

**Effects of the proposed Licensing of Businesses Bill on migrant
traders in Soweto**

Mbali Motsoeneng

Wits School of Governance

Supervisor: Professor Anthoni Van Nieuwkerk

**Research presented for the degree of Master of Management in the field of
Public and Development Management to the Faculty of Commerce, Law and
Management of the University of Witwatersrand**

March 2016

DECLARATION

I, Mbali Motsoeneng declare that this Master thesis is my own work. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination at the University of Witwatersrand or any other university.

Mbali Motsoeneng

March 2016

DEDICATION

To the best teacher, my late mother Esther Motsoeneng. Thank you for instilling the value of education in me.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my gratitude to my supervisor Professor Anthoni Van Nieuwkerk, who provided crucial guidance, encouragement and support for this research project. Your expert advice and constructive feedback enabled me to be a true academic.

To Professor Sally Peberdy, who helped to solidify my research, it has been a very dynamic and enlightening journey we took brainstorming and finding the direction for this research. Thank you for dedicating your time and expertise.

Finally, I would like to give a special thanks to Tassilo von Droste zu Hülshoff, for always believing in me. You dedicated your time and energy to assist me despite your career obligations, and for this I will always be grateful.

ABSTRACT

As an economic hub of Africa, South Africa has been experiencing an influx of economic and political migrants leading to the ethnic diversification of its population. This trend has incited a xenophobic atmosphere due to frustrations from locals, and has led to violent attacks towards foreign nationals. In particular, the Somali population has endured a high number of attacks as this group has successfully penetrated the informal business market in the townships of South Africa.

Government has responded to these xenophobic attacks by proposing, amongst others, a Licensing of Businesses Bill in 2013. The bill has been criticised by the public as it is considered a hostile policy that aims to enforce regulations that restrict foreign nationals from operating businesses in the informal sector. This political dilemma has also led to questions as to how this policy response may have an effect on social cohesion in unequal societies where violence against Somalis is prevailing. The Klipspruit community was selected as it forms part of the City of Johannesburg that has a significant amount of Somali informal traders.

The purpose of the study was to examine the root causes of violence against Somalis and the potential of the governments' policy response to mitigate this phenomenon. In particular, the study also investigated the effect of the proposed Licensing of Businesses Bill on social cohesion development between Somalis and South Africans in Klipspruit.

The qualitative research findings indicate that violence against Somalis was due to the economic situation, lack of regulation, competition and business miscommunication. The responses were generally driven by the perception that the government of South Africa introduced a bill that is fostered by nationalistic interests to the detriment of foreign nationals such as Somalis. It is therefore recommended that the government develops a way to enhance power sharing in decision-making processes, monitoring and correcting inequalities amongst culturally distinct groups, promoting cultural diversity and integration through education and lastly ensuring that the government acts in a constitutional manner.

Table of Contents

DECLARATION	ii
DEDICATION	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iv
ABSTRACT	v
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION.....	1
1.1 Introduction to the Research.....	1
1.2 Background of the Study.....	1
1.3 Problem Statement.....	8
1.4 Purpose Statement.....	8
1.5 Research Questions and Objectives	8
CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW.....	10
2.1 Introduction	10
2.2 Understanding African Identity Politics	10
2.2.1 Ethnicity	11
2.2.1.1 Nominal ethnic groups	11
2.2.1.2 Activated ethnic groups	11
2.2.2 Nationalism	11
2.2.3 Territorialism.....	12
2.3 History of Ethnicity	12
2.4 School of Thoughts Redefining Ethnicity	15
2.5 Ethnic Politics in Theory	17
2.5.1 Primordialism	17
2.5.2 Instrumentalism	18
2.5.3 Constructivism.....	19
2.5.4 Marxism	20
2.6 Ethnicity Politicised	20

2.6.1 Dimensions of Ethnic Politics	22
2.6.2 Political functions of Ethnic groups	23
2.7 Policy and Politics: Agents for Development	23
2.8 Origins of Public Policy	24
2.8.1 Public Policy and Ethnicity	25
2.9 Public Policy Process and Ethnic Politics	26
2.9.1 Agenda Setting	26
2.9.2 Policy Formulation	27
2.9.3 Policy Implementation	28
2.9.4 Policy Evaluation	28
2.10 Development Theories	29
2.10.1 Social Cohesion	30
2.11 Myriad Development Disciplines	30
2.11.1 Economics	31
2.11.2 Culture and Identity	33
2.11.3 Geography and Territorial Boundary	35
2.11.4 Human Development	36
2.12 Ethnic Politics and the State of Development	36
2.12.1 Civil Wars and Genocides	37
2.12.2 Human Capital	37
2.12.3 Government Expenditure	38
2.12.4 Political Instability	38
2.13 Conceptual Framework	38
2.14 Conclusion	39
CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH TECHNIQUES, PROCEDURE, AND METHODS	41
3.1 Introduction	41

3.2 Research Strategy	41
3.3 Research Design	42
3.4 Research Procedure and Methods	43
3.4.1 Research Data Collection Instrument	44
3.4.2 Target Population and Sampling.....	45
3.4.3 Ethical Considerations	46
3.4.5 Research Data Processing and Analysis	46
3.4.6 Description of Research Respondents.....	47
3.5 Research Findings	48
3.6 Validity and Reliability	48
3.7 Limitations of Research Techniques and Methods.....	49
3.8 Delimitation of the Research.....	50
3.9 Justification of the Research	50
3.10 Time Schedule.....	51
3.11 Conclusion.....	51
CHAPTER FOUR: PRESENTATION OF RESEARCH FINDINGS	52
4.1 Introduction	52
4.2 Reasons underlying for violence against Somali informal traders.....	53
4.3 The possibility of the government’s proposed Licensing of Businesses Bill rectifying violence against foreign small businesses.....	60
4.4 Anticipated effects of this policy on social cohesion in Klipspruit	69
4.5 Conclusion.....	72
CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION OF RESEARCH FINDINGS	73
5.1 Introduction	73
5.2 Thematic Analysis: Research Findings.....	73
5.2.1 Researching findings out of the research scope.....	83
5.3 Theoretical Reflection on Research Findings	84

5.3.1 Ethnic Politics Theory	84
5.3.1.1 Reasons underlying for violence against Somali informal traders	86
5.3.2 Policy and Politics: Agents for Development Theory	88
5.3.2.1 Licensing of Businesses Bill rectifying violence against foreign small businesses	90
5.3.3 Social Cohesion and Development Theory	92
5.3.3.1 Anticipated effects of the bill on social cohesion and development	93
5.4 Conclusion.....	95
CHAPTER SIX: SUMMARY, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION	96
6.1 Introduction	96
6.2 Recommendations for the Research Study	96
6.2.1 Consociation: Model for Democracy	96
6.2.2 Monitoring and Correcting Horizontal Inequalities.....	97
6.2.3 Promoting Cultural Diversity and Integration	97
6.2.4 Constitutionalism	98
6.3 Recommendations for Future Research	98
6.3.1 Coalition Theory	98
6.3.2 Power Politics Theory	99
6.3.3 Grassroots or Community Organising Theory.....	99
6.4 Conclusion.....	99
References.....	102
APPENDIX A: RESEARCH DATA INSTRUMENTS	108
Information Sheet and Consent Form.....	108
APPENDIX B: QUALITATIVE DATA COLLECTION INSTRUMENTS	110
Interview questions: Somali Community Board Members:	110
Interview questions: Government, Department of Trade & Industry	110
Interview questions: Professor of Migration Studies	112

Interview questions: Somali and South African Informal Traders 113

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction to the Research

Africa's development situation is bedevilled by political instability that is not conducive to economic development. Internal factors such as the abuse of authority and power, mismanagement of public resources, ethnic politics, military coups, bad policies and power struggles have negatively affected its development (Oyebade & Alao, 1998). In most African countries the political mobilisation of identities and divisions has been portrayed as a hindrance to political and economic development during the post-independence period (Thomson, 2004).

This paper begins with a background that provides the context of the research as it entails information and major findings in the chosen field of interest. The background is an important aspect of the research as it highlights the research problem. Second, the problem statement will highlight the issue the research wants to investigate, therefore a purpose statement will articulate the need to undertake the research study. This is followed by the research questions and objectives that provide guidance on the aspects of the research that should be focused on. The latter also provides an indication as to the research techniques, procedure and methods that can be utilised in order to gather research data.

1.2 Background of the Study

Although many countries in Africa are currently experiencing unprecedented growth, this growth is often not inclusive and fails to benefit the society at large. The economic situation of Africa in connection to cultural conflicts that have caused political instability cannot be viewed solely without consideration of the continent's historical experience of colonisation, post-independence through to post-Cold War (Oyebade & Alao, 1998). Moreover, the document *African Charter for Popular Participation in Development and Transformation* adopted in 1990 in Arusha, Tanzania, states that Africa's development is still characterised by an over-centralisation of power that impedes an effective participation of citizens in social, political and economic development (Oyebade & Alao, 1998).

External intervention in Africa was consolidated at the Berlin Conference of 1884-1885 where geographic and territory frameworks were demarcated by colonial states, that

were later to become independent (Kanu, 2012). The conference laid the groundwork for a colonial economic system that sought to exploit Africa's natural and human resources, to the detriment of the continent's economic progress (Oyebade & Alao, 1998). The creation of artificial national boundaries by the colonial authority for administrative purposes assembled a loose collection of communities from diverse ethnic, religious social identities into a single entity laying a foundation for ethnic cleavages, which are the roots to some political instabilities that have current effects on development (Maathai, 2009; Eirfert, Miguel & Posner, 2010).

Upon gaining political independence in the early 1960's, many African leaders faced the challenge of managing the ethnic mosaic created during the colonial period, the difficulty of this process was embedded in creating an ethnic compact that would "balance the interests, needs, and diverse political cultures" (Schraeder, 2000, p. 157).

To foster cooperation between the newly independent African nations, the Organisation of the African Union was established. The signatories of the 1963 Charter of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) expressed concerns as to defending the sovereignty of African states, their territory and newly won independence. In so doing, countries acknowledged and accepted the boundaries from the colonial regime, and the borders were further endorsed at the 1964 OAU summit which was held in Cairo, Egypt (Oyebade & Alao, 1998). Despite this, the issue of colonial boundaries became a platform for contestation between leaders, leading to social tensions. The actions of the African leaders and elites perpetuated ethnic divisions established in the colonial period, and ethnicity became the easiest identity to politicise by means of establishing hold over power (Oyebade & Alao, 1998).

During the Cold War, African leaders mobilised foreign support from the West and the Soviet Union, which were rivalling for influence in Africa. This support helped to suppress internal opposition, and to defend against external aggression. The activities of the post-independence African elites emulated the actions of the colonial regimes, including the use of repressive measures to maintain state power. Ethnic conflicts transpired, and the political and religious antagonism grew in many countries. The end of the Cold War, during the 1990's, was defined by tensions between governments, regimes and autocrats seeking to maintain state power, and opposition groups which

were often ethnically based, and mobilised collective identity interests, leading to an explosion of ethnically defined rivalries (Oyebade & Alao, 1998).

Gören (2014) supports Easterly and Levine's (1997) view that development issues have induced most ethnic tensions that are present in Africa. Such issues include the economic frustrations that have caused a competition for scarce resources and distribution matters. Some attempts to readdress historical injustices, by giving power to previously disadvantaged ethnic minorities have renewed tensions and heightened the propensity of violence supported by ethno-nationalists (Oyebade & Alao, 1998).

Development is reliant on policy choices. In the 1950's and 1960's competing development ideologies of capitalism, socialism and Marxism were debated among African leaders. Debates on the most appropriate path of development reflects on prioritised development choices, which raises a political question as to how development performance can be affected by an African regimes' commitment to ethnic interests (Schraeder, 2000).

This period is also characterised by state-elite nation-building projects, based on nationalistic ideas and the suppression of 'tribal' or 'ethnic' identification for political loyalty. Nationalism was politically instrumental for African leaders to maintain control over multi-ethnic societies and enforcing the idea that this was vital for development. Limiting public participation and opposition through the establishment of one-party states was one way of achieving this (Thomson, 2004). However the idea behind ethnic loyalties ability to enhance negotiations and bargaining between the state and society is still prevalent, whereby ethnic affiliations can be politically beneficial for dominant groups at the cost of marginalising ethnic groups with less political power.

African leaders' choice of ideology has a significant influence on development choices, and inherently on political and policy choices. (Schraeder, 2000). However, the influence of ethnic politics on policy preferences has not been examined in much detail (Lieberman, McClendon 2012).

The socio-cultural politics of identity in Africa engages dynamically with the issues counteracting development, and finds its inextricable traces to the colonial, postcolonial and post-Cold War period. Presently, the illusion of identity, sometimes cultivated through violence and conflict associated with identity politics persists, and

seems to repeat itself across the world innately affecting development initiatives (Sen, 2006). Ethnic politics is a challenge to policy making and development due to the historical experience of African multi-ethnic states. The legacy of the colonial regime and the Cold War surfacing can be addressed through engaging with the institutional determinants of development.

The research topic emanates from Wangari Maathai's book on 'The Challenge for Africa' based on a chapter on 'The Crisis of National Identity': "When conflicts arise in Africa, they are almost exclusively over governance, corruption, poverty, and a perception that natural resources are not distributed equitably. It is true, of course, that when a micro-nation is aggrieved, it naturally calls upon its own for support" (Maathai, 2009, p. 185).

To put this background into context, South Africa with a total population of 54.96 Million (StatsSA, 2015) is widely recognised as the strongest economy in Southern Africa, and as the epicentre of the migrant labour system (Deacon, Olivier & Beremauro, 2015; Mazars, Matsuyama, Rispoli & Veary, 2013). South Africa's population is a mix of ethnic groups resulting of centuries of migration that recently has seen an influx of foreign nationals seeking better economic opportunities or fleeing political unrest after the opening of borders following the democratic transformation in 1994 (Mazars, Matsuyama, Rispoli & Veary, 2013).

According to StatsSA's (2015) mid-year population estimates, South Africa's population consists of around 44 million Africans (80.5 %), 4 832 900 Coloureds (8.8%), 4 534 000 Whites (8.3%), and 1 362 000 Indian/Asians (2.5%). South Africa's population is also made up of foreign nationals. The Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees estimated that 331 500 refugees lived in South Africa by the end of December 2015. The data shows foreign national groups that include refugees from the Democratic Republic of Congo (15 000), Ethiopia (9 600), Somalia (24 000), various others (20 400), and asylum seekers from the Democratic Republic of Congo (8 500), Ethiopia (4 600), various others (189 900), and Zimbabwe (43 000) (UNHCR, 2015). In comparison to South Africans, the largest refugee group - Somalis - makes up a low 0.043 % (24 000), and the largest asylum seeker group – Zimbabweans - stands at 0.078 % (43 000).

South Africa is considered a preferred destination for cross-border migrants seeking better socioeconomic conditions (Deacon, Olivier & Beremauro, 2015). According to an African cities survey of 2006 (Jinnah 2010), upon arrival most Somali nationals seek economic security by working as street traders and selling low cost goods from place to place as opposed to other non-nationals who generally seek employment in areas such as security guarding or mechanics (Jinnah, 2010). Somalis stand out by attaining self-sustaining jobs, rather than seeking employment.

As a minority population within South Africa, Somalis are particularly known to be service orientated and business savvy, creating nationwide business networks, and showing their ability to respond to shifting markets and industry trends. This success has however exposed Somali nationals to violence and tension from locals, as they are perceived as dominant in some business sectors and also due to their expansion into townships across South Africa in the mid 1990's as they provided cheaper products, thus penetrating the township markets (Jinnah, 2010; Misago, 2009).

In recent years South Africa has experienced repeated discriminatory attacks against Somali foreign traders in townships (Jinnah, 2010). Polzer (2009, p. 6) states

“this violence often takes the linked forms of service delivery protests and attacks on outsiders—non-nationals and citizens from minority ethnic groups. These tensions have significantly disrupted local and national institutions, and the economy does not provide a strong atmosphere for individual or institutional investment”.

According to Charman and Piper (2012) in most attacks the Somalis are the most affected population and the Somali Association of South Africa estimated that 28 Somalis, most of which were shop keepers, were killed in the Western Cape Province in 2006. Two years later attacks intensified resulting in 62 killings (including also South Africans) leaving thousands displaced (Everett, 2011). In early 2015, wide-scale xenophobic attacks erupted across South Africa, triggered by a Somali shop keeper killing a South African boy for an alleged robbery. This led to the looting of an estimated 120 spaza shops owned by Somalis and Bangladeshis across Johannesburg's townships (South African History Online, 2015).

Violence against foreign shop owners is also triggered by tensions over business competition that local business owners experience and the business acumen Somalis have acquired to conquer local markets (Jinnah, 2010). A number of South Africans perceive migrants as putting a strain to an already unequal society, whereas others suggest to the contrary that the Somali foreign traders' businesses, skills, capital and experience are hugely beneficial to the country's economy (Jinnah, 2010). An Afrobarometer survey carried out by the Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa revealed that 36 percent of South African respondents would prevent migrant/foreigners from operating business (Mazars et al, 2013). In this era, where South Africa is identified as an economic hub in Southern Africa, many non-nationals feel displaced, excluded and marginalised which Whitwell (2002) describes as the 'new age of racism'.

According to the Consortium for Refugees and Migrants in South (CoRMSA, 2013) as a response to domestic pressures to mitigate the trend of xenophobic attacks in South Africa, the government has proposed a Licensing of Businesses Bill in 2013, which potentially could detrimentally impact non-nationals by making it more difficult to run businesses in the informal sector. The bill introduces a business permit requirement usually priced around R1 million, which seems to be setting limitations to non-national economic opportunities in South Africa. CoRMSA (2013) also states that this 'hostile' policy response has been prompted by popular pressure over foreign national businesses in communities, which influenced the government to tighten laws and regulations with the intention of decreasing business ownership by non-nationals. The controversial bill is currently under review.

Criticism has to be weighed on this policy response in the way that it seeks to address domestic pressures. This also poses a fundamental question as to whether specific identity groups have a greater influence on government policy preferences. Somalis are largely unable to access institutional processes due to language barriers and a lack of knowledge of formal political processes (Gastrow, 2013). It also raises the question how this policy response has an effect on social cohesion in a township such as Klipspruit that has been labelled the least developed community in the City of Johannesburg region, with the highest unemployment rate (42.7%), and challenges of inequality and social exclusion (City of Johannesburg, 2012). With the proposed

Licensing of Businesses Bill the business savvy Somali group is likely to experience economic exclusion.

