tactic to get expanded information from the interviews (Greeff, 2011). The researcher ensured that sensitive and deeper questions into the phenomenon were asked after less sensitive ones had been asked. The use of jargon and vague questions can create a communication breakdown between the researcher and the participants; hence the researcher attentively avoided this during data collection (Greeff, 2011)

The interview schedule was adhered to; however, some of the questions emerged as a result of the responses received to the initial question. More especially when the participants demonstrated enthusiasm in their responses, the researcher showed interest in the emotive reactions of the participants on certain questions. This complemented the premise that narrative design invokes the embedded experiences of participants through their stories and understanding of the phenomenon (Sikes & Gale, 2006). Moreover, some of the interviews were audio recorded only after the participants' consent was asked. Participants who agreed to be tape recorded signed consent forms for audio recordings (Appendix C). The researcher created field notes during the interviews, whereby some of the observations were noted. Field notes are important, as some of the reactions during interviews cannot be tape recorded. The holistic accounts of participants such as non-verbal messages were documented in the field notes (Strydom, 2011). Although field notes are important during interviews, the researcher realised that they could distract from some important observations or participants while taking notes. The researcher made use of key words that described what had been observed (Strydom,

2011). The words made it easier to remember what was observed, especially when incorporated with the tape recordings.

When data was collected, most participants responded to all questions, although some demonstrated less understanding of certain questions. Furthermore, participants answered certain questions and when the same question was asked in a different way, personal responses were given. Greeff (2011) mentioned that when using semi-structured interview methods the researcher should allow flexibility in the way participants respond to questions and they should be free to refuse to answer questions they are not comfortable with answering. Hence, the researcher stated this point to participants before the interviews began. Moreover, the researcher provided participants with an information sheet beforehand and verbally explained it to all of them.

All interviews were conducted in English, since all participants were able to express themselves in this language. However, the majority of the participants used township slang to express themselves, which was not a problem since the researcher understood most of the township slang. For example, participants said "you look for 'span' (job)", "these people 'komvir, (come from faraway)" and "you know 'kazi ya khinya' (the township is boring) if you are not working". Participants viewed the study as a platform to raise their frustrations, emotively emphasising their joblessness. The researcher was seen as someone who can speak to the government on their behalf, as their expressions were somehow pleading for someone to understand their predicaments, even though the purpose of the study was discussed beforehand. It was also interesting to realise that participants would express anger if they perceived the researcher's question as a defence of foreign nationals. This was an important highlight for the researcher to maintain the objectivity and neutrality of the study. Participants' real identities were not used nor would they be mentioned in this research report; instead alphabetical letters were used. The researcher ensured privacy during data collection, and it was also explained prior to interview and also mentioned afterwards. The vocational centre's manager provided a room where the interviews took place. An agreement was reached with each participant to conduct the interview in that room. Only the researcher and participant were in the room, during data collection. Strydom (2011) asserted that an environment where external interruptions are reduced during interviews would be perfect for data collection. Hence the room provided privacy, quiet and comfort for both the researcher and the participants.

3.7 DATA ANALYSIS

Data analysis is the fundamental part of qualitative research; this is what differentiates social research from common reporting of stories. In their attempt to instill confidence in qualitative research, De Wet and Erasmus (2005) stressed that researchers should adhere to the systematic organisation of data analysis that is procedural and rigorous. Thus, the qualitative data analysis in this study gave assurance that the researcher relied on objective observations in a systematic manner. Creswell (2018, p. 180) emphasised the importance of qualitative data analysis by stating that it "is the process of preparing and organising the data for analysis, the reducing of data into themes through a process of coding and condensing the codes, and finally presenting the data in figures, tables or a discussion". In other words, the trustworthiness of this study is entrenched in the manner in which data was analysed.

In this study, the researcher used thematic analysis as an appropriate method of data analysis. In explaining the application of thematic analysis Carey (2012, p. 222) says that is has to do with "identifying themes and patterns regarding individual or, more often, group attitudes, behaviours or values." Therefore, thematic analysis was appropriately selected for this study, as not only the verbal responses of participants mattered, but also the meanings, reactions and attitudes were significantly observed and incorporated in the process of data analysis.

Thematic analysis was used to identify, analyse and report themes that emerged from data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Mostly raw data is fragmented and populated by insignificant information unrelated to the objectives of the study. Thematic analysis is a systematic procedure of organising data methodologically so that all fragmented parts fit into a structured whole (De Wet & Erasmus, 2005). In other words, thematic analysis was used to aid the researcher to manage the data, by organising it in such a way that it became easier to analyse. The thematic analysis was chosen for its suitability to questions that are related to participants' experiences and their views (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Hence the study intended to explore the views of the participants.

The relevance of this method of data analysis in the study was further substantiated by the incorporation of research design, as it involved the inquiry of perceptions and beliefs of participants through their stories. In addition to thematic analysis, Guest, MacQueen and

Namey (2012, p. 81) emphasised that "its primary concern is with presenting the stories and experiences voiced by study participants as accurately and comprehensively as possible."

Thematic analysis was used to analyse data. Data analysis, generally, denotes the process of managing, describing, evaluating and interpreting data. This method is used in qualitative research to report themes that emerged from data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Thematic analysis is a systematic procedure of organising data methodologically so that all fragmented parts fit into a structured whole (De Wet & Erasmus, 2005). In other words, thematic content helped the researcher to manage the data by organising it in manner that it was simpler to analyse. The researcher paid attention to meaning and the expression of emotions that accompanied participants' responses. Furthermore, Braun and Clarke (2006, p. 72) explained that "the purpose of thematic analysis is to identify patterns of meaning across a dataset that provides an answer to the research question being addressed. Patterns were identified through a rigorous process of data familiarisation, data coding, and theme development and revision."

The first step assumed by the researcher was data familiarisation and transcribing of data. In this process the researcher repeatedly listened to recorded data and transcribed all the recordings of the interview verbatim (De Wet & Erasmus, 2005). The process of transcribing interviews is time consuming and exhausting; however, the researcher acknowledges that the process offers a more extensive familiarisation with data than just listening to the audio recordings. The written notes made during the interview sessions were later compared with the transcribed data to confirm that all critical elements were captured, more especially the emotive and body language reactions.

The second step in the analysis of data involved generating initial codes. This is where the codes and organised data were scrutinised to identify significant, broader themes and meaning. In order to achieve this, the researcher went through all data items manually, at the same time writing notes and identifying the potential themes for coding. A list of all coded themes was established and then the researcher started to search for ultimate themes.

The themes are made up of the experiences and views of the participants in relation to the objectives of the study. Carey (2012, p. 223) added that themes "may include fragments of ideas and experiences that otherwise might appear meaningless if viewed alone". The themes were reviewed by checking the themes from each participant alongside the dataset in order to

determine if they convey a reliable story of the data and help in answering research questions (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The researcher created a list of codes that was classified and systematically grouped. In order to make this process easier and more effective, mind maps were used to organise themes accordingly.

Moreover, the analytic information merged together with data extracts and contextualising the analysis in relation to the literature review. Consistently, defining, naming and classifying the themes was done last. This process was significant as it provided the researcher with a better way of classifying the quality of what every theme was all about and in determining features of data each theme encompassed (Clarke, 2006). The themes that are named and finally identified are those documented in this research report.

3.8 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Ethical considerations are another fundamental component of the research study. Accordingly, the researcher ensured that the study was conducted in an ethical manner. Ethics are moral principles commonly recommended by groups of people (committees), and should be generally recognised as directives on how researchers should behave towards study participants (Strydom, 1998).The sole purpose of ethical research is to ensure the protection of the welfare and rights of the research participants (Strydom & Delport, 2011). In other words, the ethical considerations also serve to protect the researcher. In order to ensure that study adhered to research ethics, the following ethical principles were considered in this study:

3.8.1 Informed Consent

All participants were told about their role in the study and their agreement to participate was voluntary. Marlow (2005, p. 23) asserted that "the informed consent implies that all possible or adequate information on the goal of study, procedures to be followed, the possible advantages, disadvantages and dangers to which respondents may be exposed and the credibility of the researcher…". Thus, participants were provided with information about the aim and all necessary procedures of the study (Marlow, 2005).

The researcher personally handed the informed consent forms to the prospective participants for signing prior to the commencement of the interviews. The participants asked if they would be paid for taking part in the study, even though this was discussed when participants'

information sheets were handed out. There it was mentioned that there would be no form of reward or remuneration for participating in the study. In a meeting with only prospective participants at the MES office the question was asked how much the researcher would get paid by the university for conducting the study. This question intended to expose what was perceived to be the researcher's unfairness in not paying the participants. This is because the participants made comments that the university must be paying well if students like the researcher drive cars. The researcher had to explain that the car belongs to the family. Furthermore, participants viewed Wits University as a rich institution that cannot make students conduct a research study without payment. The researcher took participants through the information sheet again, which clarifies the goal of the study, and the clarifications made led to consent. However, it must be noted that the process was difficult, as it was more like a pre-arranged protest against the researcher. This was overcome by remaining calm and being truthful. Subsequently, participants handed signed consent forms to the MES manager's office to be collected by the researcher, who then confirmed the interview appointments with participants who consented to participate.

The researcher further explained to participants that they would not be allowed to participate in the study before signing the consent form in acceptance to participation in the study. It is imperative to note that the consent form does not ensure informed consent. However, it is an important instrument that can be utilised to formalise informed consent. The researcher honestly explained to participants that they have the freedom of agreeing to or refusing to participate and also to withdraw their participation anytime during the study. The researcher took the responsibility of clarifying important details to participants so that their choice to participate would be sensible.

3.8.2 Non-maleficence

The researcher carefully ensured that the study would cause no harm to participants. The research adhered to the ethical principle of non-maleficence, which entails carefully desisting from doing harm by ensuring that anything that can be of risk to participants was reduced, if it cannot be entirely removed (Ross & Deverell, 2010). Although it is difficult to determine how certain questions or the subject of the study will make the participants feel, the researcher endeavoured to ensure that risks were kept at a minimum. For instance, some of the participants demonstrated emotive reactions of sadness when certain questions were addressed. Therefore,

the researcher refrained from exploring these questions further; instead the participants were given time to express themselves until they concluded their answers, and no follow-up of the same questions was done. However, certain emotions of anger were important in the study, as the participants expressed themselves freely and elaborated thoroughly on their responses. The research was conducted in a safe environment, whereby only the researcher and participants would be present. Moreover, the information regarding counselling service was provided, the service would be offered free of charge by MES organisation's assessment centre. Participants were informed that if they require this service, they should make an appointment with receptionist at assessment centre, or they could contact the manager of the centre, who is also a social worker. The researcher followed up with MES to find if any of the participants requested counselling services, but it was established that none came forward during or after the interviews were conducted.

3.8.3 Confidentiality

The researcher understood the significance of the information concerning the participants of the study and ensured that it would remain private and not accessible to a third party. The data in this study is regarded as confidential and would be handled accordingly as such (Greeff, (2011). The researcher informed each participant beforehand, that data and transcripts would be kept confidential; this was ensured by eliminating any information that could possibly be linked to participants (Strydom & Delport, 2011). The researcher verbally explained, as documented in the participant information sheet, that audio recordings and transcripts would be kept safe in a locked cupboard for a period of five years from the completion of the study, or within two years if published.

3.8.4 Non-deception of participants

The researcher explained honestly at the beginning of the study in the participant information sheet that there would be no compensation or any form of handouts for participating in the study. The researcher refrained from making dishonest promises to participants or using any desperate means to get participants involved in the research. As stated earlier, ethical principles play a crucial role in qualitative research study; thus, the researcher remained honest with participants all times (Creswell, 2013). Falsifying information or deception of participants for any reason is breaking the code of ethics in the research study. Therefore, every aspect of ethical consideration would be questionable, if deception was involved in the study. Hence the researcher presented participant information sheets which summarised important aspects of the

study, including a brief profile of the researcher. Accurate information was provided to participants without hiding or exaggerating anything.

3.8.5 Violation of privacy

There is a binding principle of privacy that the researcher is expected to observe at all costs, to ensure that participants' information is handled as a private asset (Strydom (2011). This entails that the researcher must adhere to confidentiality as stated in the participant information sheet. There is no room for violation of privacy in the research, because the participants' right to privacy should be respected even in their absence. The participants permitted the researcher to use tape recordings during interviews. The interviews were not conducted before the letter of permission was obtained from vocational centre's management and ethics clearance was granted by Wits University.