Many unforeseen challenges prevail as South Africa's post-apartheid landscape is characterised by an influx of economic migrants (Jinnah, 2010). However migration can also be seen as an opportunity that can address South Africa's skills shortage and sector labour needs, by enabling non-nationals to contribute to the local and national economy as to facilitate economic growth (Polzer, 2009). Polzer (2009) states that migrant entrepreneurs are beneficial to growing local economies under circumstances under which they gain support through local inclusion development strategies. In the Somali context, the community of non-national traders has carved out a unique space for work in townships and contributes to the local economy through job creation, with repercussions felt also in the formal sector. Their strong ethnic and religious identity (Jinnah, 2010) is however often challenged by locals.

The Department of Cooperative Governance and Traditional Affairs highlighted the strategy of monitoring and discouraging ethnic tensions, whereby the local government is mandated to monitor ethnic divides and tensions that prevail in order to mitigate violence (Misago, Monson, Polzer & Landau, 2010). CoRMSA (Misago, Monson, Polzer & Landau, 2010) has expressed that South Africa's ethnic diversity and its historical experience of spatial development and separation, the dominance of various groups in different areas, which include multi-ethnic urban contexts, has highly affected foreign nationals and local ethnic minority groups (internal migrants) that are also considered as outsiders in South African communities. According to Jinnah (2010) much of the violent attacks experienced by Somalis in South Africa are linked to their culture, values, practices and identity and to problems of integration in township societies. Perceived as a tight-knit community, Somalis can often be seen as an easy target. Ngwato (2012) states that social identity is channelled and negotiated over time by residents who are moving into the host's social spaces, and it is common that the integration process has to do with collective identity negotiations which often means adapting to the values and practices of the host, which at this point is the South African ethnic groups. This however does not apply to the Somali group and has been problematic, as the Somali community has remained closed and protective of its culture, religion and values, not adopting South African community traditions and

identities, which are largely Christian, poly-ethnic and socially diverse as opposed to the seemingly homogenous Somali group.

1.3 Problem Statement

In many African countries, the political mobilisation of ethnicity has been portrayed as a hindrance to development within the post-independence period (Thomson, 2004). A contributing factor to ethnic polarisation and rivalry is the deliberate attempt of leaders to remain in power by reinforcing ethnic differences, and policies favouring an influential ethnic group. “A large and influential body of scholarship has demonstrated that ethnic heterogeneity is associated with bad policies and poor development outcomes across a range of sectors and in polities of varied scale” (Lieberman, McClendon, 2012, p. 575). However, this conclusion may not be sufficiently warranted. Lieberman and McClendon (2012) contend that there have been studies on the link between ethnic diversity and low levels of public goods provision, however there is a minimum focus on the role of preferences on policies held by ethnically diverse groups. Some scholars argue that ethnic groups have culturally distinct preferences for policy making and distribution purposes, and that such is to the detriment of effective policy making, but evidence supporting this claim is limited. A study is necessary to establish the possibility of ethnic politics as a determinant for non-inclusive policies that favour dominant or populous ethnic groups, and how that can have an effect on social cohesion development. The research outcome can be of strategic use for the public sector.

1.4 Purpose Statement

The purpose of the study is to examine the root causes of violence against Somalis and the potential of the governments’ policy response to mitigate this phenomenon. In particular, the study will investigate the effect of the proposed Licensing of Businesses Bill on social cohesion development between Somalis and South Africans in Klipspruit.

1.5 Research Questions and Objectives

Main Research Question:

- What is the anticipated effects of the proposed Licensing of Businesses Bill on social cohesion development in Klipspruit?

Sub-questions:

- What are the reasons for violence against Somali informal traders?
- To what extent will the government's proposed Licensing of Businesses Bill provide relief?
- What effect will the policy response have on social cohesion development in Klipspruit?

Research Objectives:

- To investigate whether ethnic politics had an influence on the proposed Licensing of Businesses Bill.
- To investigate the potential effect of the proposed Licensing of Businesses Bill on social cohesion development in the community of Klipspruit.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

A literature review is a compilation of information relevant to a specific chosen field of study. It entails finding key academic sources and arguments that will be used to answer a research question. The literature review provides the theoretical framework for starting a research process, and incorporates historical, contemporary, comparative studies for holistic knowledge on a given topic (Mabuza, 2008).

In this chapter a literature review is presented and points to the conceptual and diverse set of theoretical insights needed to understand the field of the research. The aim of this chapter is to highlight the knowledge gap that the researcher seeks to address, and also sets the foundation of the research by providing various perspectives on the chosen field of study.

In order to form a better understanding of the research topic it is important to cover concepts such as African identity politics in this paper which entails ethnicity, nationalism and territorialism. This will be followed by an overview of the history of ethnicity, schools of thought redefining ethnicity and theory of ethnicity, and the latter will add significantly to understanding this form of identity. In order to make reference to the policy that has been identified for the research study, theories on the public policy process and how it relates to theories of ethnicity and the state of development will be discussed.

In effect, the literature review intends to add value to the approach that will be used by the researcher to interpret the findings of this research. Lastly, a conceptual framework that informs a structure that will be used to have a focused analysis on the research.

2.2 Understanding African Identity Politics

The state of governance in Africa has been significantly shaped by the presence of multiple identities within the political landscape. The conflicts and discords stemming from ethnicity, nationalism and territorialism have influenced various political dynamics as a result of sharpening heterogeneity (Young, 2012). Ethnic difference in Africa remains the focus of attention in the debate on postcolonial identity politics, once

expressed in terms of 'tribe', and now as 'ethnicity' and 'ethno-genesis' (Werbner & Ranger, 1996, p. 1).

2.2.1 Ethnicity

Eriksen (2012) defines ethnicity as a relationship between groups that are bounded by culturally distinct features which include language, descent, history, territory, religion or tradition among others. In relation to this aspect of identity, Harrison explains ethnicities between groups to be socially constructed differences, and not culturally determined nor objective (Eriksen, 2012). Ethnic identities consist of groups such as for example, the Yoruba, the Hausa-Fulani, and Ibo in Nigeria, the Hutu and Tutsi in Rwanda, and in South Africa the Zulu, Sotho, Xhosa and Coloured (Weir, 2012).

Ethnic identities can be described as fluid or culturally stable depending on the premise of thought held by an individual. The traditional knowledge base of ethnicity renders the meaning of ethnic identification as culturally stable and continuous across generation, with minimum influence from external identities. However, due to the discourse of globalisation ethnic identities are characterised as fluid and adaptable to social changes, and are transformational in nature (Eriksen, 2012).

Chandra (2012) indicates that there are two types of ethnic groups, namely; the nominal and activated.

2.2.1.1 Nominal ethnic groups

Nominal groups of ethnicity are based on attaining membership to a group according to shared descent, physical attributes such as dark skin, facial characters, language spoken etc. (Chandra, 2012).

2.2.1.2 Activated ethnic groups

Activated ethnic groups are defined by categories used to validate belonging to a group, such as professing to be African or European (Chandra, 2012).

2.2.2 Nationalism

According to Young (2012) the ideology of nationalism forms part of characteristics that are bounded within a state, and personify it. The state can be defined by its

historical background, diverse cultural practices, and languages spoken within a society. The concept of state and nation are used interchangeably due to a shared meaning.

Nationalism has been widely used in African countries, particularly after independence as a form of attaining sovereignty and self-determination. The idea of nationalism is rooted in the sense of collectiveness amongst the society based on ethnicity, religion or culture (Young, 2012). It also captures the notion of legitimation of a state, which claims to be a natural part of a particular community.

2.2.3 Territorialism

Territories can be understood as an aspect of nationalism, used as a method to express boundaries that are fixed within a nation (Eriksen, 2012). Territorial boundaries are used to enhance, strengthen and protect group identities, practices, state resources inclusive of land, capacity, ideologies, social and political practices (Young, 2012). Nations' attachment to territories are influenced by the idea of unifying a state based on setting boundaries from outside nations, and having a dominant ethnic group associated with a particular bounded space (Young, 2012).

Eriksen (2012) further explains that in the African context many territories have been created in the political landscape as a result of colonial inventions. This form of identity is also used to communicate a group's identity. However this idea can be challenged by the prevalence of cultural mixing and mixed origins (Eriksen, 2012).

2.3 History of Ethnicity

The history of ethnicity in Africa can be traced back to the era of pre-colonisation known as 'kinship' based on blood relationships amongst communities. Thereafter, the European rule over Africa resulted to the relabeling into 'tribes' (Kanu, 2012). The concept of 'tribes' progressively shifted from a racial dimension during the colonial period to being known today as ethnic groups. Ethnic groups are also being politically reflected through ethnically diverse interests, conflicts, and violence in the contemporary world that ultimately hinder the development and governance of Africa (Thomson, 2010).

Prior to the colonial period, communities identified themselves by common origins and family lines which are characterised by kinship. Members of a community or group were led by an ethnic leader who served as the political head, while the group carried out the function of strengthening their solidarity which was instilled in their culture and tradition (Thomson, 2010). Ethnic groups co-existed and mixed across multiple ethnic groups of Africa, and were not heavily controlled or influenced by external factors. It is during this time that communities in Africa had a self-entitlement to family orientated relationships which according to Thomson (2002) contrasts with the Western culture of individualistic development.

The sense of community enabled various ethnic groups' welfare, security, social and economic interests to be attained collectively (Thomson, 2012).

The colonisation of Africa came bearing a tragedy of the emergence of 'tribes', a concept used interchangeably with ethnic groups in the modern world. The Berlin conference 1884-5 is marked as the key event and beginning of the separation of communities in Africa (Kanu, 2012). The invention of colonial boundaries gradually resulted in oppositions between tribes.

Currently competing ethnic groups such as the Yoruba and Hausa in the Nigerian political arena or the Rwandan genocide resulted from the geographic and territorial agendas of the historical conference held in Berlin. The conference and treaty of Berlin brought together six European authorities, and was based on an agenda that led to the creation of fifty countries on the Africa continent, and a territorial claim of different parts of Africa by European countries namely: Belgium, Britain, Germany, France, Portugal and Spain (Kanu, 2012). The colonial powers would then effectively occupy the land that was expressed as their territory. The consequence of this meeting was not only the rule over land that should have been willingly designated by African communities. The agenda also took little consideration of the effects of separating communities that were at that time dispersed across the boundless land. Tribally different groups found themselves confined in the same territory (Eirfert, Miguel & Posner, 2010).

The communities were mobilised to support Europe's development neglecting Africa's own development (Eirfert, Miguel & Posner, 2010). The consequence of diverse tribes coexisting in a designated space has had immense repercussions on the modern

political and development environment of Africa (Kanu, 2012). A continent that is characterised as ethnically polarised, competitive in nature, and seeking its true identity that was distorted and made inferior by colonial value systems. Above all, according to Eirfert, Miguel and Posner (2010) the competitive nature of ethnic groups in the political space favours the interests of powerful groups over the minority, leading to development and distribution inequalities across nations of Africa.

The colonial administration introduced identities to groups in order to recognise the nature of work the group carried out and the tribes to which people belonged. The authorities also established racism which was based on the alleged notion of white people's superiority over the black population. Within the African groups selected ethnic groups were made superior over other groups (Kanu, 2012). The effects of the acts of division and supposed superiority amongst communities have resulted in conflicts and tragic events that have occurred in African countries such as Rwanda, which experienced the 1994 genocide. In this context the Hutu ethnic group felt obliged to protect their supposedly superior race and political position by carrying out mass killings of the Tutsi nationals, a genocide that was a result of ethnic rivalry, political propaganda and prior superiority classification (Kanu, 2012).

Kanu (2012) further explains that conflicts are prevalent amongst different ethnic groups that people chose to align themselves to. Alignment usually happens according to cultural or other identity compatibility components, and thereof different groups tend to enter into competition by means of protecting their groups' interests. Kanbur, Rajaram and Varshney (2011) state that the conflict and violence that emerged was purely from a result of various ethnic groups mission to gain power and control of state resource during the post-colonial period.

Currently in the South African political sphere, the majority ruling of an ethnic group is not as salient as for example in the case of the Hutus and Tutsis in Rwanda. However although sovereign countries such as South Africa are democratically governed, the dominance of an ethnic group can be influential and quietly mobilised, as in the case of the administrations of the former presidents Nelson Mandela, Thabo Mbeki, or even current president Jacob Zuma (Calland, 2013). The correlation between ethnic interests and the influence they exert on development policies and implementation for the benefit of the powerful ethnic groups' interest versus the national interests can be

observed during the prioritisation of policies at the agenda setting stage (Calland, 2013).

2.4 School of Thoughts Redefining Ethnicity

Key authors provide insight on the various modes of understanding manifestations of ethnicity. The concept of ethnicity refers to social groups created on the basis of shared cultural identities, and also perceived cultural differences from other groups. The identity component of ethnicities is founded on shared common descent, and cultural meanings held by a group (Eriksen, 2012). The shift to globalisation has however reduced the recognition of ethnic groups, moving to a range of contemporary identities consisting of professional, gender, artistic, supra-ethnic and individual identities. According to Eriksen (2012) the prominence of ethnicities fluctuates in the contemporary world, decreasing as a result of the emergence of multiple identities, and increasing as social groups carry the significance of preserving their cultural identities in the course of change and influence of globalisation.

Research carried out on the term ethnicity became known from a social and anthropological field of study. The most cited social anthropologist academics are Fredrik Barth and his British successors Edmund Leach and the Manchester School which was led by Max Gluckman. As stated by Eriksen (2012), Barth has been most referenced in his book called 'Ethnic Groups and Boundaries', in which the social anthropologist defines ethnicity as based on social relationships, and identifying group differences according to assumed cultural uniqueness. Kanu, Rajaram, and Varshney (2011) include that not only does the 'ethnicity' component comes into play in various situations, and people grouping according to identities when it is relevant, but it also marks the essence of how groups interact with each other on a broader socio-economic and political landscape.

In succession to the latter perspective, Leach views ethnicity less from a cultural point of view than as a random choice which is apparent in particular social conditions, and people responding to a social process of identification. In support to Leach, the Manchester School explains ethnicity to be a manipulation of cultural symbols to fit a relevant context of identification to another, or to point at differences (Eriksen, 2012).

In the book 'An introduction to African politics' Thomson (2010) defines ethnicity as a similar concept to tribalism, in which the latter is rooted in the history of African colonisation and the separation of the African society into tribes. In reference to ethnicity, Thomson (2010) similar to Kanu, Rajaram and Varshney (2011) views ethnic groups as a tool that drives the social, economic, and political needs of society, rather than a cultural mechanisms of identity. Ethnicity is also recognised as a modern successor of the concept of 'tribes' that moves away from geographical boundaries of identification in the nation which created conflicts of territories.

The years of the 1980's were marked by a major interest in the area of ethnicity from political and economics scholars. As a result, various theories and frameworks were generated (Kanubur, Rajaram, Varshney, 2011). A model conceptualising ethnicity in this era was established. Eriksen (2010) explains that the model was based on expressing ethnicity not only from cultural elements, but also on how it facilitates communication and acts as a mechanism for social interactions. The model further defines ethnicities as related to how people interact within groups, with an influence from the situation, environment and global changes. Social interactions are not bounded by culture, and so ethnicities adapt to the ever-changing worlds' identifiable groups (Eriksen, 2012).

According to Donald Horowitz ethnicity is a broader concept that can be ascribed to group identification in relation to race, language, religion, tribe or caste, it is also further argued that ethnic conflicts can also be religious "Hindu to Muslim conflict in India, racial black and white conflict in South Africa , linguistic-cum-religious conflict as Tamil-Sinhala conflict in Sri Lanka, and sectarian such as Shia and Sunni conflict in Pakistan" (Varshney, 2001, p. 364-365).

Dating back to the colonial history of Africa, the phenomenon of ethnicity has been used as an element of control by territorial and identification means. During these times the colonial rulers used the term 'ethnicity' in reference to a social group of people occupying African land. In a politicised manner, ethnicity was used to identify African natives who were the indigenous people that were then ruled by customary laws which was based on traditions (Mamdani, 2005). Based on the findings of Marschke, Szablowski, and Vandergeest (2008) indigeneity can be understood from an American perspective as the classification of social groups according to ones tribe,

native, ethnicity, ancestry identification. As equivalent to ethnicity in the African context, the concept of indigeneity was of particular interest in the anthropology studies. Nowadays, issues around indigenous groups are dominating development issues not only in Africa, but also internationally. A developing country such as Chile experiences ethnic divides and unequal income levels amongst different ethnic groups, which impacts on development policy agendas (Agostini, Brown & Roman, 2010).

2.5 Ethnic Politics in Theory

Young (2002) divides the understanding of ethnic politics into three distinct perspectives which consist of primordialism, instrumentalism and constructivism.

2.5.1 Primordialism

Primordialism scholars describe ethnic groups as creating a strict adherence to ethnic group cultural beliefs, norms, values that are stagnant across generations and followed by members (Young, 2002). The basic elements of the theory explain ethnic identities as fixed natural ties that are endogenous in nature. It conveys the understanding of ethnicity as a component that exists inherently within an individual according to descent, cultural association and other family relations. Primordialism is based on the ideology of identity that does not change or does not get influenced by external factors that exist in the social world.

Primordialism links back to Eriksen's (2012) articulation that ethnic groups are a form of alliance that is based on territories and cultural identification. According to Weir (2012) the primordialist school of thought believes that ethnic politics is rooted in the 'ancient hatreds' between different ethnic communities, driven by difference of religious, regional and racial characteristics.

The 1994 Rwanda genocide serves as a common case of reflection for primordialist thinkers, as the conflict was believed to be ethnically driven on an economic and political level as the Hutu's portrayed their group as superior to the Tutsi's. The ethnic hatred portrayed between the ethnic groups is viewed to be engraved in the political interests of groups in order to gain power, prestige and control of state resources. The key point with primordialism is that with the example of Rwanda the ethnic groups

created an environment of conflict determined by physical differences that led to group divisions that are still apparent in modern times. (Young, 2002).

2.5.2 Instrumentalism

The aim for instrumentalist and constructivist theories was to address the flaws of the theory of primordialism in addressing the issue of ethnic politics (Young, 2002). Instrumentalist and constructivist theories move away from understanding ethnicities through a cultural and origin based screen, and tap into the mobilisation of ethnic groups to drive political interest amongst supporters, which has been prevalent in many African countries. The constructivist nature of ethnic politics is embedded in the social constructions of identity to fit a particular situation at a point in time, an idea studied by Zygmunt Baumann, and criticised by anthropology scholars such as Veit Bader, who regard ethnic politics as a product of people's cultural perceptions and actions (Eriksen, 2012).