3.8.6 Anonymity

The alphabet in place of participants' real names was used to ensure the protection of their identity (Anney, 2014). The researcher informed participants that their identities would not be revealed, nor would their responses be linked to their identity in the research report. The true identities of participants and key informants are not reflected in the study at all.

3.9 TRUSTWORTHINESS OF THE STUDY

Trustworthiness in this was guaranteed by utilising qualitative data analysis in a systematic, procedural and rigorous way (De Wet & Erasmus, 2005). Trustworthiness is about the quality of the qualitative research. Trustworthiness places the responsibility on the researcher to ensure that all scepticism around quality of the study is addressed. Analytical strategies that the researcher employs are fundamental to validating the quality of the study. Trustworthiness of this study lies with the researcher's focus on establishing confidence in the findings, applicability, consistency and neutrality in reporting the findings (Anney 2014, p. 276). In order to establish the rigour of the study, the researcher adopted the following strategies: credibility, transferability, dependability, and conformability, to demonstrate quality of the research (Miller, & Creswell, 2010).

3.9.1 Credibility

Credibility refers to demonstration of the researcher's ability to "ensure that the subject has been accurately identified and described" so that confidence can be established in the findings of the study (De Vos et al. 2011, p. 420). The researcher was cognisant of the credibility of the study from the beginning and during data collection, making an effort to ensure that there is

immersion in the world of participants so that confidence can be afforded to the truthfulness of the research findings (Anney, 2014). The data and interpretations of participants' responses were tested against each other constantly. The incorporation of verbatim quotations was carried out by the researcher as a way of ensuring that accurate perceptions of participants are extensively reflected upon in relation to the study. Furthermore, the researcher persistently observed participants as they narrated their views. The researcher further captured the field notes during the interviews, and they were used in conjunction with the verbatim scripts in order to develop understanding of data and code it accurately.

3.9.2 Transferability

Refers to an extent to which findings of a particular qualitative study can be transferred to other contexts with different participants from the initial study. It offers a similar assurance of generalisability despite the fact that they mean completely different things (Bitsch, 2005). To achieve this, the researcher described the methodology and in this report it was made clear that the research took place at Hillbrow vocational school, and the description of participants is documented in this research. Anney (2014) referred to detailed methodological reporting of all the processes of the study as "thick description". Moreover, the researcher used purposive sampling, which entails that there was an intentional selection of participants. This means the criteria used in this context would be transferable to other contexts. The key informants, for instance, were individuals who are more knowledgeable on the subject of the study. Similar credentials can be acquired in different contexts. The researcher further made reference to the existing literature regarding qualitative methodology and the subject of the study, which helps ensure that the findings of the study are transferable.

3.9.3 Dependability

The findings of the study must be dependable, which means they should exhibit enduring steadiness (Bitsch, 2005). The researcher evaluated the findings and interpretations, as well as recommendations of the study, to attest that they are all relevant to and supported by the data collected from the participants (Anney, 2014). Furthermore, the researcher confirmed that the study was logical and all necessary information emanating from data well documented in accordance with emerged themes. The data from participants and key informants were compared with other existing studies to make sure the study is logically presented. The validation of the research instrument was carried out through pre-testing interviews. The researcher compared the same data more than once to check if the results were still the same or different (Anney, 2014). The researcher used only data that was collected during the study

and did not allow the existing studies to influence the research decisions regarding the data and findings. The field notes, audio records and verbatim transcripts were kept safe, and this was useful as the researcher was able to audit and re-use for study validation purposes.

3.9.4 Confirmability

Refers to when the results of an inquiry prove confirmable or can be verified by additional researchers and studies (Baxter & Eyles 1997). In the effort to appreciate confirmability in this research, the researcher coded fragmented data to make it manageable and logically aligned with the objectives of the study. The grouping of themes was done focusing on data and also field notes, which were useful for the researcher, as they made it easier to reflect on the interview sessions, making recollection of the experiences. Anney (2014, p. 279) refers to this process as "reflexivity", an assessment of the influence of the researcher's own experiences during the interview. This process gave the researcher an opportunity to assess if the information shared by participants was genuine or fabrication. Anney (2014, p. 279 emphasised that "for qualitative researchers, the best strategy for dealing with misinformation, evasion and lies is to be sceptical about information, what they feel might not be correct".

The researcher dealt with scepticism by building rapport and trust with participants. Anney (2014) further suggests that the researcher should use good interview techniques and protection of participants' identities. The researcher ensured that interviews were not rigid. Although there was an interview schedule, the researcher was flexible, encouraging elaborative responses. Leedy and Ormrod (2005, p. 149) stated about confirmability that "a good interviewer is, above all, a good listener who lets people say what they want to say in the way they want to say it". Hence the researcher refrained from interrupting or asking leading questions, that could distort the views of participants. The researcher assured all participants about confidentiality; hence any other factors that could have prompted a participant to give false information would have been beyond the researcher's ability to prevent.

Table 3.1: Summary of trustworthiness of study

Strategy	Application to study
Credibility	• Subject identification and description • Observations of participants • Constant data testing • Data coding
Transferability	• Description of methodology • Purposive sampling • Utilised key informants • Existing literature was used
Dependability	• Evaluation of findings • Interpretation of findings • Confirmation of data • Creating themes • Pre-testing interviews • Data comparison • Utilisation of field notes, tape records and verbatim transcripts
Confirmability	• Coding fragmented data • Grouping of themes • Reflexivity • Building rapport and trust • Flexibility • Assuring confidentiality

3.10 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

A qualitative study was confirmed to be the suitable type of study the researcher had chosen and it was also effective in yielding the desired data. The following two elements were limitations in the study, however.

3.10.1 Language barrier

All participants had matric (grade 12) certificates. The researcher thought this would be an advantage, because all the participants would presumably understand and speak English. In

fact, all participants understood English but not all of them could express themselves eloquently in English. This was a limitation in a sense that their responses were too brief and not open enough. Nevertheless, the researcher enhanced listening, questioning and probing skills to counter the issue and advised participants that it was acceptable to use their mother tongue languages, particularly when the researcher established that he could understand the participant's home language. Nonetheless, for reasons not known to the researcher, none of the participants used their home languages during interviews.

3.10.2 External interruptions

Data collection with the participants was very challenging. In the first interviews there was interruption by the service users at MES. The homeless people receiving food aid from the organisation and children from pre-school ran onto the premises, kept on knocking on the door, while the interviews were in the progress. This is because the interviews were conducted in the manager's office, and not everyone knew that the office was being used for interviews. These interruptions proved uncontrollable: even after the researcher and the participants decided to put a note at the door, on which was written "Do not disturb, meeting in progress", they continued to knock. The researcher would then ask to be excused and attend to the person knocking. These disturbances affected the flow of the first interview, though it was successfully conducted till end. The researcher reported the problem to the manager, and the security guard was requested to monitor the situation from the main entrance of the building where the interview office was located. This initiative successfully resolved the issue of external interruptions during the next interviews' sessions.

3.11 CONCLUSION

This chapter charted the research methodologies employed when data was collected. The designs used in the study were also discussed and elucidated on in this chapter. The population and sample of the study were discussed. The chapter also deliberated on data analysis coinciding with the research problem. Moreover, methods of data verification, limitations and ethical considerations of the study were reflected on in this chapter.

Chapter four will be the presentation and discussion of findings

CHAPTER 4

PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter the presentation and discussion of findings of the study are made. The central themes of the findings are discussed in line with the research objectives. The aim of the study was to explore the views of young South Africans living at a vocational centre in Hillbrow about violent attacks on foreign nationals. The profile of participants and key informants is presented in Table 4.1.1 below and briefly discussed in this chapter.

4.2 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The aim of the study was to explore the views of young South Africans living at a vocational centre in Hillbrow about violent attacks on foreign nationals. In order to achieve this aim, the following objectives were formulated:

i. To investigate the understanding that young South Africans, in Hillbrow, have on the violence against non-South Africans.

ii. To explore the perceived factors leading to the ill-treatment of non-South Africans in South Africa.

iii. To examine young people's views on interventions that could facilitate the integration of non-South Africans in the Hillbrow community.

4.3 DEMOGRAPHY OF STUDY PARTICIPANTS

The table below summarizes the profile of participants who were interviewed for the study.

Table 4.1: Profile of participants

Participant	Age	Gender	Role	Training and Qualification	Number of years living in Hillbrow
A	24	Male	Leaner	Matric	5
B	23	Female	Leaner	Matric	4
C	24	Male	Leaner	Matric	9
D	20	Female	Leaner	Matric	3
E	25	Male	Leaner	Matric	6
F	25	Male	Leaner	Matric	5
G	23	Male	Leaner	Matric	5

H	25	Male	Leaner	Matric	7
I	24	Male	Leaner	Matric	5
J	24	Female	Leaner	Matric	5
K	19	Female	Leaner	Matric	4
L	24	Male	Leaner	Matric	5
M	25	Male	Leaner	Matric	11
N	21	Female	Leaner	Matric	3
O	23	Female	Leaner	Matric	3
Key Informants	**Gender**	**Organisation**	**Employment**	**High School Qualification**	**Number of years Working at the Organisation**
A	Female	MES	Social Worker	Social Worker	7
B	Male	ACMS: Wits University	Assistant Researcher	Master's Degree	3

The table shows that 6 females and 9 males between ages 18 to 25 participated in the study; this ensured fair representation of both women and men. The age and employment status of participants were crucial in this study, as the majority of those who participate in violent attacks on foreign nationals are alleged to fit the participants' age group. The number of years lived in Hillbrow entails that a participant would have interacted with have had an experience of living among foreign nationals.

4.3.2 Brief description of Hillbrow community

Hillbrow is a district situated inside Johannesburg city in Gauteng. This community is known to be characterised by crime, such as drug-dealing, theft, prostitution and human trafficking. Hillbrow is a functional community, for it has diverse structures such as hospitals, clinics, schools, offices, flats and commercial buildings. The majority of self-employed foreign nationals and nationals included prefer to live in this community because of its low-cost residential accommodations. Participants' experiences of living in this community, where daily interaction with foreign nationals is certain, are reflected in the study findings. The participants'

linking of foreign nationals to criminal activities and their enormous increase in number support the findings in this study.

4.4 IDENTIFICATION OF THEMES

The table below shows the themes and sub-themes that were identified in the study.

Table 4.2 Themes and sub-themes

Main Themes	Sub-themes
Understanding of violence against non-South Africans	• Expression of anger and frustration • Corrective measures
Reasons foreigners are ill-treated	• Poor service delivery • Increasing number of foreign nationals • Criminal activities • Competing for scarce resources
Interventions that could facilitate the integration of non-South Africans	• Refugee camps • Deportation • Business partnership • Equal salary negotiations • The role of leadership

4.5 DISCUSSION OF THEMES

The themes outlined in Table 4.4 capture significant insights related to the objectives of the study, which sought the participants' understanding about violent attacks on foreign nationals, reasons foreigners are ill-treated and interventions that could facilitate the integration of foreign nationals. Poor service delivery, increasing numbers of foreign nationals, criminal activities and competition for scarce resources are significant themes identified and addressed in the study. Furthermore, refugee camps, deportation, business partnership, equal salary negotiations and the role of leadership emerged as themes that significantly answered the research question on the facilitation of integration of foreign nationals. The above themes were defined and named in accordance with their relevance to the research question.

4.5.1 UNDERSTANDING OF VIOLENCE AGAINST NON-NATIONALS

The violent attacks on foreign nationals received extensive coverage on social media platforms, which are the primary sources of information for the public. Several explanations of these attacks were offered by a considerable number of scholars, analysts, journalists and politicians;

hence soliciting the views of participants' understanding of this issue was integral part of the study. The first objective of the study sought to investigate the understanding that young South Africans in Hillbrow have on the violent attacks on foreign nationals. Some of the important questions involved asking about the meaning and implications of these violent attacks. Under this objective the following themes emerged.

4.5.1.1 Violence as an expression of anger and frustration

The socio-economic and political instability are eminent on a global scale. These universal conditions have a huge impact on the rising number of migrants leaving their home countries to go to foreign countries they deem safer and economically thriving or for any other reasons. These increasing movements, however, are not pleasantly received by nationals of the host countries. The rationale for the undesirable reception of foreign nationals varies from country to country. The perceptions of the nationals in almost every host country seem to be shaped by their understanding of foreign nationals and the supposed motives behind their presence. The way in which nationals of the host countries perceive the presence of foreign nationals is essential in determining whether they are welcomed or not. These inform the attitudes of the nationals in host countries towards foreign nationals. For instance, in South Africa, foreign nationals have been subjected to discrimination and abuse. The attitude of South Africans towards foreign nationals has been overwhelmingly negative. Hence, the findings in this study explicitly indicate that foreign nationals are not welcomed in South Africa.

> *"South Africa is with many [more] foreigners than all [other] countries…[it] is not good because their number is above normal..mina…[I] think this bring cause[s] problem[s] and ya…we cannot have these foreigners here"* ***(Participant K)***

Law enforcement agencies and human rights organisations are ordinarily expected to control the spread of violent attacks. However, it should be noted that their mediations do not always address the conception of negative attitudes towards foreign nationals. In order to apply effective strategic interventions that could yield positive results, there is a need to establish empathy for both nationals and non-nationals' interrelationships. The understanding of South Africans' attitude towards foreigners is a fundamental step towards conceptualisation of violent attacks on foreign nationals. This is so because violence has undesirable consequences, particularly the violation of human rights of the victims, in this case foreign nationals. The violent attacks on foreign nationals in South Africa has been described and analysed by numerous studies and literature and sometimes contrasting explanations have been offered. The

findings in this study also depict fascinating thinking on the aspect of violent attacks on foreign nationals. The study participants linked the violent attacks on foreign nationals to anger and frustration. This is further illustrated by the quotations below:

> *"you wake every morning, you don't have anything to do or to go, what will come to mind, seeing many people from Zimbabwe … people are angry, ah … I think people want solution, but they don't know what to do, then people punish these people so that can … do, I mean feel better"* ***(Participant E)***

> *"… I think this attacks are not taken serious and that is why they repeat … when I look at it shows that South African people are not happy and they are helpless … em … then the only way to show that they are very angry is by attacking foreigners …"* ***(Participant G)***

> *"I think South Africans are angry that government is not listening or helping, and many youth do not have anything serious to do, and when people are angry and you do not listen to them, they will do stupid things like this"* ***(Participant I)***

The findings in this study indicate that violent attacks on foreign nationals are the result of internalised anger and frustration by young South Africans. The violent attacks on foreign nationals may be linked to anger and frustration towards the government. In other words, their emotions find expression through attacking foreign nationals. The findings support other studies which indicated that violent attacks towards foreigners are directed at government for its failure to meet the expectations of the people as promised (Moagi, 2014 & Bekker, 2015). Thus, the unfulfilled expectations result in feelings of anger and frustrations displayed through violence towards foreign nationals. In other words, the findings in this study suggest that this anger is directed at government and not necessarily foreign nationals.

However, it has to be noted that this argument is not comprehensive to explain the ruthlessness and inhumane behaviour unleashed on foreign nationals by South Africans. The selective target of foreign nationals as victims should not be overshadowed by the premises that these attacks are directed at the state. Foreign nationals are perceived as 'unwanted outsider', who makes the existing problem worse (Dodson, 2010).

Nevertheless, the findings in this study equally refute a previous study by Charman and Piper (2013) which reported that the violent attacks on foreign nationals plainly indicate that South Africans are xenophobic. But the findings in this study show that frustration and anger are not triggered by the presence of foreigners, but rather by unfavourable economic conditions in the

country. In addition, the findings in this study point out that expression of anger and frustration about government's failure to fulfil its promises is exhibited through violent attacks on foreign nationals. It could be argued that anger and frustrations about unfulfilled promises triggers an attitude that is confined among perpetrators, thus find expression through violent attacks on foreign nationals. The selective targeting of foreign nationals is an explicit manifestation of an internalised negative attitude by South Africans. The researcher concedes that there is anger and frustrations felt by the majority of young South Africans; which justify the existence of xenophobia conveyed by participants' vocabularies.

The findings in this study further showed that participants consider foreign nationals as undeserving to get a job, their responses denote that foreigner's rights to life and work should be secondary to those of the nationals. In other words, foreign national are not supposed to get employment while South Africans remain unemployed. This finding also supports the previous study which reported that the rights of foreign nationals are violated and neglected in South Africa, even worse by institutions that are supposed to protect them (Kirshner, 2011). The fact that all participants did not say anything about human rights can be seen as an indication that the human rights of foreign nationals are not taken seriously, but this could also suggest the general lack of awareness about human rights by South Africans, their own included.

4.5.1.2 Violence as a corrective measure

When violence is seen as a way of bringing about a desirable outcome, it could be an indication that the problem is entrenched in the ignorance of other people's rights. The findings in this study show that violent attacks on foreigners is a form of corrective measure. The challenge with the premise of doing what is totally cruel and illegal for delusional reasons of correcting what is deemed wrong cannot be addressed by single-sided methods but requires holistic and tactically constructive approaches. In almost all incidents where violence is understood and seen as corrective measure there is a serious problem. Violence on other occasions is considered a way of gaining power or passing legitimate punishment for committing what is considered as a wrong. A noticeable aspect of violence is that even if it might bring a desired outcome, it is always unpleasant and violates the human rights of victims.

In South Africa, for instance, the attacks on foreign nationals before labelled as being the acts of criminality or xenophobia, should first and for all to be seen as the greatest violation of human rights. The perpetrators might provide different reasons in justifying or defending their actions, but for whatever explanation offered, it should be noted that subjecting other people

to physical, psychological or emotional abuse is unacceptable. South Africans through various media platforms have mentioned that foreigners bring problems in their communities: some of the popular allegations made are that foreigners are 'criminals and steal their jobs'. In an attempt to address these issues, South Africans see fit to violently attack foreigners. The participants in this study thought the violent attacks on foreigners to signify a corrective measure. This is further illustrated by quotations below:

> *"Things are not right, crime, drugs and all wrong things are happening and government is ok, police take bribe, Mzanzi must do something to stop these people from destroying the country"* ***(Participant K)***

> *"Police and government do not solve anything, these people come here and do bad things, people are protecting the communities, after xenophobia foreigners will do the right thing, I think they understand now"* ***(Participant C)***

> *"Violence is bad, I don't promote that, mara (but) it solve lot of problems..eh…I think is the reason people use it. Even when you beat a child that child will be good next time, which means violence solve…eh but not too much, like killing, no".* ***(Participant E)***

The finding in this study highlights that violent attacks on foreigners are considered as a form of corrective measure carried out by South Africans on foreign nationals. This finding implicitly supports a number of studies which noted that violent attacks are as a result of the embedded culture of violence in the South African society shaped by the apartheid regime Landau et al, (2009), Krishner (2011) and Dodson (2010). The argument articulated in these studies proposes that since the apartheid regime used violence to maintain order and power, subsequently South Africans adopted its modus operandi to resolve what is perceived to be wrong and problematic. On the other side it suggests that black people of South Africa used violence to fight the apartheid regime, and henceforth violence is seen as an efficient way of correcting wrongs. South Africans believe that non-nationals have no legal grounds to be in the country, and that attacking them violently is therefore part of instigating order in the society.

Even though previous studies such as those by Dodson (2010) and De Jager and Hopstock (2011) do not explicitly reference corrective measures as an explanation of violent attacks on foreigners, it is conveyed by impunity, and a lack of mass anti-foreigner violence protests. The vast literature on the subject has observed that that there has not been stern criminal charges brought against the perpetrators of violent attacks on foreign nationals. People lost their lives as results of violent attacks on foreigners, yet perpetrators are not severely punished or

imprisoned. Based on that, it could be argued that the criminal justice system in South Africa is complicit in these attacks. In addition, this could set a common practice for perpetrators that violence against foreigners is not criminality since it is not punished. Hence, the study participants expressed that violent attacks on foreign nationals are a form of corrective measure. Thus, the violent attacks on foreigners in South Africa are regarded as nationals' disregard of human rights conversions stipulated in the UDHR (1948). This is because the notion of these corrective measures resonates with how the whole country responds to violent attacks on foreign nationals, i.e. impunity and lack of decisive interventions to prevent recurrence of such mayhem.

4.5.2 REASONS FOREIGNERS ARE ILL-TREATED

An attempt to understand the cause(s) of violent attacks on foreign nationals might prove fruitless without paying attention to several possible factors influencing these attacks. South Africa is a diverse society with a number of variables that could provide a contextual understanding of this phenomenon, as triggers of foreigner attacks vary from place to place. Therefore, it was imperative for the study to explore the views of young South Africans in Hillbrow on what they perceive as factors leading to the maltreatment of foreign nationals.

4.5.2.1 Poor service delivery

The mode of political campaigns in South Africa is marked by numerous promises of changing the current socio-economic status quo. The end of apartheid meant the beginning of new political dispensation and economic emancipation to South Africans. Political parties also took advantage of the situation, by formulating manifestos that emphasised maximising service delivery. Thereafter, however, the country has remained marked by rising unemployment (30%), lack of clean water, housing and general poor service delivery. Decades after the first democratic elections in 1994, South Africans are disheartened by these realities. Consequently, South Africans engage in public protests demanding services promised by the ruling party. In most cases these protests are accompanied by violent actions. The protesters participating in these type of mass actions often claim that violence and lawlessness is the only language that government understands. In other words, violence becomes a deliberate action used to get the government's attention and fast-tracked response.

Legally sanctioned service delivery protests are legitimate actions used to hold the state accountable. However, in South Africa protests often turn violent, which portrays South Africa as a violent society. Such assertions are considerable when taking the era of apartheid into

account, a regime that was intensely marked by violent racial discrimination. Violent attacks on foreign nationals are seen to be influenced by poor service delivery in South Africa – a view which was articulated by 11 participants in this study. The following views expressed by participants support this:

> *"no jobs, no bursaries and nothing for us … if government is not giving people the things like jobs, RDP (Reconstruction and Development Programme), and other things, this can be a reasons or maybe causes of treating foreigners this way"* ***(Participant B)***

> *"We do not get quality services from ANC and small that we get, these foreigners want to share. This is not good, ah ah, ANC is failing people and people blame foreigners"* ***(Participant D)***

> *"politicians lie to people, and now they fail to deliver for needs of people, much of promises by politicians and now they do nothing, ya … government services are not enough and this is the influence"* ***(Participant H)***

The study shows that poor service delivery influences the violent attacks on foreign nationals in South Africa. These views could be informed by the fact that there are some similarities in actions displayed in both service delivery protests and violent attacks on foreign nationals. These events are both characterised by looting of stores and damage to property. The distinction between these two actions is that violent attacks on foreign nationals exhibit a selective targeting of non-nationals and their properties, whereas service delivery protests may cause damage to state-owned or privately owned properties, including individually owned vehicles. The likening of poor service delivery to violent attacks in townships against foreign nationals is cited in other studies (Crush, 2001; Misago, 2009; & Bekker 2008). Nevertheless, these studies highlighted that these violent attacks are complex, therefore this view could be limited in explaining why other communities that share common features of high levels of poverty, unemployment and poor service delivery as the affected ones do not experience such attacks.

The study conducted by Kirshner (2011), however, refutes this claim, as it reports that there are no incidents of xenophobic violence in Khutsong community in Carletonville (Gauteng) though there are high numbers of foreigners living there. It is further reported that some of the foreign nationals from affected townships took refuge in Khutsong and settled there. However, it is unfair to generalise on the findings of the Khutsong case study. South Africa is a diverse

society, as alluded to earlier in a previous section; therefore, a variety of factors should be considered when it comes to the question of what influences certain behaviour among South Africans. The Khutsong case study also focuses on the spectacular violent attacks of May 2008 and April 2015. The violent attacks on foreign nationals has been reported prior to May 2008 events and post April 2015.

Poor service delivery is significant as a factor leading to violent attacks in general, as many incidents of looting, burning, barricading roads and vandalising properties are reported in several places, even where foreign nationals were not targeted. These ruthless actions are said to be an expression of anger and a way of sending a strong message to the government, as already mentioned in this chapter. Nevertheless, service delivery protests have never been carried out with deliberate actions of harming or killing nationals. The selective targeting of foreign nationals does not fit the claim that these attacks are influenced by poor service delivery in South Africa. The intended rational cause of harm on foreign nationals is deeper than reaction to poor service delivery. The perpetrators recognise the value of fellow South Africans' lives, but not those of foreign nationals. This demonstrates an embedded negative attitude held by South Africans towards foreign nationals that exposes the ignorance or lack of awareness about human rights as inscribed in the constitution.