Instrumentalists understand ethnicities as an instrument used by political actors to generate support from the society they identify with. Ethnic politics are argued to be driven by two elements: economic advantage, and political mobilisation. Scholarly thoughts by Paul Collier articulate ethnic politics as fight for economic resources, that are innately related to distribution and allocation issues faced in low-income countries. Political mobilisation is enticed by elites in order to drive propaganda and political interest. Fenton who covers both aspects acknowledges that ethnic politics operate in an economic and political landscape, and ethnic identities are used to drive agendas to achieve benefits in this environment (Weir, 2012).

The use of ethnic politics to drive political interest and interventions is visible through the tragedy that occurred in Rwanda. Political leaders used the media – notably the radio - to drive propaganda denigrating the Tutsis and mobilising Hutu supporters to participate in the mass killings of an ethnic group they claimed to be alien to the Hutu ethnic group. The primordialist thinking would explain this ethnic conflict through ancient hatred, however this contradicts the notion of primordial symbolism characterised by language, descent, and other forms of attributes, since the Hutus and Tutsis have a similar language and can be traced back to the same ancestry and overlapping cultural practice (Weir, 2012). This brings about the notion that primordial

and instrumental scholars have not sufficiently grasped the theoretical framework necessary to understanding ethnic politics.

Conclusively, the effect of ethnic politics appears to be an agent of poor development, displaying inequalities amongst majority and minority groups, conflicts over entitlement of state resources, and a voice in influencing development agenda's and policies (Young, 2002). Ethnicity appears to function in the best interest of the majority groups that often dominate the voting power and results in the political arena (Leiberman & McClendon, 2012). The primordial and instrumental theories focus on internal factors in relation to ethnic politics. A constructivist theory emerged as a path to contributing knowledge that incorporates the role of the external environment, and how ethnic politics prevails based on situations (Weir, 2012).

2.5.3 Constructivism

The constructivist theory is based on the idea that ethnic identities evolve over time. The main argument is that social constructions of people are generally adapting to the environment and situational changes, however it is also important to note that culture and tradition remain to function as a political and economic agent amongst ethnicities. It is useful to say that ethnic identities influence the political environment based on primordial objects, and the events of globalisation and other external forces change the properties of identification over time (Young, 2002).

The nature of constructivist theories of ethnicity in the political landscape assumes that ethnic conflicts between groups that hold different values, ideologies, class, belief systems are associated to historical processes (Weir, 2012). This perspective poses an argument that provides context to ethnic politics, in that the phenomenon exists as a result of historical events that might have occurred between opposing ethnic groups. Zygmunt Baumann, a sociologist and constructivist theorist, disregards culture to be a determinant for conflicts, and emphasises that ethnic identities are flexible in nature, and adaptable to change in times and generations, viewing the phenomenon in a social constructivist way (Eriksen, 2012). An anthropological scholar of ethnicity, Veit Bader, provides criticism to a constructivist way of understanding human behaviour, and further implies that Zygmunt Baumann's view limits the study to "discourse and self-identification, thus discarding the objective, often acknowledged, aspects of culture" (Eriksen, 2012).

2.5.4 Marxism

According to Young (2002) ethnicities may be very well influenced by two paradigms. Firstly, the Marxist theory is based on the classification of people. Ethnicities could be a term used as substitution to identify a class people belong to. It is also widespread that powers and resources are unequal across ethnic groups due to unequal access to fair economic, social and political conditions, which further hinders common use and access to state opportunities.

Secondly, ethnicity lies in the domain of vested political interests an individual or a group has. In that regard people tend to create a logical process of belonging to a classified group that serves as an effective tool for achieving results quicker, and dealing with competition as a collective to retain power and dominance (Young, 2002). This in effect links back to the research of Kanbur, Rajam and Varshney (2011), which states that ethnic groups favour being dominant on the social, economic and political landscape and drive action towards their interests. This is interesting because it embodies the application of ethnicity as an instrument through which socially constructed identities or primordial objects such as language, cultural similarities of background are mobilised to fit a particular context or situation.

2.6 Ethnicity Politicised

Ethnicity and politics are closely related, as ethnic groups took formation as an instrument in which social groups would form alliances as to protect their territories and fight for resources against other ethnic groups coexisting in the same nation (Thomson, 2010). The history of Africa has also been characterised by the creation of superior ethnic groups that held more power and benefited from better treatment by the colonial rulers. Within the political environment, ethnicities are perceived to be superior based on the functions they withhold. Guichaoua (2010) also states that ethnic groups can be utilised by leaders as a mechanism to gain political support through coalitions, driving populist movements, gaining political power and control over boundaries between different groups.

After the independence of many African countries, large numbers of ethnic groups were involved in conflicts for power and resources left by the colonial regime. Ethnicity

was used as a situational instrument to compete for power and defend the future of one's group in order to gain socioeconomic opportunities (Young, 2002).

Ethnicity amongst other foundations of political relationships in Africa has been particularly relevant in the political structure of Africa (Thomson, 2010). A nationalist movement by state-elites envisaged future development through nation-building projects, that discouraged tribalist or alternatively ethnic loyalties. The nationalistic ideology aimed at protecting state power against any sub-national challenges that would potentially threaten its authority, and modern economic and political development in Africa (Schraeder, 2000). The idea that ethnic loyalties are counter-productive to a politically stable environment were not entirely factual, as ethnic loyalties could bring an element of democracy through balancing ethnic interests, and enhancing representation and a channel for negotiating between a nationalist state and a diverse civil society (Thomson, 2010).

Ethnic mobilisation was also present in a one-party and authoritarian state, as Africans served their interests by membership of an ethnic group in order to receive political representation and power. Competition between the ethnic groups within a single and centralised state was managed by use of hegemonial exchange. Hegemonial exchange is based on a type of arrangement in which the state facilitates coordination amongst a representation of various ethnic groups in the political landscape. Later, it was presumed that a multiparty democracy would be better to reduce ethnic-regional identity competition as it is based on liberal democracy. "Liberal democracy assumes individualism, but there is little individualism in Africa as Africans interact on a more communal basis" (Thomson, 2010, p. 258). This laid the groundwork for full-scale mobilisation of ethnic identity, which revived ethnic tensions and mirrored ethnic-regional division imposed by the colonial regime, and expanded during the Cold War.

The trend of ethnic politics is still intensifying in many countries. The main problem associated with ethnic politics is that many social groups have been in conflict prior to African states' independence, and nation-building projects have not made significant changes on the impact of identity politics. Eirfet, Miguel and Posner (2010) indicate that ethnic politics thrives in ethnically diverse countries, whereby ethnic groups aim to dominate the social, political and economic landscape. In terms of distribution it is relatively unequal as political elites use state power and resources to protect the

interests of their own ethnic groups, and ignore the national interests of all the multiple identities in the nation, which affects the principle of development, which states equal distribution to all citizens (Gören, 2014).

Ethnic groups are salient as they provide sense of belonging to groups of people with common attributes, goals, interests and a history (Eifert, Miguel, Posner, 2010). Eifert, Miguel and Posner (2010) indicate that it is not only ethnic groups that have political and economic effect on governmental decisions, but also that various other identities and groups, including gender, religion, occupation and class have an effect on the resource distribution and agenda setting for the development of a nation (Agostini, Brown & Roman, 2010). However, it is common and evident that other identities have not gained much dominance in the political arena, ethnic identities are dominating decision-making in the context of African governance and have implications on development.

The true development of African nations cannot be a sole act by one ethnic group gaining dominance over the less powerful or accepting one ethnic group's political views on development. There is a need to foster a nation-state integration of the interests of all social groups and identities to truly achieve progressive development in the contemporary world by the means of equal, non-discriminatory, and representative allocation of resources and opportunities (Maathai, 2009).

2.6.1 Dimensions of Ethnic Politics

Driven by Marxism, rational choice theoretical frameworks, the phenomenon of ethnic politics is viewed by scholars as a classification of groups, the mobilisation of group interests, as an instrument to gain state power and resources in postcolonial Africa (Young, 2012; Kanbur, Rajam & Varshney, 2011).

Horowitz questions the objectivity of Marxist thinking in relation to ethnicity, stating that "class is different from ethnicity because movements across class boundaries are more common" taking a more primordial approach that culture is not as flexible as classes (Kanbur, Rajam & Varshney, 2011, p. 148). In contrast Stephen Steinberg concludes that attributes (e.g. facial features, skin tone) founded within an ethnic group can be classified, and also cultural features such as language can be classified based

on an ethnic group a person belongs to (e.g. British English, South African English) (Kanbur, Rajam & Varshney, 2011).

Ethnic politics thrives in ethnically diverse countries, whereby ethnic groups aim to control state resources. In terms of distribution it is relatively unequal as political elites use state power and resources to please their own ethnic groups, which affects the principle of development, which states equal distribution to all citizens (Gören, 2014).

2.6.2 Political functions of Ethnic groups

In the political environment, ethnicities were usually perceived to be prominent as they provide a sense of identity and belonging (Eifert, Miguel, Posner, 2010). On the contrary, in modern times it is evident that ethnic identities are also used to mobilise political support, form coalitions of support and to compete for resources (Guichaoua, 2010).

In politics, during the election period, politicians are not solely dependent on political party ideologies to create support and awareness of their vision. The usage of the 'ethnic card' is salient and strives, as the society votes for a leader with whom they share primordial identities with. As a result, the consequence of these actions have a ripple effect on the development of the nation, as it is more likely that politicians stay loyal to community interest which affects the equal allocation of resources (Eifert, Miguel, Posner, 2010). The primordial objects are used in correlation to putting into effect the function of ethnicities which is to mobilise political support and advantage according to the identity instrument.

2.7 Policy and Politics: Agents for Development

Kanbur, Rajam and Varshney (2011) stress the issue of politics interplaying between ethnicities and within the policy environment. Politics are shaped by interests, shaping the direction from policy generation to implementation. Policies are based on a plan of action that exists as a prerequisite of political agendas that aim to achieve a state of development (Wu, Ramesh, Howlett & Fritzen, 2012). Development is commonly understood as a result of a stable political environment, the achievement of economic development and equal distribution of a states' wealth (Todaro & Smith, 2012).

The current state of the politics and policy environment in ethnically diverse countries has shown to be unstable, following the events of ethnic riots and ethnic allegiance manifested in civil wars, genocides and xenophobic attacks (Kanbur, Rajaram & Varshney, 2011). The political instability between ethnic groups is not only evident at the community level through ethnic violence, but also rooted in policies drafted at a higher political and policy level. Kanbur, Rajaram, and Varshney (2011) view the relationship between politics (interests) and policy (action plans) as the forefront of development, and the historical background of the two concepts has influenced the emergence of ethnic politics in most African states.

There are negative perceptions associated with ethnic politics on public policies, because of the threat it poses on decision-making processes and policy preferences established at the agenda setting phase. The policy making process is key to development, and has an impact on the distribution of resources at the policy implementation phase (Calland, 2013). Therefore it is imperative that policy preferences are critiqued in countries experiencing political ethnic contestations.

2.8 Origins of Public Policy

A public policy refers to a document that states a plan of action towards solving an identified problem. In the public sphere a public policy is a goal orientated plan to implement programmes or largely to provide service delivery to improve the general welfare of the public (Cloete & de Coning, 2012)

Fischer, Miller, and Sidney (2007) expand on the history of public policy as a component of the studies of social sciences, which has gradually developed over the past decades. The key contributor in terms of the origin of the field of public policy is Harold Laswell, a prominent social scientist. Laswell visualised and articulated ideas in the specialisation of public policy processes in relation to decision-making for post-World War II countries that include Germany, Italy and Japan (Fischer, Miller & Sidney, 2007). Laswell generated an idea that public policy studies would focus on a social and scientific approach of problem solving and the use of cross-cutting knowledge disciplines in creating plans for a variety of public sector issues.

According to Cloete and de Coning (2012) the nature of public policies in the contemporary time has further developed and is more participative as it allows one to

access knowledge on how government and stakeholders develop policies. Public policies consist of an open approach to governance as it is a tool that engages society on assisting in the policy formulation process to make for effective policy implementation and serve the national interests.

The public policy process is the centre of government activities. To provide services for the general welfare of the society the government needs legitimacy to prioritise on key issues of the nation, a sound plan of action and the resources and expertise to implement programmes that are decided upon (Wu, Ramesh, Howlett & Fritzen, 2012).

2.8.1 Public Policy and Ethnicity

In reference to the history of colonial invention of boundaries in Africa, it can be said that policies drafted by colonial rulers had a direct impact on the cause of ethnic conflicts, as borders were introduced in order to manage the African population through administrative rules and territorial boundaries (Kanu, Rajaram & Varshney, 2011).

An example of how ethnicity comes into play in politics is illustrated by the Nigerian militia driving the Ooudua People's Congress. In a context of direct manipulation of ethnic identity and use of policy, the Ooudua People's Congress developed a policy that drives ethnic conflict and favouritism (Guichaoua, 2012). This political organisation has been founded to achieve the self-determination of the Yoruba ethnic group in Nigeria. Its constitution explicitly states that it only identifies with the Yoruba people's history, cultural and social legacy, development, protection and empowerment of the descendants of the Yoruba. The policy of this organisation is highly nationalistic and ethnically based and disregards the existence and development of many other Nigerian ethnic groups. This type of policy causes ethnic conflicts amongst groups, and reinforces ethnic divisions which ultimately lead to development challenges (Guichaoua, 2012).

From another perspective, policies can indirectly promote ethnic conflicts, as from a developmental perspective policies are at times directed for a particular community's advantage due to lower levels of development. Policies such as Affirmative Action can

trigger conflicts between beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries (Kanu, Rajaram, Varshney, 2011).

2.9 Public Policy Process and Ethnic Politics

The development of public policies consists of a series of actions that include agenda setting, the formulation of policies, the implementation of policies, and an evaluation of policies (Fischer, Miller & Sidney, 2007).

2.9.1 Agenda Setting

The key notion of 'agenda' refers to a combination of issues, topics of interest, solutions, situations, and events that members of the government, society and private sector gather to form discussions and political debates based on their own various interests and objectives (Fischer, Miller & Sidney, 2007).

The setting of an agenda for policies enables the government, legislatures, and relevant bodies, to identify issues that affect the society. It is during this phase that government and key stakeholders such as the media and interest groups prioritise issues that affect the social and economic conditions of citizens, and therefore initiate policies to solve the identified problems. Agenda setting is an important element of a policy process, as it defines actions to be taken, and the utilisation of state resources and expertise to provide public goods and services (Wu, Ramesh, Howlett & Fritzen, 2012). It is at this stage that it is crucial for government to fully represent the interests of the nation, while avoiding to focus on the interests of a singular group.

Calland (2013) further asserts that the political stance of powerful groups in agenda setting has a potential impact on policy preferences, as dominant groups find it relatively easier to influence the outcomes of policy debates through solid coalitions and persuasive arguments. It is also evident that less powerful groups are unable to exert influence on policy debates as the dominant groups mobilise support and expand propaganda from various angles including the media, appealing to the society through 'lip service' and suppressing internal opposition (Fischer, Miller & Sidney, 2007).

Leiberman and McClendon (2012) engage on issues of mechanisms that link ethnic diversity to low levels of public goods provision, as their findings have shown a persistent disagreement on public policies between politically relevant ethnic groups,

in the case where wealth disparities are high between groups. Lieberman and McClendon (2012) further stress the importance of delving into key development issues such as the impact of polity preferences on public policies, as there has been little consideration of the relationship between policy preferences and the poor developmental state as well as institutional structures forfeiting democratic representation.

Wu, Ramesh, Howlett & Fritzen (2012) state that challenges of pluralism and overcrowding can be experienced during policy decision-making, especially in multi-ethnic countries where debates and diverse interests are expressed. Fischer, Miller and Sidney (2007, p. 67) state that in situations such as the latter, “understanding of power helps us understand how groups compete to gain access to the agenda and to deny access to groups and interests that would damage their interests”.

2.9.2 Policy Formulation

The interest in the area of policy formulation was driven by political theorists such as Robert Dahl and Charles Lindblom who pressed scholars to focus on ‘techniques’ that impact the welfare of the society referring to public policies, rather than heavily focusing on contemporary political system issues deriving from capitalism and socialism. Policy formulation involves policy actors identifying activities that could be designed as policies to address the problems that government has agreed to prioritise in the agenda setting procedure, and narrowing down the solutions to reach a final policy decision (Fischer, Miller & Sidney, 2007). Thereafter the feasibility of the chosen action plans will be assessed according to the objectives and future outcomes to be attained.

The main actors in this process include the political executives in parliament, and departmental secretaries of the presidential system, as this step requires less people than the agenda setting phase (Wu, Ramesh, Howlett & Fritzen, 2012). However, the type of issues and policy choices which are being dealt with are usually determined by the issue at hand, in that regard government agencies specialising in the field of the issue that is being addressed will be the key actors. Legislators are involved in ensuring that the laws of the country are adopted, and review the policies on the basis of adherence to the law.

The challenge that arises in policy formulation is that there is a prominent role played by senior officials, and ministerial offices in providing input for policy imperatives (Wu, Ramesh, Howlett & Fritzen, 2012). However, it is public managers at the lower levels of government who are entrusted with the tasks and responsibilities that are set by executive and senior officials to implement policy activities (Kanbur, Rajaram & Varshney, 2011). Policy formulation can also be a hindrance to development when the interests of the public are not fully represented at this level (Wu, Ramesh, Howlett & Fritzen, 2012).

2.9.3 Policy Implementation

Policy implementation is the core element of a policy process. At this stage, tasks, responsibilities and resources have been handed over to the relevant policy implementers, usually at local level of government or government agencies to proceed with service delivery (Wu, Ramesh, Howlett & Fritzen, 2012).

The study of policy implementation is viewed from three generations of studies which have been shaped by political scientists Malcolm Goggin and his fellows. The first generation of studies presented in the United States of America during the 1970's centred on growing concerns over failing policies. Researchers such as Jeffrey Pressman and Aaron Wildavsky focused on implementation studies to grasp knowledge regarding the process and actors involved in order to identify causes of policy failures (Fischer, Miller & Sidney, 2007). The following generation during the years of 1980's, Robert Nakamura and Frank Smallwood argued between a top-down, bureaucratic approach to implementing policies or a bottom-up approach which is people centric. The key argument was that policies are implemented based on decisions and interests of the top level of government and fail when there is a lack of cooperation at the societal level. The third generation consisted of theoretical models that incorporate the principles and processes of both top-down and bottom-up means of policy implementation (Fischer, Miller, Sidney, 2007).