4.5.2.2 Increasing number of foreign nationals

Migration is a global phenomenon and is increasing internationally due to various reasons mentioned previously in the literature review. South Africa, like any other countries, also hosts foreign nationals and in the same way some South Africans are hosted in other foreign countries. As indicated earlier, foreign nationals are not always welcomed by the nationals of host countries. In most cases the rights of foreign nationals are violated in one way or another. The victimisation and abuse of foreign nationals' rights has been eminent through violent attacks in South African communities. South Africa, especially post-apartheid 1994, attracted the largest number of non-nationals, particularly from African neighbouring countries. This is because South Africa was a less favoured destination for African migrants pre-1994, as black South Africans themselves suffered under the apartheid regime. Many South Africans were also exiled in other African countries during this era.

There are considerable numbers of foreign nationals living in Hillbrow, but this community is not among those that experienced significant violent attacks. It's worth noting that the majority of South Africans living in Hillbrow originate from other provinces and surrounding townships

in Gauteng. They moved to Hillbrow in search of economic opportunities, the same reasons most foreign nationals came to South Africa. In other words, their views and experiences would not be restricted to Hillbrow, thus South Africa is frequently used in this research report rather than Hillbrow, but this does not affect the generalisability of the study, as highlighted in the previous chapter of methodology. The violent attacks on foreign nationals could among other things be an indication of South Africans' ignorance or lack of awareness about the historical background of foreign nationals and short-sightedness on issues of global migration and most importantly the universal human rights. However, in this study the participants perceived the increased number of foreign nationals in South Africa as the trigger factor in their maltreatment. The following are some of participants' recorded views:

> *"no no no … these people are too much now, when I am here (Hillbrow) is like I am in Nigeria, is them every corner, aag … no! if they do not reduce number, I tell you problems will always come … they will be killed"* ***(Participant G)***

> *"I think people complain about them coming in million numbers. The high number of foreigners is not accepted here, I did not count them but I think they are more than us … for this reason, I think they will be punished again and again"* ***(Participant O)***

> *"South Africa is with many foreigners than all countries … is not good because their number is above normal … mina (I) think this bring cause problem and ya …"****(Participant J)***

The finding in this study shows that the perceived increase of non-nationals in the country contributes to the maltreatment of foreign nationals. This finding supports the study by Idahosa and Vincent (2014) which highlighted that due to economic and political instability in other neighbouring countries the influx of migrants into South Africa has increased proportionately; consequently the nationals perceive this as a threat to the economy. This contention is a partial one, as it does not consider the historical background of violent attacks on foreigners in South Africa, since incidences of this nature have been reported long before the influx of foreign nationals to South Africa. The maltreatment of foreign nationals occurred even in places where fewer non-nationals lived. On some occasions, the incidents of abuse were reported in healthcare services, police stations and home affairs, whereby people were treated with contempt based on their nationality. The ill-treatment of foreign nationals occurs not necessarily because one is seen as part of a bigger group but rather as an illegitimate individual not belonging to the nation.

On the other hand, the study refutes findings by Alvarez & Bachman (2008) & Dodson (2010) which suggest that the ill-treatment of foreign nationals is seen to be influenced by the minority status of foreign nationals. Since foreign nationals are in a minority, this renders them vulnerable and easily targeted. Foreign nationals in South Africa live as fragmented individuals with no one to sympathise with. That is to say that when foreigners settle in South African communities, they do not necessarily live among or closer to each other. Foreign nationals in townships live where there is available accommodation or business space to rent. This makes it difficult for one to grasp the number of foreigners in the community. Therefore, being seen as a vulnerable minority might expose them to abuse.

4.5.2.3 Criminal activities

Crime in any form is bad and has consequences that are commonly regrettable. The most unwanted person in a community is likely to be blamed for almost all kinds of crime. Foreigners often are linked with illegal activities, though these allegations are not supported by crime statistics. Foreign nationals, particularly Africans, are not subjected to fair criminal justice processes before being declared guilty. The association of foreign nationals with criminal activities is embedded in the general perceptions held by the majority of South Africans and are not based on reliable sources of information. This could be the perpetuating factor of negative perceptions in the society. The study finding also backs these allegations, as participants convey the idea that foreign nationals' involvement in criminal activities contributes to their victimisation by locals. Their views were expressed as follow:

> *"Drugs! Obviously Nigerians sell drugs, One guy at (name of the building) asked me if i want to make money, I said yes of course … enden (and) he asked me to sell drugs for him, I know also us (South Africans) sell drugs, but Nigerians is their best business and they own makgosha (sex workers places – brothel), this is why they get beaten up"* ***(Participant K)***

> *"They must stop this drug dealing, now our friends sleep on the street and do crime because of nyaope (illegal drug). We did not know nyaope before these people come to here"* ***(Participant E)***

> *"Doing illegal businesses like selling drugs … en … and sometimes human trafficking, ya I think this can cause problems … Mzanzi people also join these guys because they need money … you see a problem"?* ***(Participant C)***

The study shows that criminal activities, particularly drug dealing, has a negative impact on the way foreign nationals are seen in South Africa. The finding supports studies by Landau, (2010) & Bekker (2008), which point out that Nigerians are typically accused of being drug lords in South Africa. This information cannot be proven by crime statistics. On the contrary, SAPS reports (2015/16) shows that only 7% of crimes were committed by non-nationals. Though the nationals' allegations cannot be proven, they should not be discharged on the basis of whether they are dependable or not. As the study shows, these perceptions could have a grave influence on the victimisation of foreign nationals. Perceptions influence attitudes that are likely to inform actions. Therefore, it is imperative that law enforcement agencies investigate these issues to establish the source of these accusations. This might lead to accurate discoveries that might contribute to the clearing of negative perceptions held by some South Africans about foreign nationals.

4.5.2.4 Competing for scarce resources

The rapid population increase is a growing concern worldwide and is seen as a pressing challenge to the economy, especially those with limited resources. This leads to a situation whereby large numbers of people will not have access to economic opportunities. For instance, there is scarcity of jobs worldwide, South Africa included. It is true that foreign nationals add to the population growth in South Africa, but to suggest that resources become scarce as result of their presence in the country is a loose argument, mainly because the majority of foreign nationals engage in self-employment businesses in South Africa. However, these are penetrating allegations against foreign nationals, particularly those of African origin. Hence, the views of the participants in this study categorically highlight that competition for scarce resources could lead to violent attacks on foreign nationals. The following are some of participants' views:

> *"now look, I don't work, no job, no hope, why, these people take all jobs even giving papers (advertising pamphlets) on the street, they take everything from us, we have nothing because of them"* ***(Participant, C)***

> *".... (with a loud voice) we are poor too, why should you come and take our little bread, no ways, this is the cause of the problem. There are little opportunities for South Africa to share, this is not America".* ***(Participant I)***

The study shows that scarce opportunities in South Africa lead to violent attacks on foreign nationals. Similar views were often documented by journalists on various media platforms as

being those of perpetrators of violent attacks. The finding also resonate with other studies (Crush, 2001, Piper & Charman, 2012; Dodson, 2010) that conveyed that young South Africans face pressure of unemployment, and other economic deficiencies, and foreign nationals are perceived to be contributing to this burden. Thus, attacking or getting rid of foreign nationals in South Africa is perceived as a way of reducing the load. The finding in this study clearly indicates that South Africans accuse foreign nationals of exacerbating unemployment in the country.

However, the finding refutes the study conducted by Catsam (2017), which pointed out that South Africans have high expectations of their government, and they are aware that the government does not provide job opportunities to foreign nationals. Therefore, to claim that foreigners exacerbate unemployment is proven to be a denial to admit an intense hatred towards foreign nationals. In the same study Catsam noted that even after foreign nationals left their shops, hawking spots, South Africans do not make use of such vacant spaces, because they consider them to be less profitable. Though one participant in this study made the following assertions:

> *"The truth is, foreigners take all opportunities, even selling on the street… You find no space for South Africans to sell, they also take all small jobs, and we know majority of us are not working"* ***(Participant, F)***

The fact that South Africans do not operate businesses left behind by dispossessed foreign nationals shows that the statement holds no weight in relation to violent attacks. Moreover, it is deceitful to suggest that foreign nationals take all opportunities, since there are restrictions in what they can do: for instance, they cannot easily find formal employment or operate registered businesses. Yet, South Africans have the privilege of running registered businesses, receive government support and find decent formal jobs. Nevertheless, the manner in which foreign nationals are victimised indicates that perverse factors leading to ill-treatment of non-nationals are projected in justification of these dreadful actions. In other words, these sentiments should not be easily discharged, as they could really be pertinent in enhancing the understanding of what prompts the ill-treatment of foreign nationals.

The researcher noted the frequent use of the word "these", which denotes an entrenched negative attitude among South Africans with regard to 'othernesses' in respect of foreign nationals. The 'othering' of foreign nationals is somewhat a significant factor signalling tensions and marginalisation of non-nationals. It was further observed that key informants did

not make use of this word, which might signify the importance of comprehensive education about migrants and human rights. Critical reflection on the concept of migration and human rights could play an integral part in transforming the use of language. The 'othering' of foreign nationals maintains the stereotypes, labelling and use of derogatory names towards foreign nationals.

4.5.3 INTEGRATION OF NON-NATIONALS IN SOUTH AFRICA

Social cohesion is crucial in a polarised society such as South Africa's. South Africa is a divided society politically, economically and socially. It could be argued that since the end of apartheid regime, South Africa has not entirely achieved the goal of equal and inclusive society. The violent attacks on foreign nationals are embedded on the extremely hostile ground that has not been fully rehabilitated from the effects of apartheid. The project of integration has not been realised on non-racial and economic components of the society. The pervasiveness of economic inequalities and racial segregation are major factors impeding social integration in South Africa. The project of integration among nationals is an ongoing process with less hope of achieving the envisioned rainbow nation. The ethnicity, race and socio-political and economic factors remain polarising elements instead of stimulating integration. With these landscapes in the country, interventions to facilitate the integration of foreign nationals would not be an easy assignment, particularly in the absence of robust governance and pro-refugee policies. The following themes emerged in response to interventions that could facilitate the integration of foreign nationals.

4.5.3.1 Refugee Camps

After dreadful violent attacks on non-nationals in May 2008 and April 2015, government established camps for the victims. These camps were overpopulated and sanitation was reported to be an issue of concern. At that point some of the foreign nationals returned to their countries of origins, while others returned to their evicted homes or relocated to townships perceived as being safer, and others were deported. In all these undertakings the government of South Africa did not implement any comprehensive programmes of integration. This signals the neglect of human rights by the state towards foreign nationals and also the ignorance of the magnitude of the problem expounded by these violent attacks. Human rights violations or even the contravention of section 2 of the Bill of Rights preserved in the constitution are evident in South Africa. This, then, is a perpetuation of impunity by the state, as there were no corrective interventions to prevent the recurrence. Deportation of foreign nationals during such critical period of violence was an act of complicity by the government with the demands of

perpetrators. Moreover, on interventions that could facilitate the integration of non-nationals, participants in this study reported the following views:

> *"When South Africans went in exile, they lived in camps, there was rules, but here we have nothing! Why? We must put them in camps too, ya … this is what should be done to create peace"* ***(Participant, K)***

> *"…the best way is to allow foreigners with the legal papers to remain in refugee camps, but those who have nothing must be sent back"* ***(Participant A)***

> *"I always see foreigners in other countries and they stay in refugee camps, this is what should be done, they can be here but they must be controlled … this will be the only way to check if they have correct papers and they cannot do crime"* ***(Participant, G)***

It is not only government that overlooks processes of integration, but also South Africans who do not show interest in such interventions. This point is revealed in the findings of this study when participants presented completely contrary responses to the question on interventions to facilitate the integration of non-nationals. The study established that South Africans prefer to see foreign nationals removed or driven out of their communities. This finding supports Crush's (2001) and Bekker's (2015) studies, which stated that South Africans would want all foreign nationals documented or undocumented be placed in refugee camps. This shows that South Africans have little or no understanding of refugee statuses and the rights thereof. What is more appalling than these views is that they were in response to the question of how integration could be facilitated, but contrastingly participants presented thoughts which showed intent to segregate and discriminate. This demonstrates an embedded problem of resentment towards foreign nationals and if not attentively addressed, the recurrences of these attacks are likely to take place, if indeed they are not already continuing unreported.