2.9.4 Policy Evaluation

The process of policy evaluation is based on analysing and measuring the extent to which targeted goals are achieved during and after the implementation of a policy. Evaluation also serves as a key performance indicator which highlights inefficiencies

which have been experienced during the policy's process. At this stage the policy analysts and various key players assess the policy tasks, responsibilities, processes, objectives against the outcome that is achieved (Wu, Ramesh, Howlett & Fritzen, 2010). The outcome of the evaluation process enables policy makers to design sound policies in the future, and to utilise the states' resources and expertise more effectively and efficiently.

African politicians and civil society use ethnic identity as a mechanism to influence policies as a group. There is also dependence that is visible within ethnic groups, and this strategy of group influence and personal ties is beneficial for political support and loyalty (Koter, 2013). This has intensified ethnic competitions and consequently led to state elites abandoning national interests and catering for the needs of specific groups, defeating the purpose of national development strategies (Koter, 2013).

There are various theories of development that the state and society can consider for achieving development, while ethnic conflict may be a hindrance. With this regard social cohesion is discussed in terms of providing assistance for achieving the ideas behind various development theories and disciplines in order to curb the hindrance of ethnic politics.

2.10 Development Theories

The governmental aspect of development is to obtain an equal and progressive standard of living for the society, by mobilising the state's resources, human and financial capital, private sector expertise to achieve the mandate of general welfare for all citizens (Todaro & Smith, 2012). All over the world the government process for achieving development involves the use of a macroeconomic policy to generate wealth and employment opportunities that will contribute to the economic growth of a nation and also empower the disadvantaged (Todaro & Smith, 2012).

For centuries development has been centred on the wealth of nations. It is arguably stated by Stiglitz (2002) that economics has been the traditional and dominant field of study used to determine and measure factors that lead to development post the new political economy in which governments operate. Trebelick and Prado (2011) agree with Bellú (2011), with regards to economists as the leading theorists and practitioners of development post-World War II. Influential development academics such as

Amartya Sen, and Marvin Harris challenged a traditionally economic-centric outlook on development that places emphasis on Marxist development theories (Leftwich, 2005). The capitalist approaches are based on the accumulation of capital and foreign investments to be saved in order to boost the growth of a country's economy (Leftwich, 2005).

Amartya Sen's focus on development is subjective and deeply rooted in an individual's ability to achieve innate happiness and freedom. Sen envisions development as unrelated to material objects such as infrastructure, wages, and electricity but rather as closely linked to human capabilities and intangible achievements (Trebilcock & Prado, 2011).

From an anthropology background, Marvin Harris explored development through his ventures across various nations and describes the nature of development as cross-cutting across various factors of society and that development cannot be taken into account solely to improve living conditions (Leftwich, 2005).

2.10.1 Social Cohesion

According to Reskeen (2008) social cohesion is a state in which society is able to ensure the well-being of its people, through the equal access to public resources and an environment that commands respect for human dignity and promotes a collective autonomy. With this regard, the government is supposed to enable this socially cohesive environment by promoting inclusive policies.

In light of utilising social cohesion as an important element for development, Taran and Ivakhnyuk (2009) explain social cohesion as a form of integrating people of a society. It is provided that the successful integration of people will lead to economic progress. An environment marked by tensions amongst various identity groups has the potential to negatively affect development. Efforts to promote social cohesion make it possible for a multi-ethnic and diverse society to bring about developmental success.

2.11 Myriad Development Disciplines

Development can be viewed from diverse perspectives, including economics, culture and identity, geography and territory, and human needs (Bellú, 2011; Trebilcock &

Prado, 2011). Ideologies of development encompass capitalism, socialism and Marxism (Schraeder, 2000). In terms of ethnic politics and conflicts, social cohesion development is important to create an environment whereby different ethnic, racial or religious groups can coexist and cooperate in a non-violent and non-discriminatory manner. Social cohesion is also beneficial to the economic growth of societies as it enables various ethnic groups and other identity groups to create a trust relationship whilst carrying out economic activities as a collective (Foa, n.d).

In a socially cohesive society the social difference that is made visible by distinct cultural, religious, racial and other identity variances is less great than the sense of community and belonging (Taran & Ivakhnyuk, 2009).

2.11.1 Economics

Within the discipline of economics, development is based on the achievement of economic growth. There are four progressive economic models that highlight the theories which guided the perspective of economists in planning for development (Todaro & Smith, 2012). These economic models are discussed below.

In 1960 Walt Whitman Rostow published 'the linear stages of growth'. Rostow's evaluation of development was based on logic and gradual progression towards development. His model defined a country's state of development according to five categories: traditional state, preconditions for take-off, take-off, maturity step, lastly high mass consumption. According to Todaro and Smith (2012) Rostow understood that modernity is the result of developed countries, therefore agriculture based countries need to go through the five steps to achieve development like most Western countries. The Harrod-Domar model was an indicator of whether a country reached the 'take-off' stage, it was stated that most countries that achieved that step became leading economies that were able sustain their growth. It carried ideologies of 'capital fundamentalists' marked my Marxist development theories indicated by Leftwich (2005). However, this approach was too weak for countries to dependent on it for development purposes, as systems and processes that worked for economies post-World War II are ineffective for contemporary use.

Proceeding from the linear stages of growth, in the 1970's the 'structural changes' stage conceptualised by Arthur Lewis emerged. He concluded that development would

be triggered by a move from an agrarian based economy to an industrialised economy, a transition which was successful in developed countries. The idea behind this thought was that underdeveloped countries would be able to produce more in a small amount of time, and create trade relations with developed countries (Todaro & Smith, 2012). The prevalent impact was growth disparities between rural and urban areas, and migration trends that created violent disputes over the access to employment opportunities and the distribution of resources within the society. Patterns of development analysis emerged and served as a model to identify that structural change and capitalist approaches of saving and investing were inadequate for the development of a country (Todaro & Smith, 2012). Countries needed to understand their country specific issues and create country-specific strategies.

In the 1970's the dependency theory emerged. The idea of this theory was that underdeveloped countries were increasingly dependent on developed countries, e.g. for financial or technical assistance to achieve development goals. These relations were viewed as favouring developed countries over underdeveloped countries in a capitalist system that benefits the developed countries through the rules of international trade that disadvantage developing countries and lead to the exploitation of its workforce. The reliance on international advisory, consultants and experts was viewed as having an impact on policies adopted in underdeveloped countries, which were often not country-specific enough. Country specific solutions seemed to be ideal if developed in consultation with the victims of the situations, and using local scholars and experts (Todaro & Smith, 2012).

According to Trebilcock and Padro (2011) it is believed that the gap between the rich and the poor widens as a small elite group of the world holds a big portion of its wealth. The Marxist theory exposes the reality of social classes and conditions, and how the capitalist system is used by the elite to promote their own wealth, and the solution for Marxist thinking is adopting a communist system for the liberation and development of the exploited working class (Trebilcock & Padro, 2011).

In the 1980's through to the 1990's the 'neoclassical structural adjustment and Washington consensus' emphasised a free market system with reduced government control over markets. The private sector and citizens of the country were given the opportunity to contribute to the state's economy, this process facilitated international

trade and competition in the market, creating jobs and boosting the state's economy. Todaro and Smith (2012) with Trebilcock and Padro (2011) share the conviction that the major aspect of a neoliberal economy is to enhance public choice, reduce the state control over the market, and create a public-private partnership to assist the government in carrying out its mandate. Development in this position was regulated by the law which is guided by the government, by setting tax rates, policies, and processes that manage the market.

There are various ways in which social cohesion can facilitate economic growth. It is stated by Fao (n.d) that in a society where there is trust and cooperation between various ethnic and other identity groups, there is a higher likeliness of economic growth. Despite the issue of being unable to quantify the latter, it is more likely that the costs of cooperation will be less than the costs of non-cooperation which is usually detrimental to the achievement of developmental outcomes (Fao, n.d). This is informed by the fact that in countries or societies that experience identity conflicts, there are usually economic transaction costs that are linked for example to funding policing and crime prevention programmes.

In a society where there is social cohesion, economic growth is enhanced by the collective action of people working towards achieving public developmental goals. This also favours development because people are unified and work towards producing goods and services that can accumulate and contribute to the economy. So in essence, economic growth is prone to being affected by issues such as ethnic politics, civil wars and unrest. Social cohesion can be a factor to prevent that and maximise development outcomes (Fao, n.d).

2.11.2 Culture and Identity

According to Eriksen (2012) cultural attributes of ethnicity are used to communicate differences amongst ethnic groups. Identity is a social construct used by ethnic groups to identify with a group. Identities are commonly known to be fluid in nature, whereas culture was traditionally understood as being fixed. However the prevalence of cultural mixing has blurred this notion (Eriksen, 2012). The terms culture and identity are derived social elements tied to a groups form of social construction and belonging that emanates from shared norms, value systems, beliefs, standards, behavioural organisations to name a few (Eriksen, 2012).

Development is closely tied to culture and identity as these concepts are closely related to how people react to various situations, and tackle social, economic and political issues. It is also discussed by Trebilcock and Prado (2011) that it is difficult to measure and qualify diverse nations as developed or underdeveloped according to international standards of Western ideology. Culture and identity in itself has different properties across countries, which then explains that blueprint theories and plans cannot apply across nations.

On the contrary there are scholars that view culture and identity as traditional and indigenous, and consider it as an impediment to growth. The solutions here forth are for societies to move towards modernisation by following the development advice and strategies which have worked in a different context for Western cultures (Trebilcock & Prado, 2011). However, it is evident in the history of African countries since independence that the majority of the leaders that took over power utilised the same power functions, structures and processes of administration as the colonial authorities. The government did not regard itself as accountable and aimed to serve its tribes at the cost of the larger society. It will therefore not be possible to mimic Western cultures without careful consideration of African solutions.

Scholars such as Inoue Tatsuo aim to change the latter perspective engaging on arguments as to the validity of the reasoning behind the characteristics of a developed and an underdeveloped country (Trebilcock & Prado, 2011). According to them, the tribal structures created during the occupation of Africa by the colonial rulers had an impact on creating social divides and class structures. Currently many African countries have rejected their traditional ways, however conflicts still arise between groups for cultural and ethnic superiority. Sen supports this view, and in his book called 'Identity and Violence' he explains how identities can be utilised to create social tensions which are affecting society in terms of the various religious, cultural, ethnic and other social properties that inevitably serve as an agent of poor development policies fostered by dominant groups (Trebilcock & Prado, 2011).

On the other hand, culture and identity can also be mobilised to create social cohesion in order to create an environment where people can peacefully coexist. In order to develop the understanding and knowledge of the importance of cultural and identity diversity for societies, key components of social cohesion that include culture, the civil

society, citizenship and social order should be prioritised (Reeskens, 2008). Within the political sphere interactions of identities can be evaluated in order to understand the influence and impact of ethnic groups on development.

2.11.3 Geography and Territorial Boundary

According to Trebilcock and Prado (2011) the development of a country can be determined by its geographical elements that consist of location and environmental factors. A country can be prone to underdevelopment due to its distance from economic hubs or because of the absence of a coastline. It is more likely for a country that is landlocked to endure high tax rates on transportation of goods or to be excluded from international trade as a result of reduced access to coastal trade routes. Countries that possess coastlines have an advantage of exposure and can more easily access global markets. The geographical factors of development can however create conflict and generate violence amongst countries fighting for access and ownership of resource and trade opportunities which inherently boost economic development. Economic geography is a new discipline which is being studied further as to how the geographical location and condition of a country can be a determinant for economic development (Trebilcock & Prado, 2011). It is also related to ethnic and national groups fighting for territories. Since independence migration for economic and political reasons has increased, and conflicts about maintaining control and power over national boundaries and cultures has grown simultaneously.

With regards to geography and territories as an aspect of development, migration leading to the coexistence of a diversity of identity groups has been a major trend. Migration into new geographies and territories has the potential to enhance development in host countries. This is dependent on how well countries are able to include migrants into their social and economic policies. According to Taran and Ivakhnyuk (2009) for a country to benefit from people entering its space, social cohesion must be ensured in order to create conditions whereby migrants can positively contribute to development. In order to ensure development, policies should prioritise the promotion of social integration and cohesion amongst the society whilst respecting the diversity of people coexisting in the same boundaries. Taran and Ivakhnyuk (2009) state that in host countries migration can play a positive role in the

economy, as migrants have played a significant role in rejuvenating employment sectors and promoting entrepreneurship as a source of income.

2.11.4 Human Development

Human development aims at addressing the humanitarian needs of a society, including by ensuring the availability of healthcare, access to primary and secondary education, freedom of expression and achieving success (Leftwich, 2005). It is imperative for the society to be granted access to the abovementioned basic services, as it is a precondition for self-empowerment whereby individuals can be self-reliant and begin to create opportunities for themselves and to be less reliant on the government for social needs (Mabuza, 2008). Sen strongly suggests that human development goes beyond the attainment of commodities, but is directly linked to the capabilities that a person has. The ability to be 'functional' is important. As Leftwich (2005) suggests that education and health are the primary sources for human development, Sen perceives these functions as the main requirements to achieve human well-being (Todaro & Smith, 2012).

Social cohesion is a major factor for building unified communities. Enhancing social cohesion through public participation is key for creating an enabling environment for development. According to Taran and Ivakhnyuk (2009), to provide welfare for a society, it is imperative that the government aims to achieve a non-discriminatory environment where it sets the conditions for social inclusion of all identity groups. One key component for ensuring equal human development is through providing education for people citizens to accept their differences, to combat stereotypes that lead to violence, racism and xenophobia and to recognise the equivalence of needs that people have. It is therefore essential to realise that social cohesion is instrumental with regards to satisfying the needs of all people.

2.12 Ethnic Politics and the State of Development

Schraeder (2000, p. 182) states that many of Africa's economic difficulties are caused by complex economic, political, social and historical factors. The state of economic development in Africa is affected and characterised by civil wars, xenophobic attacks, genocides, loss of human capital, low industrialisation, debt burden due to conflicting governance systems or ideology, and political instabilities (Gören, 2014). As ethnic

competitions and rivalries intensify, political instability has a detrimental impact on the economic state, leading to migration, the loss of skills and remittances to foreign countries in search for social and economic survival and opportunities. This system of avoiding conflicts has however not proven to be holistically effective in escaping consequences of ethnic conflicts. Migrants and refugees of countries facing ethnic conflicts are not guaranteed social and economic inclusion in the new host countries. Such exclusions have been demonstrated by the series of ethno-nationalistic insurgencies against migrants and refugees from African countries, in particular Somalis, in South Africa (Sriskandarajah, 2005).

Gören (2014) supports Easterly's and Levine's (1997) view that there is a relationship between ethnically diverse countries and poor development, mostly as a result of divisions imposed by colonial authorities. Ethnic diversity in many African countries has resulted in conflicts of interests and polarisation. Ethnic politics is still very much a reality as it continues to influence the development of ethnically diverse countries through a myriad of channels that include: investment, civil wars and genocides, human capital, government expenditure, and political instability (Gören, 2014).

2.12.1 Civil Wars and Genocides

The prevalence of ethnic strife through civil wars and genocides has an impact on nations' human capital and investment sources (Kanbur, Rajaram & Varshney, 2011). These violent events cause human capital destruction as educated citizens flee the country leading to brain-drain. Investors are interested in secure and low risk countries, and violent crimes can discourage much needed investments for development (Gören, 2014). Political and economic stability is crucial to shape development.

2.12.2 Human Capital

As stated by Leftwich (2005) human development is important to empower individuals and human capital is crucial to enhance the development of a nation. However, challenges of service provision in areas such as education, housing and health infrastructure can be hindered by governments that establish their power and authority over minority group. By advantaging dominant groups, the human development of minority group can be affected (Gören, 2014).

2.12.3 Government Expenditure

According to Gören (2014) government's plans for expenditure should be based on equal wealth distribution across all citizens of a state. However, it has been apparent that government leaders tend to control the risk of being overthrown by providing benefits to their own ethnic groups that have been used to mobilise votes for election (Eifert, Miguel, Posner, 2010).

2.12.4 Political Instability

The political landscape becomes unstable as dominant ethnic groups form common groups and alliances, and at a higher level, policies drafted are used to limit the influence and freedom of minority ethnic groups and oppositions. At this political level, policies are used as an instrument to repress ethnic minorities, situations which ignite conflicts, violence and hatred (Gören, 2014). Policy-wise, it is important to fully represent the interests of the entire nation. Failure to follow principles of development and democracy destabilises frameworks created to protect the nation.

2.13 Conceptual Framework

As per the theoretical insights that have been provided above, the following conceptual framework serves as an analytical tool that provides guidance as to organising the various findings of the research, and how to apply the information in such a way that it responds to the research questions. It also aims to provide structure and a focused observation and interpretation of the research (Jabareen, 2009).

As per the literature presented above, the research study will follow the conceptual framework detailed in the table below:

Table 1

Research study conceptual framework

Measuring	Interview themes	Relevance for sub-question
1. Whether ethnic politics is the reason to violent attacks against Somali informal traders.	Prejudice and discrimination	To explore whether Somalis are subject to violent attacks and discrimination due to their ethnic identity.

2. Perceptions on the proposed policy's relief outcome.	Policy preference	To explore whether interviewees feel that the proposed policy will provide relief against the current situation.
3. Anticipated effect of the proposed policy on social cohesion in Klipspruit.	Potential policy outcome	To explore the effect of the policy on social cohesion.

2.14 Conclusion

According to Lieberman and McClendon (2012) the influence of ethnic politics on development policies can be illustrated by the way in which various cultures of government officials are utilised in setting preferences for a country's development policy and processes of policy implementation (Lieberman, McClendon, 2012). The mechanism that drives development policy failures can vary across nations, more apparent is the persistent conflicts, violence acts, and disagreeing powers currently erupting from ethnic groups in the African political landscape that is not being addressed. According to Kanbur, Rajaram, and Varshney (2011) the economic decline of most Sub-Saharan African countries is linked to perpetual ethnic conflicts, and therefore seeking to find evidence on ethnic politics as a hindrance for development is crucial. Development enhancing public policies should encompass a national strategy that aims at achieving equality and welfare for all citizens within a nation by creating conditions for social cohesion. The principle values underlying development are contemporarily centred on democracy, good governance, equality, accountability, representation and in essence fair allocation and access to state resources. Public policy is the key driver of any government action towards providing service delivery and welfare activities. However, in recent years development policy failures have been prevalent. Ethnic politics in the social, political and institutional structures of policy making possibly creates a barrier to the development of Africa.

In efforts to seek solutions aimed at addressing ethnic politics, it is imperative that education of the society is prioritised to highlight the necessity of policy preferences that are representative of all identities within a society. Issues such as genocides, xenophobic attacks will remain a challenge if economic development policies are decided upon a monopolised set of agendas. An element of ethnic identity can be

utilised strategically if directed towards the diversification of the economy and development strategies, and for solving the conflicts amongst a diaspora of populations that have a historical background of politicised ethnic identity (Sriskandarajah, 2005).

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH TECHNIQUES, PROCEDURE, AND METHODS

3.1 Introduction

According to Liphoko (2013) a research methodology is the strategy that a researcher decides to utilise in order to collect information that is relevant for a topic under study. It is important that a researcher gives an indication of the research method that will be utilised.

Research methodologies are selected for a research study on the basis of whether the method is well suited to operationalise the research questions (Wagner, Kawulich & Garner, 2012). The research technique, procedure and methods chapter provides details on the application of the methodology that will be utilised in order to acquire information about the research topic at hand. This chapter will include sections on research strategy, research design, data collection, data analysis, and lastly present ways in which the research validity, reliability, limitations, ethical issues that are taken into account.

3.2 Research Strategy

A research strategy aims at assisting the researcher to conduct social research systematically. It entails the use of a qualitative or quantitative methodology to operationalise the research. The selection of a research strategy has a pivotal connection to the theory, research questions and the epistemological and ontological considerations of the research (Bryman, 2004). For the purpose of this study a qualitative research approach will be followed. The qualitative research strategy emphasises on “qualities of entities and on processes and meanings that are not experimentally examined or measured in terms of quantity, amount, intensity or frequency” relative to quantitative research methodology (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000).

Qualitative and quantitative research methodologies are based on different philosophical underpinnings. Qualitative research is built upon an inductive approach in which theory is generated from research. This research seeks to gather data that is based on understanding realities that are socially constructed by human understanding of social phenomena (Kohlbacher, 2006). In contrast, the quantitative research methodology emerges from an objectivist approach that is highlighted by a traditional scientific positivist epistemology that entails that objective knowledge is

attained through direct observation and/or experience. Quantitative research is associated with a realistic ontological perspective into acquiring meaningful data for the process of understanding the unit being studied, as it is grounded on the belief that social phenomena exist independently of individuals (Laws & McLeod, 2004; Bryman, 2004).

Qualitative research is an effective research strategy for this study as it allows the researcher to be situated in the context of the study as an observer. It constitutes a set of interpretative tools and practices that gather detailed and descriptive data made available by human experience and deep understanding of the studied phenomenon (Kohlbacher, 2006). It is also less restrictive in terms of imposing data collection techniques, allowing the researcher more flexibility in terms of increasing the validity of the research being conducted.

The qualitative research strategy was chosen for this study, as it recognises the importance of subjective human creation of meaning and social construction of meaning (Baxter & Jack, 2008). The research focus is based upon finding out whether ethnic politics had an influence on the Licensing of Businesses Bill and whether this proposed bill has an effect on social cohesion development in Klipspruit. Therefore it is imperative to apply a qualitative research strategy as it allows the researcher to draw relevant thematic data analysis for a descriptive and explanatory study. Furthermore, a qualitative approach is appropriate based on the nature of the research questions, and the degree of focus on the anthropological, social, political and economic elements of the research (Rowley, 2002).

3.3 Research Design

The research design is a systematic logical process of the link between the data to be collected and conclusions to be drawn from the research questions of the study. It is a plan of action taking the researcher from questions to conclusions. A research design allows a researcher to answer research questions as unambiguously as possible, as this process involves ensuring that there is a clear view of what is to be achieved by identifying research questions, research objectives and establishing how validity and reliability will be maximised (Rowley, 2002). For the purpose of this study a case study and basic interpretive qualitative study design will be utilised.

A case study design will be used to undertake “empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context when the boundaries between phenomena and context are not clearly evident and in which multiple sources of evidence is used” (Yin, 1989, p. 23). The researcher will use a case study approach with the aim to undertake the research in a context that is relevant for the social phenomena under study (Baxter & Jack, 2008). Data will be derived from a single case study on Klipspruit, a community located in Soweto in South Africa. The unit of analysis serves as an illustrative area for the research project as Klipspruit provides the necessary conditions to carry out the study as it is situated in Soweto region of the City of Johannesburg (COJ). It is the most densely populated area and it has the highest level of unemployment at 42.7% (City of Johannesburg, 2012-16). There is also a numerous and homogenous Somali ethnic group that experiences conflict with the South African population within the community. According to the COJ Integrated Development Plan there are challenges of inequality, social exclusion and underdevelopment that remain. Townships in Soweto have shown a high prevalence of xenophobic attacks in recent years, which the researcher would like to explore by looking into ethnic politics as a reason for the violence and government policy responses and how this can potentially affect the development of social cohesion.

The basic interpretive qualitative study design will be employed for this research as it embodies principles applied in qualitative research. The researcher is interested in discovering the perspectives of the participants and seeks to incorporate the understanding of how humans interpret their lived experiences and meaning of a social phenomenon (Merriam, 2002). This research design is appropriate as it will provide rich and descriptive research findings that will be analysed according to thematic areas (Merriam, 2002). The collection of data will be sourced through interviews and a descriptive case study.

3.4 Research Procedure and Methods

In order to collect data for the research study, a case study design will be used. This is followed by instruments that will be used to collect the data, the population that has been targeted, ethical standards that should be adhered to, and a description of the research respondents

A case study research design is distinctive in that it enables the researcher to use multiple sources of data, a strategy that is vital for enhancing data credibility through triangulation. Data will be collected from a range of primary and secondary sources of data that range from government documentation, reports, interviews, archival policy documents and academic publications (Baxter & Jack, 2008). Data triangulation will be achieved as the research will be combining multiple methods such as interviews and documents to gather data.

The case study will enable the researcher to investigate the phenomenon within its real-life context, as data will be obtained in a township that has experienced tensions between Somalis and South African population, an area that has a presence of Somali informal traders, and a community that is reported to be one of the least developed of the city of Johannesburg. The researcher seeks to use the case study to provide reasoning for violent attacks against Somali informal traders and how the government policy response can potentially have an effect on social cohesion development in Klipspruit. Therefore the case study method will be explanatory as it seeks to provide the reasons to specific events and the relation to a policy that may have effect on social cohesion (Baxter & Jack, 2008; Bumham, Gilland, Grant & Layton-Henry, 2004). The use of case study will incorporate brief literature on the subject being studied, and interviews with relevant participants will provide valuable information based on lived experiences and understanding of the phenomena under study.

3.4.1 Research Data Collection Instrument

Primary data sources will be utilised to collect information necessary to complete the study. Face-to-face semi-structured interviews will be conducted with government officials, political actors and civil society in a convenient environment for the interviewees. Semi-structured interviews were chosen as they offer flexibility for the researcher to probe and explore deeper into the interviewees responses (Wagner, Kawulich & Garner, 2012). The interview questions will cover the overall scope of the research questions to ensure that there is consistency of themes, patterns and trends of the research findings that emanate from the responses, and a holistic understanding of the topic under study. An interview guide for the research has been developed and is included as Appendix A. The interviews will be recorded to allow the researcher to engage with the respondents without interruptions as the time is limited.

The interview guide includes questions that are open-ended and closed-ended, as there are various categories of responses required. Appendix A contains the interview questions for South African and Somali informal traders in Klipspruit, governmental officials, the Somali Community Board members and a Professor specialising in Migration studies respectively.

3.4.2 Target Population and Sampling

The table below shows that the interviews will be conducted with 13 participants, and an information and consent form will be provided before the interviews commence. The information sheet and consent form are provided in Appendix 2.

Table 2

Targeted population

Interview participants	Quantity
South African informal traders in Klipspruit	3
Somali informal traders in Klipspruit	3
South African government officials	3
Somali Community Board members	3
Professor specialising in Migration studies	1

Secondary data that will be used to collect the information that is necessary for the case study will be sourced from books, academic journals, policy briefs. The purpose of the case study is to provide descriptive literature on the social phenomena within Klipspruit, and to use the interviews in order to understand the human experience.

An information orientated case study unit of analysis is selected for this research. It entails the use of a non-probability sampling method based on selection of a sample that is convenient for the study. Convenience sampling is an effective sampling strategy as the research will be using readily available information for the case study, and readily available interview participants relevant for the study (Wagner, Kawulich, Garner & 2012). In order to attain the maximum number of interview participants a

snowball sampling strategy will be employed. Participants will be mobilised by the researcher through information from interview participants as to locating the specific population for interviews (Wagner, Kawulich & Garner, 2012).

Selecting the unit of analysis is an important part of research, and should be informed by the research question, objectives and literature review (Rowley, 2002). The unit of analysis from Klipspruit include three South African informal traders, three Somali informal traders, three Somali Community Board representatives and a combination of up to three government officials from the Department of Trade and Industry (DTI) and the Department of Small Businesses and Development.

3.4.3 Ethical Considerations

Research bias was reduced by the use of triangulation of research methods. This method increased the validity of the research outcomes, as the use of multiple sources provided verification and validity as similar data was obtained. This was achieved by the use of a case study and face-to-face interviews. The researcher provided the interviewees with information about the research and how their data would be used. Interview participants were issued a form to secure their anonymity and consent.

3.4.5 Research Data Processing and Analysis

Data analysis for qualitative research is predominately approached through document analysis that entails searching for underlying themes in the material that is being analysed. The researcher will record then transcribe the data. Thereafter, the data will be analysed in order to construct meaning of and in texts by recognising categories, patterns, themes that emerge out of the data derived from the interviews. Data presentation and analysis will occur concurrently.

Data collected from the interviews will be analysed by returning to the research conceptual framework. This will allow the researcher to engage in a focused analysis, and avoid analysing data that is out of the scope of the research questions. The research findings will be used to provide explanations of the social phenomena under study by using insights from the literature review (Rowley, 2002).

The conceptual framework provides thematic areas that the researcher has identified as a tool to guide the process of findings key research findings through the analysis of

the data. However relevant themes outside of the scope of the research will be taken into account during data analysis.

3.4.6 Description of Research Respondents

- **Klipspruit**

Klipspruit is located in Soweto, forming region D of the City of Johannesburg. It is indicated by the City of Johannesburg that region D is the most densely populated area standing at 24.4% of the population in Johannesburg. Klipspruit has witnessed significant changes in terms of moving from segregated development during Apartheid and into a population mix, and now being classified as a 'cosmopolitan centre' of the City of Johannesburg. It has changed in terms of racial make-up, and especially in terms of ethnicity and culture (City of Johannesburg, 2012). Poverty, social exclusion, inequalities and low levels of development are some of the pressing challenges persisting in Klipspruit.

- **The Somali Community Board of South Africa**

This is a community based organisation that was founded on the 4th of August 2007. The Somali Community Board represents the entire Somali community that is based in South Africa, and has branches across the country. Its functions include legal assistance, integration, social welfare, education, advocacy, skills training and business development. Its vision is to unify and integrate all Somali refugees and asylum seekers in the South African society (Somali Community Board of South Africa, n.d).

- **Somali and South African informal traders**

These traders are operating within the informal sector which is characterised as small scale with a low level of productivity and business organisation (Breede Valley Municipality, 2010). Businesses in this environment are operated without state licensing and regulatory frameworks. The informal traders in Klipspruit operate businesses that vary from hair salons, tuck-shops (convenience stores), mechanics, and transportation to mention only a few.

- **Government officials of the Department of Trade and Industry**

For the purpose of this research study members of the Legislation and Business Regulation unit in the Department of Trade and Industry were interviewed. This unit has the role to develop and review the regulatory systems in relation to the trade industry of South Africa. It tackles issues of “competition, consumer protection, company and intellectual property, as well as public interest regulation” (Department of Trade and Industry, n.d, para. 1).

- **Academic Professor**

The Professor has a specialisation in migration studies, and carried out research on cross-border migrants in the informal sector and has worked on a migration project in Southern Africa.

3.5 Research Findings

This section consists of raw data that the researcher has collected through the face-to-face interviews. The responses have been categorised according to the group of respondents (e.g. Somali Community Board, South African and Somali informal traders etc.) in order to get an understanding of the opinions, statements and responses held by the different groups and to better manage the volume of data obtained.

3.6 Validity and Reliability

Any social research conducted can assert its claims based on its ability to use appropriate data collection methods. Various frameworks have been developed to measure or assess the trustworthiness in a research study and strategies can be applied for establishing the validity and reliability of the information gathered (Kohlbacher, 2006).

The validity of this research will be based on the credibility of the case study research through member validation and use of triangulation. The researcher will enhance the validity of the research by use of multiple sources that include primary and secondary data, which will confirm the triangulation of the research (Laws & McLeod, 2004). In addition the researcher will compare the data analysed to confirm that the research

question has been adequately answered by the use of primary data gathered through interviews with political actors and civil society.

The research findings will respond to the research questions in order to increase the internal validity by showing consistency. A contextual representation of the social phenomenon of ethnic politics and how it manifests itself into policy and development will be aligned to the interview questions and represented in thematic findings.

The reliability of the study depends on the consistency of the research findings. This will be achieved through the feedback received from the supervisor and externally by discussing the research findings with individuals that work in the field of social sciences (Baxter & Jack, 2008).

3.7 Limitations of Research Techniques and Methods

The use of a case study method means that the findings may not be generalised to the entire population affected by tensions between South Africans and Somalis. The approach of using a case study with a range of data collection methods produced an overwhelming amount of data in the research process, which posed a threat to time management, which could have led the researcher to being 'lost' in the data. In order to manage this limitation, the researcher stored and organised the voluminous data according to themes.

The research study was of a sensitive nature and interviewees were reluctant to participate in the interviews, therefore only 12 people participated in the research interviews, excluding a government official from the Department of Small Businesses and Development. The researcher ensured that participants were provided with a consent form to confirm their acceptance to take part in the interviews (Wagner, Kawulich & Garner, 2012).

The participants of the research included the Somali ethnic group which brought about a language barrier, as the participants could have had a limited understanding of English. Therefore the Somali Community Board of South Africa provided the researcher with a contact list of the Somalis that can communicate in English.

3.8 Delimitation of the Research

The research chosen this research study as there are several challenges and policy preferences that seem to emerge due to the social phenomena of ethnic politics in Africa. The present study seeks to address this knowledge gap, as there are many studies that have not been able to provide sufficient evidence to this claim. The researcher will not attempt to carry out data collection on a representable sample of South Africa and its various ethnic groups, nor include all foreign national ethnic groups due to the lack of financial resources, language barrier and time constraints to complete this study. The research also assumes that the research will be better focused when carried out on a small sample in a community that is within reach (Adetiba, 2013).

The researcher will not expand on all various identity politics theories, as the research is aimed at ethnic politics. However, with that regard the research may face a challenge of material that may be useful in the context of South Africa, as nationalism has been taken into a lot of consideration when authors have studied identity politics in South Africa.

3.9 Justification of the Research

Africa's development situation is bedevilled by political instability that is not conducive to inclusive economic development. The research will explore whether internal factors such as ethnic politics are present in influencing policies and whether this has hindered development (Oyebade & Alao, 1998). The influence of ethnic politics on policy and development is deserving of a research study in order to show whether mechanisms of ethnic identity influence or affect development in multi-ethnic African countries. This research study seeks to explore the means in which African identity politics cause political and economic instability, by exploring whether tensions in multi-ethnic communities create an environment of un-inclusive policy choices. Given the importance of various development initiatives, it is not surprising that the issue of ethnicity mobilisation has been a dominant topic of interest in African studies. This study aims at addressing the lack of understanding on whether and how ethnic politics has an influence on policy and development.

3.10 Time Schedule

The following table highlights the activities and completion dates the researcher has considered with regards to completing the research study as as per the submission date.

Table 3

Research activities and date of completion

Research Activities	Date
Proposal return, amend, submit final copy	July to November 2015
Defend proposal and approval	16 th of November 2015
Data collection and capturing	January 2016
Data analysis and report writing	February 2016
Report submission, feedback, amend	March 2016
Submit final report (with extension to March)	March 2016

3.11 Conclusion

In order to undertake the research, a qualitative research strategy was used in the form of face to face interviews. The interview questions were formulated by the researcher in order to collect data from Somali and South African informal traders, government officials from the Department of Trade and Industry, and a Professor specialising in Migration studies. The sample consisted of 13 interview participants who were provided with a consent form and permission was granted from all the participants.

In closing, this chapter highlighted the research techniques, procedure and methods used to ensure that the researcher undertook an informed way of collecting data, as well as ensuring that ethical standards are adhered to in the research procedure, and mostly that the reliability and validity of the study are considered.

CHAPTER FOUR: PRESENTATION OF RESEARCH FINDINGS

4.1 Introduction

The purpose of the study was to examine the root causes of violence against Somalis and the potential of the governments' policy response to mitigate this phenomenon. In particular, the study was aimed at investigating the anticipated effects of the proposed Licensing of Businesses Bill on social cohesion development between Somalis and South Africans focusing on the community in Klipspruit.

For context, the Department of Trade and Industry Licensing of Businesses Bill No. 36265 of 2013 was published on the 18th of March 2013. According to the Bowan Gilfillan African Group (2013, para. 2),

“the bill proposes to repeal the current Businesses Act, 1991 in terms of which certain types of businesses that may impact on public health are required to be licensed by the municipality in which they are situated. The types of businesses that currently require licences include restaurants, businesses selling perishable foodstuffs, cinemas and theatres, night clubs, and businesses providing massage or infra-red treatments”.

In addition, the bill has the provisions of exemptions for categories of people from licensing requirements. It is also stipulated that “The bill provides that business licences may be revoked for various reasons including selling of counterfeit goods, contravening customs and excise legislation, or employing an illegal immigrant”. After publication this bill has been challenged, and until recently it has not been enacted by the Parliament of the Republic of South Africa.

The research findings section consists of the data that was collected during the interviews with regards to fulfilling the purpose of the study. The interviews were carried out with 12 participants that include the Somali Community Board members, South African and Somali informal traders, government officials from the Department of Trade and Industry, and a Professor specialising in migration studies.

4.2 Reasons underlying for violence against Somali informal traders

Interview participants: Somali Community Board Members

- **Reasons for violence against Somali informal traders**

The Somali Community Board members elaborated on the historical background of South Africa, the unequal economic situation and cultural dynamics as reasons for the violence that has been emerging against Somali informal traders and other foreign groups. It was stated that in the context of South Africa, the South African citizens exist in a country that experienced apartheid and was full of hope and promised opportunities at the dawn of democracy. Since 1994 minimal transformation has taken place, in particular economic transformation has been disappointing, illustrated by the lack of jobs and the inability of the public and the private sector to create employment. The informal sector has emerged as a sector where the unemployed and disadvantaged have created a way to survive and earn a living. According to Somali Community Board member 1 this sector has become the most significant in South Africa, where locals find their way out of poverty.