4.5.3.2 Deportation

Deportation or repatriation of foreign nationals should always be the last resort in the attempt to address issues concerning violent attacks on foreign nationals. The process requires the state to take into account the reasons behind the presence of the victimised non-nationals in the country, particularly because the majority moved here owing to socio-political conflicts in their home countries. The decision to deport foreign nationals in most cases is based only on whether one is documented or undocumented. This is the neglect of people's safety and livelihood and also the violation of human rights. The imagined rainbow nation is founded on this principle statement: "South Africa belongs to all who live in it", enshrined in the Constitution and also

documented in the freedom charter. Moreover, the constitution stipulates that "everyone is equal before the law and has the right to equal protection and benefit of the law". It is important to note that being a documented or undocumented foreign national does not reduce one's human rights. Therefore, equal protection has to be offered equally to both nationals and non-nationals irrespective of whether one is considered documented or undocumented. The participants in this study, however, would want to see all foreign nationals deported rather than being integrated, and the following quotations are some of their views:

> " *... you bring buses and use train because is big and send them home where they come from, there is nothing harmony when we are suffering" (the participant seemed angry)* ***(Participant B)***
>
> *"I am happy you ask this questions and I wish you can share them with the Johannesburg Mayor, if we want harmony for foreigners, please let them leave in peace, police must take them away, I am sorry if I sound bad, but this is what I want and harmony will come for both of us … harmony for who (with anger) and for what"?****(Participant K)***
>
> *"No bro, you will always complain about xenophobia, these people should pack and go … yes … they must be given transport that will drop them in their country so they will not return on the way"* ***(Participant, E)***

The finding in this study indicates that integration is not an option; rather, the view is that all foreign nationals should be repatriated. The finding supports the studies of Klaaren and Rutinwa (2004) and SAMP (2002) in which South Africans do not support the government's initiatives to exonerate foreign nationals now living without proper documents inside the country. Furthermore, the study reveals that all non-nationals should be repatriated, documented or not, as long as they are not adding positively to the economy of the country. Even though these studies do not oppose integration, it is clear that integration would not be a favourable option, if repatriation is considered to be a way of dealing with immigration. Integration has no place in the expressions of young South Africans interviewed in this study. This could be as a result of lack of educational programmes in place intended to facilitate integration. On the contrary, a key informant in this study emphasised the importance of establishing programs that will facilitate integration. One of the key informants indicated that:

> *"Government should be key role player in ensuring that South Africa becomes friendly and safer society for all foreigners. Educational initiatives should be established, so that*

South Africans would have better understanding of the history and culture of foreigners" ***(Key informant B)***

With the key informant articulating completely different views to those of the study participants, it could be argued that the level of education and having credible information about foreigners play significant roles in how South Africans perceive the presence of foreign nationals. The researcher also observed a distinction between the emotional expressions of key informants and study participants. The key informants displayed calmness, whereas the participants were agitated, angry and irritated, especially when they perceived a question as being divergent from what they believe should be done. Thus, their views on interventions that could facilitate integration were a dismissal of what they thought was the researcher's proposal.

4.5.3.3 Business partnerships

It was also observed that participants did not totally dismiss the question of integration, as in some ways they outlined rational ideas on interventions that could facilitate integration. The main problem lies with the fact that participants believe that foreign nationals should have lesser rights, and as a result they must not be treated equally. The fact that participants in this study could make contrasting presentations on similar matters indicates that there is room for accommodation, if ample educational interventions on human rights and broad African history could be executed in facilitating integration. In this study it became clear that participants were ill-informed on the rights of migrants. At some point foreign nationals are seen to be having no rights to run businesses in South Africa; on the other hand it was reported that they should collaborate with nationals in the running of businesses. Some of the suggestions made by participants in this study as interventions to facilitate integration are as follows:

"Only if they can do business together with us ah … ya if we share business we share ideas and we become friends, really this can work very well" ***(Participant N)***

"Encouraging foreigners to do business with mzanzi (local) people and they will share common interest … it will. Maybe create trust and friendship" ***(Participant H)***

"… they must stop doing it alone, when you come into my house and I am hungry but you eat your food alone, that means you are my enemy not a friend … eh … I mean they must share what they do. South Africans will protect them because they share shops or business, they must share"! ***(Participant E)***

The study shows that business partnership could build harmony and facilitate integration between non-nationals and nationals. The finding supports the studies by Falola and Hoyer (2017), Kirshner (2011) and Bekker (2015), which pointed out that the lack of business partnerships between foreign nationals and South Africans exacerbates divisions and hostile competition in townships. Partnership could build friendships and create common goals for both nationals and non-nationals. However, the researcher observed emotive expressions of uncertainties among participants when making this proposal: it was as if placing a condition on foreign-owned businesses that they should be under control of South Africans. Hence earlier premises presented by participants in this study showed that foreign nationals do not have rights to operate businesses.

Partnership as a way of facilitating integration is a noble proposal, but if not well monitored by law enforcement entities it could intensify hostility, especially with the current persevering negative attitudes and misconceptions held by South Africans about foreign nationals. Such interventions could lead to exploitation of foreign nationals, as long as nationals believe that non-nationals have lesser rights, attached to derogatory labelling, and stereotyping. The programme of integration between South Africans and foreign nationals needs to encompass holistic in-depth approaches, and it should be monitored constantly to ensure that it does not diverge or yield worse unintended consequences. The process of integration should be embedded on the gravity of human rights, whereby the dignity and equality of everyone is recognised.

4.5.3.4 Equal salary negotiations

The realisation of human rights as natural or universal is imperative in building a harmonious and inclusive society. This will foster a space conducive to negotiations between nationals and non-nationals that can be fair and positive. However, it has to be stressed once more that these processes should include all economic, political and social stakeholders, since they play a fundamental role in establishing policies and supervising their implementation. For instance, law enforcement agencies have been alleged to be partisan in the victimisation of foreign nationals. In addition to that, employers are blamed for preferring foreign nationals over South Africans, on the basis that foreign nationals accept exploitation and do not participate in wage protests. he participants in this study echoed the views below:

"I don't really support this integration thing, but to give answer … if they can also fight for the same salaries as South Africans, I hope this can change things for better, abelungu (white-bosses) like foreigners because they can work for nothing" **(Participant, A)**

"my brother's company fired many South Africans and employed foreigners. He says is because they do not protest for salary or complain about anything, and they (foreigners) must stop this thing and protest with others for salary" ***(Participant, M)***

*"Restaurants, hotels and shops, love to employ foreigners, because they do not have a problem to work for peanuts … not ID, no union, no bank, these people never strike or complain about salary increase and until they too ask for same salary … heee … I do not see any peace"****(Participant, G)***

In this study the finding reveals that non-nationals and national workers should negotiate equal salary payments in their places of work. This will have a positive impact on their work relationship and it is anticipated that those relationships could be extended to the communities where they live.

Idahosa and Louise (2014) and Klaaren and Ramji (2001) detailed that foreign nationals, due to their poor economic situations and immigration statuses, become desperate and accept lower wages than what South Africans bargain for. What is appalling about this situation is the constant discrimination of foreign nationals by employers in South Africa. Employers tend to maximise profit by means of exploitative measures on foreign nationals. In other words, the victimisation of foreign nationals is systemic in South Africa.

It appears that employers take advantage of workers who are not represented by trade unions and other legal entities such as the Commission for Conciliation, Mediation and Arbitration (CCMA). Although these institutions claim representation of all workers, foreign nationals are hesitant to rely on them, since they experience constant abuse and misrepresentation by other public institutions like SAPS and Home Affairs. Foreign nationals have lost faith in various South African institutions that claim to advocate for people's rights and protection. Consequently, foreign nationals are mindful that complaining might only mean losing even the little they have, hence being susceptible becomes an easier mechanism for survival. The negotiation of equal salary could be an important step towards the process of integration. However, the participants seem to point fingers at foreign nationals: their single-sided focus categorises foreign nationals as a problem, hence in this case employers are not seen as perpetrators, but foreigners take all blame for accepting the lesser salaries offered.

The key informants, however, pointed out comparable views but in a manner that does not place blame on foreign nationals for equal salary negotiations in the workplace. The following view was captured in this study:

> *"... but first our industries should be regulated, to ensure that all workers receive equal treatment, if employers discriminate against workers because of their nationality, we are sitting with a situation where foreigners will be seen as outsiders who create problems for South Africans"* ***(Key informant A)***

The employer is considered as the key role player in ensuring that the process of integration takes place. Contrary to the views of participants, this view shows the employer as the one who holds the industrial power, and who should safeguard the rights of workers equitably. Therefore, the elimination of selfish gain by employers is necessary for the facilitation of integration. Industries are crucial spaces where people spend considerable numbers of hours together in a confined space. There are constant interactions, and so teamwork is frequently needed, and a shared organisational culture. These aspects of the workplace are crucial in fostering relationships that could extend facilitation of integration outside the workplace.

4.5.3.5 The role of leadership

The abuse of foreign nationals in South Africa has been extensively documented, yet the role of leadership in averting this turmoil has not been realised. As mentioned in the literature review, some prominent leaders who have made remarks on violent attacks on foreign nationals have been criticised for fuelling violence. The involvement of government leaders was reactionary rather than interventionist. It is presumed that the influence of government leaders or politicians is of paramount important in addressing the social ills in society. The respect that the majority of the people afford to leaders signals their suitability in guiding the facilitation of integration. Therefore, it is much anticipated that leaders, including traditional leaders, could model tolerance and acceptance and be custodians of human rights promotion. The participants in this study stressed the significant role of leaders and the need for their involvement in the facilitation of integration of foreign nationals. Some of their views are as follows:

> *"Our leaders in the government must warn people about treating foreigners bad, they are still human, people listen to famous people like politicians ... they must come to us and talk with us and listen to us"* ***(Participant 0)***

"President and mayors and premiers and eh … and councillors must go to communities and speak to people, not only on TV, because they will not take them serious, but must come to Alexandre or Soweto and talk to people to love foreigners" ***(Participant B)***

"I am not sure but I think pastors in church and leaders from ANC must teach people about treating foreigners as people, yes … I think ANC leaders are good because are in government, they must help" ***(Participant, J)***

The study shows that leaders are key role players in establishing interventions that could facilitate integration – particularly politicians, especially in the African National Congress (ANC) who are the majority of those in government because the ANC is the ruling party. Furthermore, the finding shows that leaders in non-government organisations can also contribute to facilitate integration. The role of other leaders such as churches and traditional leaders is important in this regard; however, their roles will have minimal impact if those who have influence on policies are not at the forefront of the process.

The current political strategies as outlined in the White Paper (2017) do not pay attention to the process of integration in detail; rather, they emphasise border control. Migrants without visas would not benefit from the integration process, and therefore these strategies fail to capture issues of tolerance in order to address the negative attitude towards foreign nationals. The Democratic Alliance (DA) is the first political opposition party in South Africa to state its strategies on immigration policy, which focuses on securing borders. Neither the ANC nor and DA policy framework focuses on how to address the existing blight of abuse directed at foreign nationals. While their strategic plans on immigration policies may echo similar conventions with the way the majority of other countries deal with immigration, it is crucial to consider the intense animosity displayed through violent attacks on foreign nationals in South Africa. Integration could be a better way to address xenophobic attacks than intensifying border management.

The findings of this study support other studies – for example, those by Misago, Landau and Monson (2009) and Charman and Piper (2012) – which noted that leaders are best positioned to inspire the integration of foreign nationals and also the investigation into those behind the attacks. These studies demonstrate the influence of government leaders not only on ordinary citizens but also on the justice system, which will ensure that the rule of law is maintained. It is upsetting that until now the government and its leadership have not established a working process to facilitate integration. It is uncertain if the ANC government considers integration as

part of its strategic plan to address violent attacks on foreign nationals. The provision of food and shelter in temporary camps and the repatriation of victimised foreign nationals has been the only noticeable way the government has attempted addressing the violent attacks. The re-integration of displaced victims was replaced with resettlement into community life. It is uncertain if there is political will and adequate leadership commitment to carry out a successful project of integration. This is particularly so given that there are still unchallenged obstacles that preclude foreign nationals from attaining basic human rights and respect for their dignity by virtue of being humans and living in South Africa.

4.6 CONCLUSION

In this chapter the understanding of young South Africans living at the vocational centre in Hillbrow about the violent attacks on foreign nationals was established. The perceptions and understanding young people have about the violent attacks on non-nationals indicate that in South Africa there is high level of intolerance towards foreign nationals. Foreign nationals are blamed for considerable numbers of misfortunes the citizens are currently facing; these were shown through the presented perceived factors leading to these attacks. It became clear that integration could be possible, although it will not be an easy process due to embedded social problems that necessitate robust leadership interventions. The study revealed an engrained resentment of foreign nationals in South Africa, which in fact contributes significantly to the existence of xenophobia in the country. There is a general ignorance of human rights among young people in South Africa; hence none of the participants mentioned anything about human rights in relation to the violent attacks on foreign nationals.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The summary of the fundamental findings of the study is presented in this chapter. The goal of the study was to explore the views of young South Africans living at a vocational centre in Hillbrow about violent attacks on foreign nationals. Final conclusions are drawn against the objectives of the study and are drawn based on the findings. The researcher also makes recommendations and also outlines further areas for research in the future in relation to this topic.

5.2 SUMMARY OF THE MAIN FINDINGS

The summary of the central findings of the study is outlined in relation to the study objectives, which are as follows:

Objective 1: To investigate the understanding that young South Africans, in Hillbrow, have on the violence against non-South Africans.

Participants understood the violent attacks on foreign nationals as an expression of anger and frustration. These participants felt that South Africans are angry with government's unwillingness to deliver basic services to the citizens. Furthermore, they pointed out that unemployment frustrates young people in South Africa; hence these frustrations find expression through violence exerted on foreign nationals. It is worth noting that these participants did not see violent attacks on foreign nationals as a bad practice, but rather as justified actions that offers a solution to the existing problems. The participants showed no concern about forthe repercussions of violent attacks on foreign nationals, particularly the violation of their human rights, but rather focused on how these actions could yield positive results for the citizens. The expulsion of foreigners in the country is seen as a way of creating opportunities for the citizens and also catching the government's attention to respond to their demands for basic services. However, participants and key informants also understood the attacks on foreign nationals as barbaric and showing a lack of education. These participants showed concern about the wellbeing of foreign nationals and also regarded the actions of violence against foreigners as xenophobic.

It is imperative to mention that participants understood the violent attacks on foreigners as expressions of anger and frustration, and also acknowledged the brutality of the actions, but the perceived intended reasons of the attacks were considered more important than xenophobia and its harmfulness to the wellbeing of foreigners. These participants also referred to the violent attacks as xenophobia. These participants were also emotive in their expressions, showing that they share similar anger and frustration understood to be an explanation of violent attacks on foreign nationals.

It was fascinating to note that on the other hand the participants further understood the violent attacks on foreign nationals as a corrective measure. These participants further blamed foreign nationals for social ills in the South African communities. Henceforth, their understanding of the violent attacks on foreign nationals indicated their approval of the way foreign nationals are treated in South African township communities. The plight of foreign nationals is seen as a way of correcting the wrongs and restoring order. There was a general display of pride among these participants, showing a sense of heroism that this anarchy is for the good cause of saving the country from an invasion of foreigners. On the contrary participants also understood the attacks as an embarrassment and absurd. The key informants were concerned about the reputation of the country and how it could negatively affect intercontinental and international relations. Key informants and participants perceive South Africa as a xenophobic society.

Objective 2: To explore the perceived factors leading to the ill-treatment of non-South Africans in South Africa.

Participants mentioned that poor service delivery is one of the reasons foreign nationals are ill-treated in the South African townships. The participants felt that government's failure to fulfil the promised services perpetuates animosity towards foreign nationals. The premise of this view is that foreigners share in the little services intended for citizens; as a result, citizens suffer. The key informants echoed similar views but emphasised that foreign nationals do not necessarily put pressure on the scarce resources. Additionally, key informants pointed out that corruption affects service delivery, and, therefore, the failure by the state to deliver basic services leads to the ill-treatment of foreigners.

The increase of foreign nationals in the country is considered one of the explanations for foreigners being ill-treated in township communities. The participants emphasised that foreign nationals are increasingly visible in South Africa and they are getting too comfortable in township communities. In other words, the maltreatment of foreign nationals is intended to

disturb their peace and comfort so that they will opt to go back to their home countries. Key informants also stated that the media created a negative picture about the number of African foreigners coming or already living in the country; hence there is a hostile relationship between nationals and non-nationals in township communities.

The reason foreigners are ill-treated was linked to criminal activities. Participants echoed that foreigners are involved in dubious businesses or criminal activities; consequently, South Africans maltreat everyone considered foreign. The participants claimed to have experienced or witnessed foreigners' involvement in criminal activities. However, participants also reported that South Africans maltreat foreigners because they are jealous of their entrepreneurial success. The participants further stated that South Africans do not understand how foreigners succeed; hence they accuse them of criminal dealings.

Competition for scarce resources was identified as one of the factors leading to ill-treatment of foreigners in South Africa. Participants cast blame on foreigners for high unemployment rates in the country. The participants demonstrated emotional anger when articulating the problem of not finding employment. And they believed that if foreigners were not allowed to work or operate businesses, they would be treated better than now. It is worth noting that all participants in this research were unemployed, thus it is not surprising that they blamed foreigners for high unemployment and felt that high unemployment rates contribute to ill-treatment of these immigrants. The expression of anger demonstrated by participants when highlighting the issue of job scarcity and the association of violent attacks with expression of frustration against the government point to the substantial negative impact of unemployment in South Africa.

Objective 3: To examine young people's views on interventions that could facilitate the integration of non-South Africans in Hillbrow Community.

The findings in this study show that participants are not in support of the integration of foreign nationals. For instance, all participants suggested that foreigners should return to their countries of origin. It is interesting that this view was in response to the question of how to integrate foreigners, but participants instead showed views that oppose integration. Participants said foreign nationals should only be allocated camps and not be allowed to live in communities. The participants did not mention particular categories of immigrants that should be kept in camps, which highlights a lack of understanding about different types of immigrants. The distinctions mentioned about immigrants were only on the basis of being documented and non-

documented migrants, and the suggestion was that only undocumented immigrants should be deported.

In the follow-up questions, participants mentioned that forming business partnerships between nationals and non-nationals could be an effective intervention to facilitate integration. It was clear that these participants did not see this as a preferable option, merely because they might be obliged to live together with foreign nationals. In addition to this, participants recommended that foreigners should work under South Africans in businesses, which means that foreigners should not own or be in equal partnership with citizens. In other words, citizens should have more power than foreigners in business relationships.

The findings in this study further revealed that equal salary negotiations could facilitate the integration of foreign nationals. Participants mentioned that if foreign nationals would stop accepting lower wages and join citizens in their demands for better salaries, and a minimum living wage, things would improve for citizens. The point raised by these participants holds weight, but is paradoxical coming from the same people who want foreigners deported or placed in camps. Key informants showed that employers are equally xenophobic by showing preferences for non-nationals over nationals for exploitative reasons. Therefore, employers should be involved in the facilitation of integration.

Finally, participants said that the role of leadership is crucial in guiding the facilitation of integration. The participants highlighted the influence of leaders in township communities. Moreover, the participants were concerned about the silence and absence of leaders in township communities when problems arise. Similar views about the importance of leadership roles were recommended by the informants. The key informants mentioned that community leaders would not do much without ongoing support from the government. Integration requires participation of all social, economic and political organisations to foster unity and harmony in the country. The key informants also raised concerns that leaders share similar xenophobic sentiments; hence they have not been sincerely involved in trying to address xenophobic attacks.

5.3 CONCLUSION FROM FINDINGS

The findings showed that violent attacks on foreign nationals are an indirect attack on the government for poor basic service delivery. The foreign nationals are not welcomed in South Africa, they are accused of creating several social ills affecting the lives of the nationals negatively. South Africans would prefer a total removal of all foreign nationals from

communities to an isolated demarcated place or out of the country. The findings also showed an absence of general knowledge of human rights and immigration.

5.4 RECOMMENDATIONS

The study proposes the following recommendations:

5.4.1 Social Development curriculum

The growing unemployment rate poses a considerable challenge to social development. For instance, poverty or lack of education prompt crime, and immigration affects population growth, which might have effects on scarce resources. The need to address these social issues requires reintegration, which encompasses teaching social skills and self-awareness. The social cohesion committees should be established in all three spheres of the government to monitor all conflict resolutions on a regular basis and evaluate the effectiveness of such initiatives. The government through relevant department should conduct thorough assessment of aftermath of the attacks and formulate concrete action plan to prevent the reoccurrences of violent attacks. These efforts should focus on both nationals and non-nationals to strengthen partnerships in their endeavors to meet their basic needs and create meaningful relations.

5.4.2 Policy

The designated government departments should demonstrate commitment to the implementation of policies that protect immigrants. Pro-immigrant policies should be virtually operationalised. The current proposed policy strategies by political parties focus on border management, and repatriation of undocumented foreigners, whereas South Africa needs to refocus its policies on building unity through vigorous integration programmes. Thus, the government needs to turn current policy strategies into practical programmes that will influence everyday life in society. There is a need for the establishment of programmes that will make policy accessible and beneficial to township communities. Such programmes should be designed in a manner that will incorporate contextual norms and values, to promote integration of foreign nationals. The judicial response towards xenophobic attacks needs to demonstrate utter commitment in the monitoring of public violence cases. There is an extensive perception of impunity around cases of xenophobic attacks. These can best be addressed by ensuring protection of victims and witnesses in the cases of xenophobic attacks. Charges of public violence should not be withdrawn or allocated bail before thorough investigations and rehabilitation of both victims and perpetrators is carried out. The law enforcement agencies

should work in collaboration to establish campaigns that will promote the justice system in township communities.

5.4.3 Practice

The research showed that there is a lack of awareness about human rights among South Africans. The establishment of programmes that will educate society about human rights could cater for this need. Such programmes should not only be responsive to events of human rights violation but should be relentlessly practical to influence norms and values in society. The topics of human rights and immigration should form an integral part of the curriculum in South African basic education. Human rights organisations should make their campaigns visible in various South African townships.

5.4.4 Research

The recurrence of violent attacks on foreign nationals and its damning consequences for human rights violations demand constant research to unmask and appropriately conceptualise xenophobia in the South African context.

6. CONCLUSION OF THE STUDY

The study is made up of five chapters. Chapter one introduced and presented the overview of the whole study. The statement of the problem and rationale for the study were discussed in chapter one of the study. The aim and objectives of the study, as well an explanation of the qualitative approach as a research methodology, were presented. The study explored the views of young South Africans living at the vocational centre in Hillbrow about the violent attacks on foreign nationals. Chapter two discussed HRA, which was utilised as the theoretical framework of the study. Chapter two undertook a literature review for the study; its purpose was to expand the reader's knowledge of violent attacks on foreign nationals by drawing on existing local and international sources. Chapter three discussed the research methodology used for data collection and all arrangements and strategies underpinning a qualitative approach. In chapter four the presentation and discussion of findings were presented in conjunction with the objectives of the study. The verbatim quotations were also incorporated in chapter four in order to provide fresh perspectives in the study. Chapter five presented a summary of the main findings and recommendations were made from the emerging findings of the study.

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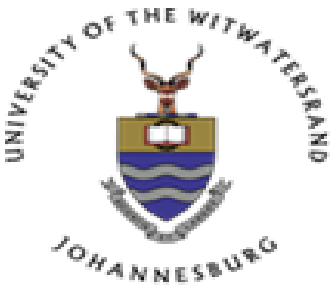
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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: PARTICIPATION INFORMATION SHEET

Good day,

My name is **Theko Thamaga** and I am a post graduate student for the degree, MA in Social Development at the University of Witwatersrand. As part of the requirements for the degree I am studying, I am expected to conduct a research. I am inviting you to take part in my research study on the views of young South Africans, living at vocational centre in Hillbrow (Johannesburg, about the violent attack on foreigners. I hope the study will help in the understanding of the issue and finding better solutions of the problem.

I would like you to understand that choosing to participate in this study is entirely voluntary and if you do not wish to participate it will not be held against you in any way. If you agree to participate, I shall arrange to interview you about my study at any time and place that is suitable for you. The interview with each person will not take us more than an hour. Even after you have agreed to participate, you can still decide to withdraw or stop the interview at any time. You are also allowed to refuse to answer any questions that you feel uncomfortable with answering.