Beyond South Africa's borders, countries are affected by various kinds of political instabilities that force millions of people, mostly from other African countries, to migrate into South Africa, settling as asylum seekers and refugee permit holders by virtue of residing in a lawfully accepting country. Many of the people have already acquired business skills and have the determination to survive and so they easily adapt to the informal sector, which is a space that is shared with locals. Migration and the high unemployment rate in South Africa have created a space in which locals and foreign nationals are in competition for making ends meet. Within this space the locals may not have the same business acumen and discipline as foreign nationals, increasing the likeliness for tensions.

It was stated that the lack of regulation and implementation of by-laws that still exist are addressing a different situation, particularly the apartheid era, therefore current regulations are questionable as to their relevancy for the changing society. The aspect of regulation plays a big role in the government's inability to regulate everyone equally, so that people may be judged and persecuted on equal rules. There is an outcry from locals about law enforcement agencies implementing by-laws that are against locals

but no by-law is seen to be implemented against foreigners. Locals identify this as an unfair advantage for foreign nationals who are not being regulated. This is the basis of the tensions that are created on the ground.

There are a number of challenges that locals face, and for which foreigners are likely to have found solutions to. For example there are cases of foreigners paying less rent by sleeping in shops. In addition foreigners face less family responsibility, giving them more time and means to invest in their businesses. According to the Somali Community members, this creates tensions as local businesses are suffocated by their family responsibilities and desire to appear rich within their society by virtue of showing off that they are in business. The Somali Community Board members highlight that this is something that is generally not likely to happen amongst foreign nationals as they have discipline in terms of running a business, until the objectives of the business are met.

It was also made clear that competition also exists within the Somali community and that they have different backgrounds. However, the Somali Community Board members emphasised that the Somali, Ethiopian, Pakistani, Congolese nationals would generally successfully manage small shops, while the local South African would struggle because of tight competition in the informal sector. The interviewees highlighted that it comes down to the issue of business discipline. Somali Community Board member 1 quotes a colleague saying that “because of the lack of discipline from locals this can end up to jealousy in the sector, and that if locals apply their mind to what they do in their business, coupled with the support and power they have in their own country, they can succeed”.

Somali Community Board member 2 stated that the ignorance of Somali informal traders puts them into a situation whereby they do not realise that misunderstandings or quarrels with locals can cause a fight. Language barrier is also a factor potentially triggering violent attacks as a result of miscommunication between Somalis and locals. Minor altercations around for example R5 airtime can cause a fight, and the local can call a friend or another business owner who has past differences with the foreign national and both start fighting, which at times has a ripple effect and leads to other shops.

All three Somali Community Board members felt that there are a number of misconceptions from the locals about the foreigners. Some common misconceptions include that the foreigners have come to their land to take their business, women, and opportunities on top of not being taxed (on the goods they are selling, they are assumed not to contribute to the South African Revenue Services), has led to the attacks against Somali nationals in the townships.

The inequality that exists in the township is also seen as a contributing factor, as the black South African population was previously marginalised, not even allowed to trade in their own land. It was difficult as they received no support from the previously white apartheid regime. At the time South Africa attained independence and at the dawn of economic emancipation, foreigners were also allowed into the country. Migrants from East, Central, West Africa and Asia arrived in the townships of South Africa competing in the informal sector trading shops. The Somali informal trading shops flourishing in an environment that is faced with inequality can be one of the incentives for attacks.

Somali Community Board member 3 emphasised that in addition to being strongly disciplined, the Somalis managed to become competitive in the townships through their unity and by bulk buying goods. This has allowed the Somalis to have the upper hand in the township, therefore facing resistance from local businesses and the local community. The unity of Somalis helping one another, building consortiums that help them succeed in the market, has worked against them.

- **Perceptions about violence targeted at Somali informal traders**

The Somali informal traders stated that the media and society do not understand the nature of the foreign traders that are attacked. They cannot distinguish between the victims, and because the group consists of foreigners they are then assumed to be Somali. This is not entirely true, as this sector includes people from many parts of the world, and Somalis are only a small proportion of foreigners in South Africa and in Klipspruit. However, there is also a possibility that the attackers focus on Somalis, as when there is a problem people tend to know about the nature of the problem and the people to target. However in the township the exact origin does not matter, as all foreigners are either labelled as Pakistani or Somali, even when they are not from these countries. So this misconception is a dominant challenge, and whether or not it

is engineered by people intolerant of a specific country or group of people remains unclear.

A response of 'no' was humorously provided by the Somali Community Board member 2, reasoning that people often identify most foreign informal traders as Somali without knowing the differences between the groups, and so even Ethiopians and Somalis can be mixed up. According to Somali Community Board member 2 it should also be noted that Ethiopians sometimes use the identity of Somalis to obtain refugee status in South Africa. Therefore, the term Somali is not used specifically for Somali nationals, but it is a generalised term, as Somalis were the first to open 'spaza' shops (informal trading stores). So in the townships, Somali Community Board member 2 concludes, it is "a tuck-shop identity, a brand, it is not a nationality".

Somali Community Board member 3 also gave a response of 'no', arguing that Somalis are not the only identity group which is targeted. In comparison to the high crime rates in South Africa, and as a minority against South Africans, the violent attacks and killings of the Somali population is a visible problem. However, it should be taken into account that people having experienced the attacks also include internal migrants such as Tsongas. The other category is people from the South African Development Community region, and further African and Asian countries that are operating businesses in the township informal sector market. South Africans have also been attacked as they can be perceived to be foreigners due to physical features such as a darker skin tone.

Interview participants: Somali and South African Informal Traders

- **Triggers for violence against Somali informal traders**

According to South African informal trader 1, who operates a hair salon in Klipspruit, the Somali informal traders in Klipspruit are widely supported by local informal traders. The common issue is that locals depend more on the Somali businesses as they always provide the needed products. In terms of the salon owners, there is no specific problem with Somalis, but this may change if the Somalis start running salons. Therefore the Somalis should remain operating tuck-shops and not expand their businesses to other forms of informal trading, as they offer cheaper products which appeal to the consumers and increase competition.

Based on the interviews carried out with the Somali informal traders there is a perception that the relationship with the local informal traders in Klipspruit is changing over time. At times the relationship may be good, then conflicts arise because of various misunderstandings with locals on how foreigners should operate their informal businesses.

It was noted that there are seasonal tensions which can spread to violent attacks across Soweto's townships, but there are times when everyone can coexist. On one hand, the locals view the Somali informal traders as a threat, because they all supposedly support each other as foreign nationals. On the other hand, the Somalis are treated as equal human beings in the society and there is no agenda against them. South African informal trader 1 stated that currently there is no business relationship with the Somalis as they have formed their own closed business network and community, because they prefer to work in isolation from the locals.

The South African informal traders gave similar reasons for the triggers of violence, stating that within Klipspruit the Somalis are attacked when they enter into fights or quarrels with locals that usually emanate from trading disagreements between the business owners and customers. The violence against Somali informal traders also has a deeper historical meaning, as locals exist in an environment that has been shaped by divisions that were enforced by the apartheid government. Somali informal trader 1 emphasised that people have not learnt to live as a unified community, therefore even amongst the locals there are tensions and rivalries. According to the same trader this trickles down to foreigners. The main issue is that the community consists of locals that are uninformed and not educated about foreign countries and people. A South African informal trader emphasised that the governments' lack of regulation has led to such cases, as people are allowed in the country but the community is not made aware of their status and role in the township economies.

The violence is triggered by the perception that Somalis are taking over the townships' economy, and the profit generated is not shared with the local community, but transferred to foreign countries. Money and opportunity are factors that cause violence.

According to the Somali informal traders, this foreign group is successfully running businesses and this success attracts jealousy from the locals. There is also a lack of

common business regulations and practice in the community which causes problems as locals in Klipspruit continuously make efforts to adjust these regulations for their convenience, which has an effect on business growth.

On other occasions violence against foreigners is initiated not only by locals but also by foreigners themselves who can be perceived to be South African because of similar physical features. It was stated that violence can be started either by foreigners or locals, therefore it depends on the situation and people involved. It can also be caused by groups that are influenced to fight foreign informal traders or people taking chances.

It was also mentioned that Klipspruit is much better than other township communities and that the working relationship is in a good state. However, the state of the relationship is dependent on people understanding each other in a community. In terms of business the relationship is good when local informal traders understand that foreign informal traders are using their own resources and working hard to generate income without the use of the government's assistance.

- **Perceptions about violence targeted at Somali informal traders in comparison to other foreign national or ethnic groups**

South African informal trader 1 stipulated that Somalis are the foreign shop keepers in Klipspruit and that this group can be identified by features such as hair texture and skin complexion. It was said that "when you are black you are identifiable, when you are Somali you are identifiable". The South African informal trader was not aware of a situation where Somalis were being specifically targeted, however it is known that Somalis are attacked in Klipspruit.

There are times in which locals target foreign informal traders who are Somalis, however these attacks are not related to their identity but mainly targeting them because they are running successful businesses. The idea of poverty is stated to be a legitimate explanation for this behaviour in the community, as long as local businesses are not affected by the criminal or violent activities.

It should also be understood that Somalis are not the only foreign group in Klipspruit, so the target consists of all existing foreign nationals who do informal trading in the community. Somalis incur a lot of violence as they are the majority group operating and owning informal trading shops.

The Somali informal traders drew similar conclusions, stating that the violence affects all groups in Klipspruit, including the Somali, Pakistani, Sotho, Zulu etc. Somali informal trader 2 agreed and also stated that it is unknown as to whether Somalis are targeted when these attacks begin. However Somali informal trader 3 assumed that there can be a possibility that the crime can be targeted to foreign informal traders as the police does not protect their rights and safety.

Interview participants: Government Officials: Department of Trade and Industry

- **Reasons for violence against Somali informal traders**

According to the government officials the citizens of South Africa perceive the regulatory framework of the informal sector as not transparent, insufficiently managed and full of ambiguity. This is said to create a space for tensions over access to public services.

The locals experience difficulty over unfair competition against foreign informal traders due to the inability to access commodities (that are suspected to be counterfeit) and the networks that foreigners have developed. There was a problem with the determination of the informal business sector landscape in South Africa, as locals complained about lacking access to public resources and service delivery. It was stated by government official 2 that the main issue was that there is no system in place to distinguish between locals and foreigners trading. A regulatory framework would assist with this issue to solve problematic areas in the informal sector.

- **Perceptions about violence targeted at Somali informal traders**

The government officials adamantly stated that they could not distinguish between any foreign groups from East Africa, as they have similar features. Therefore they would not say that a specific ethnic group or nationality is targeted and Somalis singled out.

Interview participants: Professor specialising in Migration Studies

- **Reasons for violence against Somali informal traders**

The Professor states that it is not only Somalis that experience the attacks, there are also other non-Somali and local nationalities that fall victim to the attacks against foreign traders. Within different townships communities there are different

circumstances that cause violence, it is not a universal sentiment. The issue of the violence is a complex one, as it is not only found in the poor communities whereby Somalis are attacked or an outburst of xenophobia occurs. One reason is that people are seeing change in the communities (people moving in) at a time of high unemployment rate and from this emerges frustrations and jealousy which can be expressed on vulnerable people with relative wealth or visible difference. It is certain that there is a degree of frustration for the wealth created by foreign informal traders.

The state is refusing to accept the existence of xenophobia, as it says the violence is caused by mere criminal activity that is prompted by unequal economic opportunities. However the state still fails to protect the foreigners against crime. Most Somalis are Muslim and South Africa is widely a Christian society whereby Muslims particularly are viewed as suspicious, which might feed into the issue.

- **Perceptions about violence targeted at Somali informal traders**

The Professor placed an assumption that Somali informal traders are particularly targeted, but was unsure as to the reason why Somalis end up possibly (as it is not for sure) being more likely the victims of violent attacks. It could potentially be because they were the first group of cross-border migrants or refugees to expand their businesses to the townships in order to seize the opportunities available. With such possibilities other foreign nationalities have also moved into the informal trading township market.

4.3 The possibility of the government's proposed Licensing of Businesses Bill rectifying violence against foreign small businesses

Interview participants: Somali Community Board Members

- **Knowledge about the Licensing of Businesses Bill**

All respondents knew of the bill.

- **The consequences of such a Bill being enacted**

The Somali Community Board members stated that the government has the power to implement any bill, however the bill does not necessarily reflect the reality of the sector. In terms of the xenophobic attacks the government was caught off guard and was not

able to stabilise the situation. The government was unable to create a framework for stability that the sector needs. The bill can be endorsed however it should bring together the locals and foreigners so that it sees its realisation. Some aspects of the bill need to be debated further to see how it can make a better South Africa for all.

Somali Community Board member 1 stated that the bill can impact negatively on foreigners as “they are always the victim whether it’s the law or xenophobia. When you are in a foreign land and you are at the mercy of other people, you often fall victim to everything”. The bill will disadvantage the locals, as in all government programmes there are very few results that are realised. It should be brought to the attention of the government and key policy makers that the goal of having a South African informal sector that is thriving as a result of only locals operating in this market will not succeed and cease to exist. The bill seems to be the government’s authority being forced upon the people.

Somali Community Board member 2 states that through this bill, it is certain that the government does not understand the informal sector.

It was stated that the bill will have an impact on the Somalis, as it contradicts the rights to work and study of Somalis that hold refugee status in South Africa. It will make things difficult for Somalis to work, as a business permit worth up to R1 million rand is required. According to him, the bill is the way chosen by the government to take the foreigners out of the townships so that there will be no violence and tensions arising from the competitive township market space, as foreign nationals will find themselves excluded, thus creating more opportunities for the locals. However, Somali Community Board member 2 strongly believes that there are many ways Somalis can survive and find a way to raise the money for the business permit, and that it is the lack of regulation in South Africa that has led to the violent attacks and such a bill being created.

- **Perceptions on whether the measures in the bill will reduce or increase the tensions within the townships**

It was asserted by Somali Community Board member 1 that it cannot be said that the Licensing of Businesses Bill will reduce tensions, but it will definitely reduce the number of foreign nationals in the sector. The bill has an imbalance and should be consistent with existing policies such as the Refugee Act of 1998, as it currently is in

conflict and contradiction with these regulatory frameworks in terms of refugees having the right to create their own employment opportunities in South Africa. Consultation with the informal sector is key as foreign nationals are available and have a voice. When the bill was developed, the interests of foreigners operating in the informal sector were not considered.

It was shared across the Somali Community Board members that the bill has loopholes in its ideal intentions and will disadvantage many people from the right of making a living and surviving. Therefore it was stated that the bill will not achieve much if it is enacted. Somali Community Board member 2 emphasised that reducing the number of foreigners operating informal businesses in the informal sector in the townships will generally reduce the violence, because the local South Africans will have a chance to survive as there will be less competitors.

- **Ways the bill could affect the employment of foreigners operating in the informal sector.**

The Somali Community Board members stated that the bill could drive foreigners out of South Africa. It will be difficult for foreign nationals as most are from war-torn countries and possess no formal education training, so this is one of the only survival techniques that they know. The bill threatens to take this opportunity away from them. There is no government or non-governmental institution that will employ them as they don't meet academic requirements necessary to find employment, and because they would have to compete with thousands of other South Africans. Somali Community Board member 3 passionately described the effect on the employment for Somalis by saying "You take me out of my livelihood...it is like you go to the river, you take a fish out and you are not taking him to any other water or river...You take the fish out of the water and hold him outside and you only need two minutes for him to die...This is going to happen". But in contradiction to this statement, the Somali Community Board member also optimistically stated that the bill will not affect the employment of the Somalis, as there are ways in which the Somalis would work together to meet the requirement for attaining the business permit that is of the value of R1 million rand.

Interview participants: Somali and South African informal traders

- **Knowledge about the Licensing of Businesses Bill**

The South African informal traders 1 and 3 responded 'no', and respondent 2 said 'yes'. The Somali informal traders did not know of the bill, before the researcher gave a brief explanation in relation to this research study.

- **The consequences of such a bill being enacted**

The South African informal traders perceive that the bill will bring about negative consequences as local women will be taken with, because the Somalis provide for them. It is possible that the effect of the bill will drive the Somalis out of Klipspruit, however this result will make things more difficult for the already poverty stricken community. It was stated that the Somali shops are providing basic goods at cheaper prices and it would put a strain on the community if the Somali informal traders stopped operating businesses in Klipspruit or other townships.

Based on having prior knowledge of the Licensing of Businesses Bill, the South African informal trader 2 stated that this bill will not be an effective control mechanism as a result of the public sector system being corrupt. It was implied that government officials will potentially exchange bribes with foreign informal traders.

South African informal trader 3 insisted that the Licensing of Businesses Bill should clearly stipulate the amount of businesses that will be allocated under one business permit, as the consequence could lead to foreign nationals operating a hundred businesses to cover the cost of the business permit that is required by the bill. The income generated will increase the flow of migrants into South Africa, further affecting the employment and opportunities of locals. In essence the requirements of the bill work against the locals as well, as foreign informal traders can generate more income by expanding their size in the informal sector in order to afford the business permit. Therefore it is imperative that the government looks into regulating the income generated by foreign informal traders.

Somali informal trader 2 stated that the bill will affect small shop owners who cannot afford to pay the required amount stated in this bill. It should be understood that foreign nationals are not only in South Africa for business, but also for refuge which allows

them to work. Therefore the reasoning behind the pricing of the business permit requested is questionable and contradicts the rights of refugees.

Amongst the Somali informal traders it is believed that the enactment of the Licensing of Businesses Bill will force migrants to leave South Africa, as the environment will be too hostile to operate businesses. The idea of this bill reflects that the government is only protecting the interests of the locals, and not assisting foreign nationals. It was stated by Somali informal trader 3 that “the government does not provide for refugees and it will be tough for small businesses, as the funds for the business permit are inaccessible for small township business owners”.

- **Perceptions on whether the measures in the bill will reduce or increase the tensions within the townships**

According to the South African informal traders, the bill will not stop tensions, however it will make matters worse if the Somalis find a way to afford to meet the requirements of the bill. This is mainly because the majority of the youth in the Klipspruit community is facing unemployment and the Somali informal traders are victims of the crimes committed for survival, therefore tensions could increase.

The Somali informal traders believe that the bill will not reduce tensions nor protect the Somalis, as public sector officials are already failing to do so with existing crime protection regulation. The Somali informal traders also stated that unemployment is increasing and people are seeking opportunities for a livelihood and therefore tensions may reduce with a reduction of foreign nationals operating in Klipspruit and other township communities. The Somali informal trader 3 strongly believed that locals will continue the attacks regardless of the bill.

He also stated that ‘In South Africa, I will never be relaxed anytime, as anytime tensions can happen. I am put in a burglar gate, it is like a jail’.

- **Ways the bill could affect the employment of foreigners operating in the informal sector?**

The South African informal trader 1 replied that whether the bill affects the foreign nationals or not, it is not any of the locals’ concern. The reason is that Somalis do not

assist locals financially, and there is no knowledge as to how the Somalis use their profits.

South African informal trader 2 held a different perspective, being that the government has created a bill that disadvantages foreign informal traders. The solution should have rather focused on ensuring that foreign traders open a business acknowledging their economic role and risks in the location they choose to operate in.

To South African informal trader 3, it seems as though the bill will ensure that only skilled and equipped foreigners migrate to South Africa to operate businesses in the townships. This could benefit skills development programmes as the less skilled and foreigners with no resources would leave South Africa.

According to the Somali informal traders, employment for locals and foreigners will be affected if the Somalis are put out of business, which would increase the already high unemployment rate in Klipspruit. Focusing on the Somalis operating businesses, their livelihood and reasons for seeking refuge in South Africa will be affected and meaningless.

Interview participants: Government officials from the Department of Trade and Industry

- **The purpose of the Licensing of Businesses Bill**

The government official 1 stated that South Africans are urging for a regulatory framework that can manage the informal sector. The Licensing of Businesses Bill was introduced as a regulatory framework that would seek to ensure that everyone that operates a business in South Africa would do so legally, by means of being licensed. Government official 2 added that the bill aims at providing a framework that will assist with the registration of businesses that can also be utilised as a data base.

- **Stakeholders that influenced the preparation of the bill**

According to government official 1, there are various associations and organisations (such as Soweto public organisations, National African Federated Chamber of Commerce) for foreigners that participated in the development of ideas and concepts for the bill. The political and community-based organisations provided assistance in terms of meeting agreements that set the tone for the bill, which were based on an

understanding that business owners should operate legally and legitimately in South Africa.

- **Perceptions on whether measures in the bill will reduce the number of businesses run by Somali informal traders**

According to the government officials, the purpose of the bill is not to stop business operations in the informal sector. According to the government officials as a refugee you are entitled to work in South Africa, which qualifies one to run a business. The issue of the Immigration Act (directed at investors) stipulated in the Licensing of Businesses bill has different provisions that are out of the scope of the government officials' area of competence. However, there are issues within the regulatory framework that can be redefined.

The government officials state that whether a local or a foreigner with refugee status, they encourage that there should be a nominal fee, that is a small amount to be paid, in order to run a business.

- **Perceptions on the whether the bill will address the issue of violence against Somali informal traders**

Based on the interview responses from the government officials, the issue of violence will subside with the bill providing a regulatory framework for people to run businesses legally, and also by the assistance of political organisations that will manage the licensing process. The tensions over competition that is triggered by corruption and inaccessible service delivery will be reduced, as locals will realise that the informal sector is fair.

- **Reasons for the Licensing of Businesses Bill not been adopted**

It was stated by the government officials that the bill has not been enacted due to ongoing internal restructuring of the Department of Trade and Industry. The Licensing of Businesses bill is in the process of being migrated to the Department of Small Businesses and Development. The bill still has to be sent to Parliament led by the Department of Small Businesses and Development.

- **Perceptions on whether the measures in the bill will reduce or increase the tensions within the townships**

The government officials stated yes to the bill reducing the tensions in the townships. This was because the bill provides a regulatory framework that is demanded by the locals to ensure that there is a fair system in the informal sector for running businesses. The bill is not targeting or discriminating against specific people, it seeks to organise the business environment.

- **Ways the bill could affect the employment of foreigners operating in the informal sector**

It was agreed by the government officials that the bill will affect employment, as it demands particular requirements. Currently there are legal and illegal traders operating within the informal sector, therefore the bill will seek to regulate ways to operate. Formalising the informal sector will affect the informal sector detrimentally.

Interview participant: Professor specialising in Migration Studies

- **Knowledge about the Licensing of Businesses Bill**

The Professor stated yes to having knowledge about the bill.

- **The consequences of such a bill being enacted**

The Professor stated that it would be a big issue for the formal and informal sector in South Africa. The municipalities will face problems due to the requirements that go in hand with business registration, and it is also unclear as to whether the municipalities have the capacity to fulfil these tasks. For refugees and cross-border migrants it reads as “if you are not South African, you have to abide by the Immigration laws which are unclear whether as to it is the Refugee Act and the Immigration act”. But basically if that means the Immigration Act, then there is an ambiguity of what that would mean for refugees and migrants that would want to open up businesses.

The bill is pushing foreign nationals away from attaining a business, which takes away the rights that refugees currently have to run a business as a source of employment in South Africa. This kind of bill would be enacted to deter people from coming into

South Africa as they will find out that they cannot support themselves. In essence, it excludes certain people from being self-employed and self-reliant.

- **Reasons for the bill not been enacted yet**

According to the Professor, the bill has not been enacted because it is an unmanageable piece of legislation as it will affect South Africans who operate in the formal and informal sector. The local government is requesting a licensing process that it will manage, however it must be considered that this bill is an unworkable piece of legislation for the government, even the business community has criticised the purpose of the Licensing of Businesses Bill. People are critical of the bill as it reflects “what is going on in the governments heads and how they think about foreigners” and how it shows a fear for outsiders which is xenophobia expressed by hostility and anxiety.

- **Perceptions on whether the measures in the bill will reduce or increase the tensions within the townships**

The Professor stated that the people in the townships who are committing the attacks are not aware of the bill, however the statements by the state have acknowledged xenophobia for a day or two then deflected it to be criminal attacks. This unwillingness to condemn xenophobia shows that the state is xenophobic. By introducing this regulation, the government is creating a negative atmosphere towards foreign nationals. It was stated that if the government does not enforce the law against people that are attacking, stealing and looting from foreigners, then the issue of tension will remain unresolved. The bill is a representation as to how the government is trying to exclude migrants and also a reflection of their own xenophobic attitudes.

- **Ways the bill could affect the employment of foreigners operating in the informal sector**

The Professor highlighted that South Africans are doing business and learning from foreign informal traders about running businesses. Therefore the employment of both the foreign and local informal traders will be affected by the enactment of the bill as it is currently drafted.

More importantly the bill will affect the employment of South Africans, because there are foreign traders employing South Africans, who can go out of business if such a bill is enacted. Foreigners buy from the formal sector which contributes to value added tax and by so doing contribute to the government revenues.

There is a reality that foreigners are squeezing South Africans out of the market, and this bill may seek to address this, however the foreigners are also using their capital to rent business premises from locals.

4.4 Anticipated effects of this policy on social cohesion in Klipspruit

Interview participants: Somali Community Board Members

- **The expected benefits of the bill higher than the potential cost for social cohesion**

The Somali Community Board member 1 gave a response of 'no' to the benefits of the bill being higher than the cost for social cohesion, as an imbalance cannot provide solutions. It was expressed that the bill has the potential to ultimately kick many foreigners out of the country. Currently foreign nationals face many challenges with regards to documentation issues as the system subjects' foreigners to corruption making it impossible to reside legally in South Africa. The government cannot champion or solve the issues of social cohesion if people cannot properly exist in South Africa. Therefore, it is presumed that the system will not allow any foreigner to reach the door of any licensing agency as foreign nationals would not be able to satisfy the basic demands of the state which is documentation. It is believed that the government system will not allow them to work in the informal sector, therefore defeating the achievement of social cohesion.

For Somali Community Board member 2, the bill definitely has an advantage for some and disadvantage for others. It was stated that the intention was to reduce the tuck-shops, "take them out of the business" and this will benefit the South Africans because it's claimed that the foreigners have taken away their businesses. The expected result is to give business to the locals for employment.

In terms of social cohesion it can work if the government creates a way in which foreign informal traders can recruit locals, so that the business acumen of the foreigners can

be passed onto the locals. Otherwise “you take me out of the river, it is done”. In terms of social cohesion, the government could suggest the “worst idea” that foreign nationals and local informal traders should partner in business, which is like putting water and oil together according to Somali Community member 2. The reason was that foreigners and locals have different cultures, and that their way of life is different. According to him, for people to put a business together, they actually have to have an understanding of each other’s way of life. Somali Community Board member 2 stated that before considering this integration, the cultural aspect of it is something that has to be understood, saying,

“you have to understand that I must learn your culture and you must learn my culture, then if we can find a common ground, we can do business together. You may not trust me, I may trust you. How do you expect me to integrate when I have to first know your culture? You expect me to come to your house and knock at your door. You don’t know me, maybe you are a Zulu or a Xhosa or you are Tswana that does not accept one to come in. You have to be invited, and that’s the difference”.

Somali Community Board member 3 responded optimistically that if the government applies the changes recommended by the public and organisations representing foreigners, then the bill will promote peace and coexistence amongst the foreigners and locals. There should be ways to buy, work and coexist together and also making the locals understand that the foreigners are legally residing and operating businesses, which is stated in their permits and section 2 of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa.

Interview participants: Somali and South African informal traders

- **The expected benefits of the bill higher than the potential cost for social cohesion**

In terms of Klipspruit, the South African informal trader stated that the bill may assist to create space for locals to operate their businesses without competing with Somalis traders, but it will not help to create social cohesion. However, if there are foreigners that can afford to meet the requirements of the bill, then the violence will not stop.

Locals are not looking at the licensing but are seeking employment opportunities and the hindrances that come with foreign informal traders in Klipspruit.

South African informal trader 3 stated the government's proposed bill has an agenda against foreign informal traders, and that the bill will not assist to build social cohesion. Currently there is a specific attitude against Somali informal trading in Klipspruit and other townships as they utilise the resources of South Africa and do not show respect for the locals who are full citizens of this country. It was indicated that the government of South Africa is representing the South African citizens, therefore the locals should be the wealth generators and leaders in the informal sector.

The Somali informal traders said the bill would not help with peace, and it will not foster social cohesion, because foreigners will leave the country. Somali informal trader 3 believes that the solution is that people should understand each other in order to live and work together as a community. In conclusion, the bill will not assist with social cohesion.

Interview participants: Government officials from the Department of Trade and Industry

- **The expected benefits of the bill higher than the potential cost for social cohesion**

The government officials stated that if people are organised in terms of a common regulatory framework, all complying with the rules, social cohesion can be built. This will promote a learning environment where business skills transfer is enhanced, which can assist the informal business to thrive and eradicate corruption.

- **The overall expected benefits of the bill**

The government officials believe that the bill was created to formulate a framework for certainty in the informal sector. The law should state the issues and ways people should comply with the law. The benefit would be a fair system whereby the locals can see that foreigners that have acquired refugee status in South Africa are complying with the regulations of running a business. The bill is trying to get rid of corruption and to ensure that there are organisations assisting with the process of attaining a business license.

Interview participant: Professor Specialising in Migration Studies

- **The expected benefits of the bill higher than the potential cost for social cohesion**

The Professor stated the benefits of the bill would not be higher than the costs that it could have for social cohesion in the community. It was stated that the bill creates enormous problems for businesses, and it provides no assistance for social cohesion. There is contrasting interests, as there is a huge outcry about foreigners, and yet the state wants to put them out of jobs. The bill pushes people out of self-employment, where they also employ other people, including South Africans. South Africans will continue to be frustrated not only with foreigners but also with government and other locals because of the lack of opportunities. The Licensing of Businesses Bill is divisive for foreigners. It comes at a cost for government, as it poses a question as to who will have to pay for these new measures to be implemented by the municipality to register businesses.

The kind of discourse held by the state and policy makers does not work for social cohesion. It causes problems for social cohesion as people do not have the opportunities and as it pits people against each other.

4.5 Conclusion

This chapter was based on presenting the data that was collected during the interviews with the Somali Community Board, Somali and South African informal traders, government officials from the Department of Trade and Industry and a Professor specialising in Migration studies.

The interviews comprised of a questionnaire that was presented to all the interview participants. The questions were based on getting information on three sections that were be used for discussion of the research findings in the next chapter:

1. What are the reasons for violence against Somali informal traders
2. To what extent will the governments proposed Licensing of Businesses Bill provide relief?
3. What effect will the policy response have on social cohesion development in Klipspruit?

CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION OF RESEARCH FINDINGS

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter the research will discuss the research findings using the conceptual framework and theoretical insights. The data presented in the previous chapter was organised according to the established conceptual framework and provided focused analysis and structure to identify the key research findings. The analysis of the data through themes enabled the researcher to identify whether the research questions were answered accurately by providing explanations and summaries (Bryman, 2004). The data analysis approach was key for the researcher to determine whether the research objectives have been achieved.

5.2 Thematic Analysis: Research Findings

In order to identify patterns across the collected data, a qualitative approach was used. This consisted of a process in which the researcher analysed the raw data in order to identify whether it related to the thematic areas identified in the conceptual framework (Bryman, 2004). The identified themes entail prejudice and discrimination, aspects that drive policy preferences, and the potential outcome and effect of the proposed policy. These themes are key for answering the research questions of the study and interpreting the meanings of the research findings by use of the conceptual framework.

Below is a table of the conceptual framework that has already been introduced, and for the purpose of this chapter it provides an outlook of the themes that were used to discuss the research findings.

Table 4:

Research study conceptual framework

Measuring	Interview themes	Relevance for sub-question
1. Whether ethnic politics is the reason to violent attacks against Somali informal traders.	Prejudice and discrimination	To explore whether Somalis are subject to violent attacks and discrimination due to their ethnic identity.

2. Perceptions on the proposed policy's relief outcome.	Policy preference	To explore whether interviewees feel that the proposed policy will provide relief against the current situation.
3. Anticipated effect of the proposed policy on social cohesion in Klipspruit.	Potential policy outcome	To explore the effect of the policy on social cohesion.

In the next section, the above-mentioned thematic areas in the conceptual framework will be considered when articulating the key research findings. The key research findings will be presented in matrix diagrams and explanations where necessary. It should be considered that some interview participants had several answers, therefore their responses would appear in the various themes in the diagram. In essence, the numbers reflecting how many people supported a particular theme will not correspond with the number of the respondents interviewed. This is because a respondent may provide multiple responses for one question, and those responses would fall into the various themes identified for that particular question.

The interview questions presented in matrix diagrams consist of questions that were presented to the Somali Community Board members, South African and Somali informal traders, government officials from the Department of Trade and Industry, and a Professor specialising in migration studies (these are all the interview participants).

The following tables 5 - 13 represent a consolidation and articulation of the key research findings based on the data collected from all the interviews. The tabulated research findings are presented as follows:

Table 5

Reasons underlying for violence against Somali informal traders

Response findings	Somali Community Board members	Government officials from the DTI	Professor specialising in Migration studies	Total
Economic situation	2	0	1	3
Regulatory framework	2	1	0	3

Competition	3	1	1	5
Business Discipline and Communication	3	0	0	3

All groups of respondents indicated at least two reasons for the violent attacks, with the members of the Somali Community Board mentioning a total of four themes. Across all groups, competition between Somali informal traders and the local population or local traders was considered as a reason. Across the Somali responses it was emphasised that business competition made the Somali informal traders prone to violence as their businesses outperform local businesses. Two groups, the Somali Community Board and the government officials mentioned the lack of a regulatory framework as a theme. Whereas the government officials highlighted that current regulations in the sector were insufficient and full of ambiguity creating a space for tensions, the Somali Community Board members drew the conclusion that there is a problem with non-regulation and the government not protecting the interests and rights of Somali nationals. The Somali Community Board members stated that trading disagreements with locals, and the inability of locals to practice effective business processes leads to frustrations about the relative wealth of foreign nationals which then is expressed through violence against visibly different people. It is noteworthy to mention that the Somali Community Board members all stated that the perceived higher business discipline of the Somali informal trader was a cause of the violent attacks, as this higher degree of business discipline can be considered as a contributing factor to the success of the Somalis. The general economic context was a theme mentioned by the Professor specialising on Migration as well as one Somali Community Board member.

Table 6

The triggers for violence against Somali informal traders

Response findings	Somali informal traders	South African informal traders	Total
Business communication	1	3	4

disagreements with locals			
Historical segregation	0	1	1
Business success of Somali businesses	2	1	3

The majority of the Somali informal traders qualified their relationship with locals as 'situational', which means that it could be good or bad according to varying circumstances. The South African informal traders believed the relationship with Somali informal traders to be in a good state. However, the common issue is that locals are far too dependent on Somali businesses. It was stated that the relationship can be bad when there are trading disagreements or miscommunication, and therefore establishing territories in which foreigners can operate is strategic for good relations. A South African informal trader emphasised that problems would develop if Somalis enter into informal sector businesses other than operating convenience stores.

The major reason expressed by the South African informal trader respondents was that business miscommunication and trade disagreements with Somali informal traders led to many violent attacks against this group. Somali informal traders who held the same perspective stated that there is a lack of common business regulations and practice. Therefore there are problems for safely operating businesses. Another response that was identified was that the success of Somali businesses triggers violence due to jealousy from the local South Africans. One different and significant response from a South African informal trader was that locals had lived in a segregated environment before democracy, and due to this they have not learnt to live as a unified community with other locals and now this reflects on their relationship with foreigners.

Table 7

Perceptions about violence targeted at Somali informal traders

Response findings	Somali Community Board members	Government officials from the DTI	Professor specialising in Migration studies	Total
Yes	0	0	0	0
Partially yes	1	0	1	2
No	2	2	0	4

Based on the above diagram, the respondents seem to indicate that they feel that the Somalis were rather not particularly targeted. Four respondents, two from the Somali Community Board and both government officials indicated ‘no’. They asserted that there is a misconception about people that are of Somali origin and that the term is not only used for Somalis. One Somali Community Board member indicated that the term Somali had become a “tuck-shop identity”, as most foreign nationals that are from East African countries are branded as Somali when they operate informal businesses. The government officials stated that all foreign and local nationals such as Tsongas who are internal migrants are targeted, this could be because they have similar features to foreign nationals.

On a more nuanced stance, two respondents stated ‘partially yes’ to Somalis being targeted. The responses were supported by the view that there is a possibility for Somalis to be particularly targeted, as Somali nationals were amongst the first cross-border migrants groups to penetrate the informal sector in South Africa’s townships. The Somali Community Board members are concerned that Somalis may be targeted, although it is not realised that they are only a small proportion of the foreigners in South Africa.