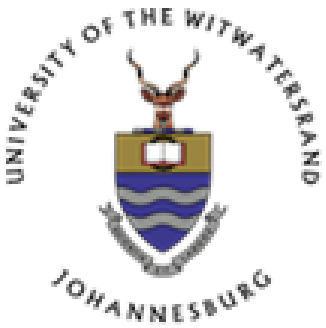
With your permission, the interview will be tape-recorded. I guarantee you that no one other than my supervisor will have access to the tapes. The tapes and interview schedule will be kept for two years following any publications or for six years if no publications take place from the study. Please be assured that your names and personal details will not be written on the final research report.

As the interview will include sensitive issues, there is a possibility that you may experience some feelings of emotional distress. Should you therefore feel the need for supportive counselling during or after the interview, I have arranged for this service to be provided free of charge by the Assessment centre here at MES. To make an appointment you can go to the reception at Assessment centre, or you can contact **Zodwa Mathye** on **(011) 023 4889**

If you have questions, please let me know. My contact number is 072 868 7357. Thank you for taking your time to consider participating in the study.

Yours sincerely

Theko Thamag



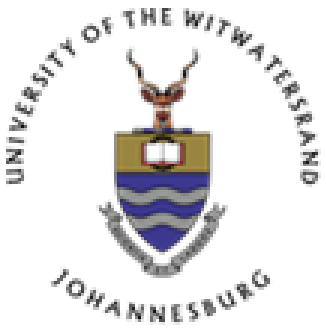
APPENDIX B: CONSENT FORM FOR PARTICIPATION IN THE STUDY

I hereby consent to participate in the research project. The purpose and procedures of the study have been explained to me. I understand that my participation is voluntary and I may refuse to answer any particular items or withdraw from the study at any time without any negative consequences. I understand that my responses will be kept confidential.

Pseudonym :……

Date :……....

Signature :……....



APPENDIX C: CONSENT FORM FOR AUDIO-TAPING OF THE INTERVIEW

I hereby consent to tape-recording of the interview. I understand that my confidentiality will be maintained at all times and that tapes will be destroyed two years after any publication arising from the study or six years after completion of the study if there are no publications.

Pseudonym:……

Date:……....

Signature:……....

APPENDIX D APPENDIX D: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE: PARTICIPANTS

Demographic information

Age:

Gender:

Duration of residence in Hillbrow:

To investigate the understanding that young South Africans, in Hillbrow, have on the violence against non-South African

i) Tell me about your experience living in Hillbrow.
ii) What do you think of the violent attacks on foreign nationals living in South Africa?
iii) What do these violent attacks on foreign nationals mean to you?

To explore the perceived factors leading to ill-treatment of non-South Africans in South Africa.

i) In your opinion, what influences South Africans' decisions to mistreat foreigners?
ii) What are some structures, activities or issues that create tensions between foreigners and South Africans?
iii) What are the effects of violent attacks on foreigners in South Africa?

To examine young people's views on interventions that could facilitate the integration of non-South Africans in Hillbrow community.

i) What needs to be done to facilitate peaceful relations between nationals and non-nationals in Hillbrow?
ii) What should be done to help foreigners live harmoniously in Hillbrow?
iii) Which people or organizations can play a key role in ensuring peaceful relations between foreigners and South Africans?

Is there any other information related to the study which I have not asked that you would want to share with me?

☺**Thank you for your participation in the research study!**

APPENDIX D: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE: KEY INFORMANTS

i. To investigate the understanding that young South Africans, in Hillbrow, have on the violence against non-South African

1. What is your view about violent attacks foreigners in Hillbrow community?
2. Are the violent attacks on foreign nationals unique in Hillbrow?
3. What do these violent attacks tell us about South Africa?

ii. To explore the perceived factors leading to ill-treatment of non-South Africans in South Africa.

1. What instigate the inappropriate treatment of foreigners in South African?
2. What are the possible causes of tensions among South Africans towards foreigners?
3. What are some of the consequences of the violence being perpetrated against foreign nationals?

iii. To examine young people's views on interventions that could facilitate the integration of non-South Africans in Hillbrow community.

1. What should be done to promote the integration of foreigners in South African communities, particularly in Hillbrow?
2. Who are the role players and what should be their responsibilities in facilitating the integration of foreign nationals in South Africa?

Is there any other information related to the study which I have not asked that you would want to share with me?

Thank you for your participation in the research study!

Interview Transcripts

Name: E **APPENDIX H**

Age: 25

Gender: Male

Duration of residence in Hillbrow: 6

To investigate the understanding that young South Africans, in Hillbrow, have on the violence against non-South African

Researcher: Hello, good day.

E: Hi, how are you?

Researcher: I am fine thanks and how are you?

E: I am good, thanks

Researcher: Thank you for coming, and I hope you are ready for our interview.

E: Yes, I am ready

Researcher: Good to hear that, tell me about your experience living in Hillbrow.

E: Aah.. Nothing interesting hey, this place offers nothing good except we are just managing. I think I am here because I do not have another option, unless I go back to Free-state. But what will I do there, because there is nothing for me. Aah, Hillbrow is not clean, I hate dirty places, but I am used to it now and many people here do funny staff, prostitutes live here and when I tell people I stay in Hillbrow, I think they just say she must be buying prostitute (laughs) or selling drugs, Is shameful somehow to live here. But here I am, as long as I know I am not into prostitutes, and I am not into drugs. Hillbrow is a mess to tell the truth, I can no enjoy this place, never!

Researcher: What do you think of the violent attacks on foreign nationals living in South Africa?

E: We call them xenophobia, simply means we fear these people.

Researcher: what do you think of this xenophobia in South Africa?

E: I think it serves them right, look I am struggling here too, but I stay here at home. Truth be told, people are tired of having many, many foreigners in this country. They attack them because people of South Africa feel pressure, you know, and i think this attacks are not taken serious and that is why they repeat…..when I look at it shows that South African people are

not happy and they are helpless…em…then the only way to show that they are very angry is by attacking foreigners so that things that things like jobs can happen, maybe.

Researcher: What do these violent attacks on foreign nationals mean to you?

E: I just feel alright, it does not bother me that much.

Researcher: Are you not concerned about the pain caused on foreigners?

E: Not much, just that human being is human being, is not good to see people killed and chased out of their houses. When I see those wars on TV, I feel sorry for them and I do not agree with the fighting but I agree that foreigner should go away. Nna (I) I am tired of not finding a job because foreigners took them all. Xenophobia is bad, sometimes I think what if it was me in their country. Mara (but) is must happen, xenophobia must happen it will solve our problems.

<u>To explore the perceived factors leading to ill-treatment of non-South Africans in South Africa.</u>
Researcher: In your opinion, what influences South Africans' decisions to mistreat foreigners?
E: Obvious, when you are poor and you cannot work because someone is taking your job you wish to kill that person. I know that Violence is bad, I don't promote that, mara (but) it solve lot of problems..eh…I think is the reason people use it. Even when you beat a child that child will be good next time, which means violence solve…eh but not too much, like killing, no. Just make them scared and they will run away.
E: What are some structures, activities or issues that create tensions between foreigners and South Africans?

E: Church, like Methodist church down town is helping them with place to sleep and food. Police are useless I will not mention them, maybe ministers, celebrities and politicians must talk to people and stop making empty promises. Maybe tension will stop if these TV people can speak to people about love and also start helping people with the money the steal from government, not to just help their families. If we need peace these foreigners must stop coming here without passports.

Rsearcher: What are the effects of violent attacks on foreigners in South Africa?

E: What is effects?

Research: What are the results of violent attacks on foreigners in South Africa?

E: Good for us, and bad for them. They suffer badly but maybe there will be jobs for us and we can also use their spaza (tuck-shops) to make some mula (money). And if we do not suffer the consequences then is good for us, I am sorry I must speak the truth. Only news people make us look bad, but xenophobia help. Bare population is growing people will not have food, but if they ran away it means we will be few and there will be enough for us. I am not sure but I think so.

<u>To examine young people's views on interventions that could facilitate the integration of non-South Africans in Hillbrow community.</u>

Researcher: What needs to be done to facilitate peaceful relations between nationals and non-nationals in Hillbrow?

E: Do you think that is good, I don't think so. No one must stop xenophobia, is only bad is also good. And foreigners do not like South Africa or people of here. They only take our money and send it to their home, is that good? No,no,no. they must be stopped. People here obvious they don't want relationship with foreigners and no one can force them to like foreigners. No one must do anything for that relations. They must go!

Researcher: What should be done to help foreigners live harmoniously in Hillbrow?

E: I think if the foreigners can live as foreigners and not have too much freedom like now. They cannot live harmoniously here, who want them anyway, they must stop crime, accepting small salary and also doing things alone. But these people do not want to enjoy here, because they form groups and help each other alone. They have too much secrets because they are not honest in all they do, they must also stop this drug dealing, now our friends sleep on the street and do crime because of nyaope (illegal drug). We did not know nyaope before these people come to here We can't live together, thank you.

Researcher: Which people or organizations can play a key role in ensuring peaceful relations between foreigners and South Africans?

E: No bro, you will always complain about xenophobia, these people should pack and go…yes…they must be given transport that will drop them in their country so they will not return on the way. No one can help here, only helping them to get home protected is what they should get. Police and soldiers must transport these people and make sure they do not come

back here. Bosses must stop hiring foreigners even if they take little salary. All foreigner must stop working and if they start businesses, South African must be their boss.

Researcher: Is there any other information related to the study which I have not asked that you would want to share with me?

E: I it will be better if president can speak presidents of these foreigners to come to take their people. South Africa has problem of no jobs already. This mean we are not able to buy good food everyday.

Researcher: Thank for having this interview with me.

E: Sure

Researcher: Go well and enjoy the rest of your day.

Name: C

Age: 24

Gender: Male

Duration of residence in Hillbrow: 9 years

To investigate the understanding that young South Africans, in Hillbrow, have on the violence against non-South African

Researcher: Good day

C: Good day

Researcher: How are you?

C: I am fine

Researcher: Are you enjoying your computer classes?

C: yes

Researcher: Are you ready for our interview?

C: 100%

Researcher: That's great, tell me about your experience living in Hillbrow.

C: Hillbrow is my home now, it is nice because is near schools, train station and many taxis. But people here can do bad things, the place is nice but people are bad. I was once chased by thugs after withdrawing R100 from CAPITEC. I ran fast and they lost track of me, my brother got mugged three times here in Hillbrow and moved to Soweto. The truth is, this area is dangerous but I enjoy living here.

Researcher: When you say people here do bad things, what do you mean, what could those bad things?

C: There are too much, like human trafficking of girls, especially foreigners and rural girls, sometimes boys too, and Nigerians are behind these things, Nigerians are bad, very bad. They sell drugs, make fake ID or certificates copies, these people can make fake of everything and many of these Nigerians live here (Hillbrow).

Researcher: Moving to the next question, what do you think of the violent attacks on foreign nationals living in South Africa?

C: Jo! That's a tough one because I do not like the attacks like beating and burning people even if they are foreigners. But I think generally people have good reasons to attack these foreigners, look no one will do anything about the problems caused by these people. Police and government do not solve anything, these people come here and do bad things, people are protecting the communities, after xenophobia foreigners will do the right thing, I think they understand now. This should teach them lesson, especially Nigerians.

Researcher: What do these violent attacks on foreign nationals mean to you?

C: Like I said, violence is bad but this one is for a good reason. Xenophobia in South Africa means people are angry and they want government to help them and because government says we are many that why it cannot help us all quickly, so the attacking of foreigners is to reduce the number of people so that we can get jobs. What can we say, If…a bad thing like xenophobia can solve problems, so it must be used.

To explore the perceived factors leading to ill-treatment of non-South Africans in South Africa.

Researcher: In your opinion, what influences South Africans' decisions to mistreat foreigners?

C: There is too many, many foreigners here emzanzi (South Africa) and 'e ya khinya di dei' (Is boring this thing) of foreigners coming here in big numbers, And they are criminals, like Nigerians, I told you already. Again you must understand that we do not work and this make us sad. We must do something.

Researcher: What are some structures, activities or issues that create tensions between foreigners and South Africans?

C: The fact that these people are crooks, create tension. They should stop taking jobs belonging to us. Foreigners without ID are working in South Africa as if we all have jobs….this is nonsense (irritably). No work for foreigners period! now look, I don't work, no job, no hope, why, these people take all jobs even giving papers (advertising pamphlets) on the street, they take everything from us, we have nothing because of them, these cause tension.

Researcher: What are the effects of violent attacks on foreigners in South Africa?

C: Like….what do you mean?

Researchers: What are results or consequences of these violence?

C: Not as I would like to see, xenophobia is failing to chase away these people, they always come back, I think we do not see results, only little. But government is failing us by giving these people places to stay, police protect them and not drive the away. They eat our food and use our clinics.

Researcher: How do these violent attacks affect the people of South Africa?

C: It does hey, to tell the truth, now I cannot visit Zimbabwe, if they find out I am from South Africa they will burn me alive. These created many enemies for South Africa. But xenophobia is necessary so we must not be worried about consequence or results.

To examine young people's views on interventions that could facilitate the integration of non-South Africans in Hillbrow community.

Researcher: What needs to be done to facilitate peaceful relations between nationals and non-nationals in Hillbrow?

C: Government must create jobs for us and make our life better. If 'Mzanzi' (South Africa) people have jobs, we will all be happy and peaceful. But if nothing gets done, we will always see xenophobia. I don't think 'wena' (you) will attack foreigners because you have opportunity, you drive and you go to a good University, you are happy, but me I only have this computer school for 4 hours 3 days in a week. So I am sad and I don't have peace. Yes, jobs will end xenophobia 'klaar'(completely).

Researcher: What should be done to help foreigners live harmoniously in Hillbrow?

C: Built 'emikhukhu' shacks for them somewhere in the rural area near the bother, do not let them come next to places of jobs. I think they will live in peace, but the government of their country must send food for them, not our own government. And they will have peace together and go back to their country soon.

Researcher: What can be done to create good relationship between South Africans and foreigners, so that they can live together in peace?

C: Living together? Nothing must be done about that. We live here and solve our problems, so they must go home and fix their problems there. No peace together, everyone to his country and have good relationship there. We can visit and they can visit not live together forever.

Researcher: Which people or organizations can play a key role in ensuring peaceful relations between foreigners and South Africans?

C: You really want peace (giggle). Government can help with that by creating jobs for 'Mzanzi'(South Africa) people. Also United Nation must help by giving support to foreigners, so that government can focus on us.

Researcher: Is there any other information related to the study which I have not asked that you would want to share with me?

C: You must just understand that we need jobs, it is very difficult to live poor life. If we have what we need we shall be happy with everyone.

Researcher: Thank you for your time and I enjoyed having this interview with you, I appreciate it.

C: Thank you.

Name: K

Age: 19

Gender: Female

Duration of residence in Hillbrow: 4 years

To investigate the understanding that young South Africans, in Hillbrow, have on the violence against non-South African

Researcher: Good morning

K: Morning

Researcher: how are you doing?

K: I am fine and I am happy you chose me to be part of this research, I hope I can make my voice heared

Researcher: I am glad you are feeling good about this, tell me about your experience living in Hillbrow.

K: I am enjoying this area, is not fancy and not safe but I have made good friends here. I came here four years ago, and I stayed with my aunt in her flat. And I met my boyfriend here and my son was born here, I completed my high school here and now I am attending computer classes here. I hope I will find a job here. I have lot of friends in Hillbrow, so is my favourite place and I am not ashamed about it.

Researcher: What do you think of the violent attacks on foreign nationals living in South Africa?

K: They are not so good, I feel ashamed by the horrible things people do to foreigners. They should not punish them like that, is not fair, imagine putting petrol and tyre on people and light them when they are still living, is that fair, no that's evil. But again when you see foreigners here, guys from Nigeria, they are too much. South Africa is with many foreigners than all

countries…is not good because their number is above normal..mina…(I) think this bring cause problem and ya…we cannot have these foreigners here.

Researcher: What do these violent attacks on foreign nationals mean to you?

K: If you look at the way things are in South Africa now, I think xenophobia means that people are fed-up and they want things done. Foreigners evil things here, Nigerian guys always promise money to me and other girls. And we are poor people here, it is easy to listen to them because they have money. Things are not right, crime, drugs and all wrong things are happening and government is ok, police take bribe, Mzanzi must do something to stop these people from destroying the country. My two friends here in Hillbrow are prostitute because a Nigerian guy hired them, teaching them to smoke drugs and drink beer. He also wanted me to join and I said no no no!

<u>To explore the perceived factors leading to ill-treatment of non-South Africans in South Africa.</u>

Researcher: In your opinion, what influences South Africans' decisions to mistreat foreigners?

K: There are lot of things that influence xenophobia, but I think what pushes people to beat and kill these foreigners is unemployment. I want to work, but at least my boyfriend is helping me with money. Boys are on their own, if government does nothing, it means nothing for them. It is crime by foreigners, they are criminals many of them. They do not want to work with South Africans, and they don't come here with their wives or girlfriends, our men do not like them for that and I don't really like them too.

Researcher: What are some structures, activities or issues that create tensions between foreigners and South Africans?

K: Issue of 'spani' (job) is so serious and painful and is the main cause of tension. The people want to have opportunities and these foreigners want to take their opportunities, and they will be hated, beaten and killed for that. But I also think politics play some dirty game with xenophobia. Politicians do not like each other and they even buy other people to kill others.

Researcher: What are the effects of violent attacks on foreigners in South Africa?

K: Is affecting all of us, things will be tough and we must not just try to go to these people countries because, hey! They will kill you. And for them is affecting the businesses they ran,

but they must not have businesses here at the first place. 'Thina' (we) can handle the effects, we do not need to think too much about that. What about now, we are suffering now!

To examine young people's views on interventions that could facilitate the integration of non-South Africans in Hillbrow community.

Researcher: What needs to be done to facilitate peaceful relations between nationals and non-nationals in Hillbrow?

K: Really! There is no need for that, first of all they must go then why do you talk about peace, we need nothing from these people they must leave. But again I am thinking about camps like what other foreigners stay at when they are somewhere.

Researcher: What should be done to help foreigners live harmoniously in Hillbrow?

K: 'Yo, u ba thanda la bantu' (you really love these people) but I am thinking, like in apartheid years when South Africans went in exile, they lived in camps, there was rules, but here we have nothing! Why? We must put them in camps too, ya..this is what should be done to create peace. I think that is better than nothing. But, personally, I will say take them away, I am sorry if I sound bad, but this is what I want and harmony will come for both of us…harmony for who (with anger) and for what

Researcher: Which people or organizations can play a key role in ensuring peaceful relations between foreigners and South Africans?

K: No need for that (laughs) but because you like them, I think the ministers, pastors, celebrities and other important people must help by speaking to us and deliver on their promises. Government is now doing nothing, because is useless, they know corruption and lies (furiously). We are just important to make them rich, we vote because we are their puppets, our stupid leaders must do the right thing.

Researcher: Is there any other information related to the study which I have not asked that you would want to share with me?

K: I am sorry, I am very angry with ANC, these people make us fools and we are now suffering because they don't care about us. But is ok, I think I have nothing to say anymore.

Researcher: Thank you for sharing your views with me, I appreciate your time.

K: No problem

Researcher: Have a great day

K: You too

Researcher: Thanks, bye

Transcript J

Name: J

Age: 24

Gender: Female

Duration of residence in Hillbrow: 5

To investigate the understanding that young South Africans, in Hillbrow, have on the violence against non-South African

Researcher: Good day

J: Hello

Reseacher :I am glad that you came on time, how are you?

J: I am fine, but tired

Research: Have you been busy today?

J: Aa…no, not really. Last night at our flat, my neighbors was busy having a party, they were making noise the whole night.

Researcher: That's not good during week, you could not ask them to lower their voices.

J: Voices, they were playing music and drinking. I can't even talk to them those guys. They will ask me to join them. The guys from Nigeria like noise. I just avoid them

Researcher: So tell me about your general experience living in Hillbrow

J: Jo, we are just managing hey, is not so good here. If was working I will stay somewhere safer.

Researcher: You do not find this area safe?

J: (Laughing) you know that, everyone does. Hillbrow is hell, all bad things happens here. I can't even tell people back at home that I am staying in Hillbrow.

Researcher: What are your reasons, what don't you like about Hillbrow?

J: Too much crime, prostitute, people will think that I am prostitute if they knew that I live in Hillbrow or they will say she must be living with Nigerian. I am not proud to live here 'nna'(my self). Is very dangerous

Researcher: Ok, what do you think of the violent attacks on foreign nationals living in South Africa?

J: Is xenophobia and is very bad. What do you think other countries think about us, they just say if the people of South Africa come to our country we will deal with them. I cannot visit Zimbabwe or Nigeria, they will kill us. I think people are not reasonable, why do you beat other people because they are not from here, is not fair.

Researcher: What do these violent attacks on foreign nationals mean to you?

J: That we are evil and bad, I do not like Nigerians, but I do not think is good to beat them. I feel bad about this, imagine if it was us somewhere and they beat us like that. I think boys here are angry but they do not know what to do. They just decide to hate foreigners, but the truth is that they hate doing nothing, the pain of not working, as young person is too much. I feel it too and we are not all lucky like you. You go to wits, you have a car, you do not have our pain, you are not angry and you cannot understand us.

<u>To explore the perceived factors leading to ill-treatment of non-South Africans in South Africa.</u>

Researcher: In your opinion, what influences South Africans' decisions to mistreat foreigners?

J: As I said, it is anger and pain. I am angry too?

Researcher: What exactly are you angry about?

J: Is like you are angry with life, but government make us very angry. Look what Zuma is doing, he is busy stealing our money building Nkandla, that money can give us jobs, 'ya'(yes) or pay our school fees, but no only him and friends eat alone, why, because they do not care

about us. I think pain inside of us, causes us to hate foreigners and this pain is caused by Zuma not foreigners. I feel sorry for the foreigners because is not their fault, but people cannot beat Zuma. I also think, ah..ok.

Researcher: You can continue, what else influences these attacks?

J: To tell the truth South Africa is not doing good look, how many people we have here from other countries, South Africa is with many foreigners than all countries…is not good because their number is above normal..mina…(I) think this bring cause problem and ya..this make people to hate foreigners even too much

Researcher: What are some structures, activities or issues that create tensions between foreigners and South Africans?

J: I already told you about to many foreigners, crime, drugs and unemployment for South African youth. We do not have opportunities, and on the news we hear that these people are coming here in big numbers, that is not good. If we can have few of them is fine, not like this.

Researcher: What are the effects of violent attacks on foreigners in South Africa?

J: Nothing much hey, I hoped that these people will ran to their country when they see xenophobia, but no, they are still here. Maybe they really need our help. The bad one is that other countries think that are bad people here, but we are not all like that.

<u>To examine young people's views on interventions that could facilitate the integration of non-South Africans in Hillbrow community.</u>

Researcher: What needs to be done to facilitate peaceful relations between nationals and non-nationals in Hillbrow?

J: Give South African people jobs and bursaries, no one will have time to run behind foreigners if they are working or going to school. If you can check, I tell you that young people doing xenophobia are not working or not going to school. They have all time to think about what they can do to these foreigners, you see. Just give our people and me, jobs or bursaries and peace will come like that. You cannot have peace when you are not doing anything with your life, ya (yes) I am telling you truth, I do not have peace too, but not because of foreigners, but because I have nothing and I am doing nothing except this free computer classes.

Researcher : What should be done to help foreigners live harmoniously in Hillbrow?

J: Give us jobs and bursaries (laughing) ya (yes) the same answer again. This is the best solution and the only solution to xenophobia.

Researcher: Which people or organizations can play a key role in ensuring peaceful relations between foreigners and South Africans?

J: Government by creating 'mebereko'(jobs) and department of education give every Grade 12 a bursary.I think, churches must practice what they preach, our pastors must show love to people by opening churches, like Methodist church here near Park Station, foreigners sleep there and they eat there. Even political leaders can help or musicians by talking to their fans.

Researcher: Is there any other information related to the study which I have not asked that you would want to share with me?

J: I just hope you give government what we have told you, our government must act and help youth, we need jobs or something better.

Researcher: Tha can only be done by submitting the final research report to government, but I wouldn't want to promise that as I have mentioned the purpose of this research.

J: For your degree, I remember what you said; I am just bushing my luck (laughs)

Researcher: Alright, thank you for your time and it was good to have this interview with you

J: Same here, thanks

Researcher: Bye, enjoy your day.