Table 8***Perceptions about violence targeted at Somali informal traders in comparison to other foreign national or ethnic groups***

Response findings	Somali informal traders	South African informal traders	Total
Poverty	0	1	1
Lack of security	3	0	3
Competition	1	1	2
Visible physical features	0	1	1

The responses indicate that poverty, lack of security, competition and physical features contribute to Somalis being targeted in comparison to other foreign national or ethnic groups in Klipspruit. The bad economic situation that currently persists in the community is considered a trigger for violence, and locals take advantage of the vulnerability of the Somali businesses, as they can easily outnumber them. Lack of security was emphasised by the Somali respondents, as they felt that their rights and safety are not protected by the police force in the same way as for locals. The response relating to physical features as a reason brought in an identity issues by stating that “When you are black you are identifiable, and when you are Somali you are identifiable” which shows the divisive way in which locals may be thinking.

Table 9***Knowledge about the Licensing of Businesses Bill***

Response findings	Somali Community Board members	Somali informal traders	South African informal traders	Professor specialising in Migration studies	Total
Yes	3	0	1	1	5
No	0	3	2	0	5

The responses differed across the respondent categories of respondents. Across the South African and Somali informal trader interviews, out of six respondents only one had knowledge of the bill. The three respondents from the Somali Community Board knew the bill as it had a direct impact on their working area. This was also interesting as the conversation showed that they have been closely following the discussions on the bill. The two government officials and the Professor of Migration studies had previous detailed knowledge on the bill.

Table 10

The consequences of such a bill being enacted

Response findings	Somali Community Board members	Somali informal traders	South African informal traders	Professor specialising in Migration studies	Total
Deter foreign nationals from South Africa	1	1	1	1	4
Government corruption and lack of capacity	1	0	1	1	3
Lack of protection for foreign nationals	3	2	0	1	6

The data above shows that the responses varied across the interviewees. The Somali Community Board members and the Somali informal traders both feared that the bill, if enacted, would lead to a lack of protection for foreign nationals. This concern was also shared by the Professor of Migration studies. The consequence of foreign nationals being deterred from South Africa was a perspective shared by one respondent from each group, as the bill was thought to disadvantage foreigners and to take away their constitutional refugee rights.

Another widely shared concern was the possible prevalence of government corruption which would compromise the capacity of the authorities to manage the licensing

process. This was stated by a South African informal trader, indicating that the bill would possibly not be regulated accordingly if enacted. A response that related to the question but not the themes was presented by a Somali Community Board member highlighting that the bill shows that the South African government does not understand the informal sector sufficiently.

Table 11

Perceptions on whether the measures in the bill will reduce or increase the tensions within the townships

Response findings	Somali Community Board members	Somali informal traders	South African informal traders	Government officials from the DTI	Professor specialising in Migration studies	Total
Reduce tensions	2	0	1	2	0	5
Increase tensions	0	0	1	0	0	1
Neither and other	1	3	1	0	1	6

The previous matrix diagram indicates the responses obtained fell into two categories, which were either ‘reducing tensions’ or doing neither and providing another reason.

The interview findings for this question show that all the Somali informal traders highlighted that the bill would neither reduce nor increase tensions. According to the government officials, in terms of the bill being able to reduce the issue of violence against Somali informal traders, it was highlighted that violence will subside as the bill provides a regulatory framework for business operations in the informal sector. It was also said that it will provide assistance to the municipality and political organisations in managing the licensing process. The government officials assumed that tensions over competition will be reduced, as locals will view the informal sector as fair.

Based on the findings, the respondents also stated that tensions would reduce as a result of the numbers of foreign nationals, especially Somalis, leaving and closing business operations in Klipspruit. Contrarily, it was indicated by a South African informal trader that the bill could potentially increase tensions if Somalis find ways to

meet the requirements of the bill. Another reason provided was that the bill is representative of the governments' intention to exclude migrants, which can have an impact on the increase of tensions.

Table 12

Ways the bill could affect the employment of foreigners operating in the informal sector

Response findings	Somali Community Board members	Somali informal traders	South African informal traders	Government officials from the DTI	Professor specialising in Migration studies	Total
Less employment	1	2	1	2	1	7
Closing of foreign national businesses (drive them out of South Africa)	1	0	0	0	0	1
Affect livelihood and survival	1	1	1	0	0	3

The responses from the interviewees indicated that employment will definitely be affected, however this will impact local South Africans as much as foreign nationals operating informal businesses. A South African informal trader held a strong statement that it was not of the concern of South Africans whether the bill will affect the employment of foreign nationals.

In contrast, the majority of respondents were concerned that the bill would have a negative impact on employment. It was stated that the employment of the locals and foreigners will be equally compromised, however it would be harder for foreigners to seek or compete for new employment opportunities in the South African job market. In that regard, it was stated that the unemployment rate and issues in Klipspruit would increase. According to the Somali informal traders, the livelihood and survival of foreigners was yet another employment related issue that would exist, as it was

believed that foreign nationals would be disadvantaged through this bill. The government officials held a broader view that in general, the formalising of the informal sector would be detrimental for the employment of locals and foreign nationals.

Table 13

The expected benefits of the bill higher than the potential cost for social cohesion

Response findings	Somali Community Board members	Somali informal traders	South African informal traders	Government officials from the DTI	Professor specialising in Migration studies	Total
Yes	1	0	2	2	0	5
No	1	2	1	0	1	5
Other	1	1	0	0	0	2

The responses between ‘yes’ and ‘no’ were equally provided amongst all the interview participants. Most of the South African informal traders stated ‘yes’ as it was perceived that the bill was a way for the government to create business opportunities for the locals. One South African trader doubted that the reduction of foreign informal traders would in fact facilitate social cohesion.

Both government officials, whose department played a significant role in the establishment of the Licensing of the Businesses Bill, were confident that the bill would facilitate social cohesion. It was highlighted that the bill seeks to regulate, and that compliance by all informal traders, national and foreigners, would lead to social cohesion. The government official highlighted the key expected benefits of the bill to be a framework for certainty in the informal sector, to facilitate a fair system for informal trading and to potentially reduce corruption.

The Professor vehemently stated ‘no’, and argued that the bill cannot provide for social cohesion as it based on an imbalance of interests which affects the environment for foreigners to properly exist in South Africa. The consequences of such a bill being enacted would be unmanageable, as this piece of legislation would be unworkable for the government. The bill is a reaction to the pressures put on government by the local population and tends to show an acceptance for xenophobia. The Professor states

that the public is critical of the bill as it reflects the way the government thinks of foreigners and its xenophobic nature.

One South African informal trader stated 'no' and supported that the bill would deter foreign nationals from South Africa and therefore benefit locals so they can operate businesses without competition. Most respondents reasoned that social cohesion will not be achieved as foreign nationals will leave the country.

From a cultural perspective, a Somali Community board member highlighted ethnic mixing as a possible hindrance to building social cohesion if the government makes changes to the currently criticised bill, and expects Somalis and South African ethnic groups such as Zulu or Xhosa to partner with Somalis in running informal businesses. It was stated that cultural differences would hinder the co-operation and therefore cultural understanding should be prioritised first as South Africans and Somalis are like 'water and oil'.

5.2.1 Researching findings out of the research scope

Based on the data gathered in the previous chapter, the content below will provide a summary of findings that were out of the research scope in terms of answering the research questions and the conceptual framework. However the out of scope research findings provided useful insights for understanding the purpose of the Licensing of Businesses Bill, the stakeholders that assisted in the development of this bill, and the reasons for the bill not being enacted yet.

Based on the data collected from the government officials from the Department of Trade and Industry the following were the out of scope key findings:

- The purpose of the bill is to serve as a regulatory framework that seeks to ensure that every business owner operates legally. It will assist with the registration of businesses and provide a data base for the informal sector
- The stakeholders that influenced the preparation of the bill include associations and organisations for foreigners such as the National African Federated Chamber of Commerce, as well as political and community based organisations
- The reasons for the bill not being enacted as yet, is due to on-going internal restructuring of the Department of Trade and Industry. The Licensing of

Businesses Bill is in the process of being migrated to the Department of Small Businesses and Development

5.3 Theoretical Reflection on Research Findings

In this section the research will provide a theoretical analysis of the data obtained during the research interview, as the research has consolidated the research findings in the previous section by providing a thematic analysis based on the established conceptual frameworks. This section will provide an analysis of whether the research findings have answered the main and sub-questions accurately, and furthermore use the literature review to reflect on the research findings. This will also help the researcher to identify whether the research objectives were achieved.

For the theoretical analysis, the researcher will use the theoretical insights in chapter two in order to interpret the meaning of the data that was collected, and to check whether the key issues that emerged in the literature and research findings relate. In order to discuss the research findings, the researcher has subjected the research findings to the theoretical insights on ethnic politics theory, policy and politics as agents for development, lastly on social cohesion and development.

5.3.1 Ethnic Politics Theory

To explore whether Somali informal traders are subject to violent attacks and discrimination due to their ethnic identity, it is essential to revisit the theory of ethnic politics in order to reflect on the research findings and literature review

In the literature review, Young (2010) states that governance instabilities in Africa have been shaped and influenced by identity politics. It is indicated that is a sharpening heterogeneity of identities that create a sense of tribalism and ethno-genesis amongst communities of different origins. Werbner and Ranger (1996) emphasise that amongst identity aspects such as ethnicity, nationalism and strifes for territories, ethnic difference has the most significant role in the African political landscape.

Anthropology scholars such as Frederik Barth have defined ethnicity as social relationships that are created on the basis of cultural uniqueness of groups (Eriksen, 2012). This view is of a primordial nature, whereby ethnic identity is merely about cultural distinctiveness based on common features such as origin, language, territory

occupied, religion, and tradition amongst others. In the latter, Eriksen (2012) defines these features as fixed, and does not expand on the capabilities of ethnic identity being used as an instrument to influence or be influenced by politics.

It was also highlighted by Kanu, Rajaram and Varshney that the use of ethnicity is instrumental as it can be used to influence different situations. It is instrumental as people use their ethnic identity with their ethnic group in order to achieve their desired outcomes (Weir, 2012). This can be correlated to the constructivist theory on ethnicity, stipulating that people use their ethnic identity to gain access to resources by forming alliances to influence economic and political matters (Leiberman & McClendon, 2012).

The challenge with ethnic identity is that there is an interplay of power struggle between majority and minority ethnic groups. According to Young (2012), Lieberman and McClendon (2012) this can be detrimental for development as inequalities become prevalent as the interests of dominant ethnic groups are favoured.

Thomson (2012) talks about the background of the politicisation of ethnic identity as related to the colonial history of African countries. It is said that the colonial administration created an administration that segregated communities into territories and distributed favours and power unequally to emphasise divisions. It is indicated by Guichaoua (2010) that in this kind of environment ethnic tensions developed and prospered as they became a tool to gain political support, control territorial boundaries and emphasise ethnic groupings.

Nationalism was indicated as one of the factors for African identity politics, as it is based on the idea of protecting a state against issues that threaten its national interests, sovereignty and territory (Schraeder, 2000). Nationalism was stated to be the contrary to ethnic identity within the political landscape, as ethnic loyalties were found to be counter-productive for development, whereby nationalism is about enhancing and balancing the interests of all groups from a nation (Thomson, 2012).

Territorialism also played a significant role for nationalistic groups, that highlighted the importance of the sovereignty and territories of countries when dealing with politics, mostly because the colonial history of many African countries emphasised the power of boundaries. According to Eirfet, Miguel and Posner (2010) nation-building initiatives

failed, as political leaders have continued to use ethnic identity to influence political decisions, which disregards national interests.

Gören (2014) strongly asserted that even within nationalism, the national interests of multiple identities has been disregarded and allocation of public resources and development is compromised because ethnic politics is mobilised. Eirfert and Posner (2010) conclude that it is not only ethnic identity that has an influence on government decisions, but also other multiple identities such as religion, gender, and occupation, which can also affect the prioritisation and equal consideration of interests.

In terms of responding to the following sub-question 'what are the reasons for violence against Somali informal traders?' respondents did not state ethnic identity to be one of the reasons. An element of nationalism or ethnic identity was only brought up by one Somali Community Board member addressing sub-question two, stating that ethnic mixing would not facilitate social cohesion because Somalis are different to South African ethnic groups such as Zulus or Xhosas.

5.3.1.1 Reasons underlying for violence against Somali informal traders

Based on the research findings and themes that were identified, the main reasons for the violence against Somali informal traders were found to be:

- Competition between businesses of South African and Somali informal traders

Based on the research findings, there are different reasons for the violence against Somali informal traders in the Klipspruit community. The locals base it on the unfair competition that is experienced when foreign nationals are operating small businesses in the same market as locals. The Somali informal traders state that the success of their businesses make them prone to violence, essentially all reasons are centred on economic opportunities. This relates back to Trebilcock and Prado (2011), who make reference to how geographical factors can influence violence against minority groups. Whereby in the case of Klipspruit, the community economic conditions are not promising, this tends to generate violence as groups start to fight for access and ownership for resources and trade opportunities. Such cases can lead to groups fighting for territories, as we can assume that the bill could have the effect to encourage foreign nationals into leaving the country, and therefore enabling the locals to maintain control and power over the boundaries that have been created by the

government in the business market or through xenophobic attacks that have already occurred due to the success of the foreign national small businesses (Trebilcock & Prado, 2011).

- The lack of regulation in the informal sector
- This usually causes tensions and leads to violence as locals perceive Somalis to be dominating their business environment because of ineffective regulations that are in place. Locals are also frustrated that the government has not been able to efficiently manage the flows of foreigners coming into the country, as well as ensuring that South Africans are given preference in terms of service provisions in order to rectify the injustices of the past. On the contrary, Somalis express that their rights and safety is not prioritised by the government. Based on the research findings from both counterparts respectively, the violence is also due to the government's inability to take on the role of ensuring that locals are educated or have a general understanding on the role that foreign small businesses have towards the growth of the economy through contributions that are made through trade, employment of locals and more significantly their role in township economies. The lack of business discipline of locals, and miscommunication between locals and foreigners, which leads to disagreements that trigger violence

The researcher found out through the interview responses that Somalis were not attacked on an ethnic basis, as the respondents indicated that Somalis were not being targeted, however those that thought that such a possibility existed related it to competition and business related issues. This is because according to Chandra (2012) to recognise the use of ethnicity it would be activated through the validation of belonging to a group, which in this case was not so evident through the raw data. The mobilisation of identity was brought up when South African traders and Somali traders were asked whether if Somalis are targeted would that differ in comparison to other foreign national or ethnic groups. Out of six respondents only one stated that visible features would be a reason, which does not necessarily indicate ethnicity nor nationality to be a reason. However, based on an argument by Weir (2012) the mobilisation of ethnicity can be visible through various ways besides the direct admittance of protecting a specific ethnic group's interests. It can also suffice and be

observed through societies grouping themselves against a minority in order to gain economic or political mobilisation through spreading propaganda. In the case of Klipspruit, the majority of the population which consists of South Africans seemed to be pleased with the proposed Licensing of Businesses Bill and the criteria it suggested for foreign nationals to adhere to in order run businesses in South Africa.

To close off the reasons behind violence against Somali informal traders, South Africans explained it as a result of the rate of unemployment in the community which has led to the fighting for economic resources in order to ensure that opportunities to be distributed are not shared with foreigners who have the advantage of being business savvy equipped and sufficiently network in order to make a success of their businesses. The Licensing of Businesses Bill then acts as an instrument that is key to assist South Africans and an assumed xenophobic government to acknowledge and create what Fenton (Weir, 2012) states as ethnic politics driving the economic and political landscape and ultimately to achieving that which benefits the environment of the majority (Weir, 2012).

5.3.2 Policy and Politics: Agents for Development Theory

To explore whether the interviewees felt that the proposed Licensing of Businesses Bill will provide relief for the current situation the literature review consists of a section that provides the theory on how policy and politics have an effect on development. For the purpose of this research the latter theory and concepts will be used to respond to and explain the reality of the interview respondents and the identified key research findings.

According to Kanbur, Rajam and Varshney (2011), policy and politics are the key drivers for development. In order to formulate and implement development policies, it is imperative that the government prioritises issues and projects that ensure the stability of a country and promote the welfare of the society (Wu, Ramesh, Howlett & Fritzen, 2012). It has however been indicated that the influence of politics on policies can create an unstable environment especially where there are identity groups affected by diverse issues. The political influence of dominant groups can also hinder equal distribution of public resources and hinder development, in cases such as the Klipspruit community whereby the Licensing of Businesses Bill is embraced by a dominant group of people, and contrarily is detrimental to the economic opportunities

of a minority group (Kanbur, Rajaram & Varshney, 2011). The reason for these contrasting responses is mainly because for foreigners it becomes practically impossible to engage in business activities if the bill had to be enacted as the criteria is based on a prescribed financial contribution in order to obtain a licence for a business.

Calland (2013) states that there are also negative perceptions on the way identity such as ethnicity can be used to drive group interests that do not benefit the entire society. This can be seen when dominant ethnic groups influence decision-making processes that have an impact on the development of a diverse society. One of the ways this has occurred is through the various protests and pressures that South African citizens have placed on the government to restrict business opportunities that are open to foreign nationals (CoRMSA, 2013) Therefore it was stated that it is imperative that policy preferences are critiqued, especially in countries that host various ethnic groups that experience conflict.

The Licensing of Businesses Bill was known by the majority of the respondents, it was only the majority of Somali and South African informal traders that did not have previous knowledge of the bill in order to provide concrete perceptions as to whether the bill would provide relief for the violent attacks against Somali informal traders in a community such as Klipspruit. Based on the responses, it was indicated that the bill would have negative consequences rather than provide relief for the current situation. This draws on Lieberman and McClendon's (2012) theory that unfair policies and poor development outcomes can emanate in an environment where there is ethnic identity heterogeneity, however in this case more a nationalistic identity.

It was stipulated that the bill was aimed at deterring foreign informal traders such as Somalis from operating businesses in South Africa. It was also indicated that the government would possibly not have the necessary capacity and resources to fulfil the licensing process with corruption being a particular challenge. The Somali informal traders believed that regulations in South Africa do not protect the interests of foreigners as they do for South Africans, and that Somalis would not depend on the bill to provide a sense of relief for the current situation, as the violence is driven by economic issues that the government fails to address.

Currently the bill has not been enacted due to its migration to the Department of Small Businesses and Development. The government officials from the Department of Industry believed that the enactment of this bill would be beneficial for the informal sector. They said that it would provide relief as it is a regulatory framework that would formalise the informal sector and therefore reduce tensions. It was stated that the bill would provide relief and a level of certainty that business owners are operating legally, therefore South Africans would identify the informal sector as using a fair system for business operations.

5.3.2.1 Licensing of Businesses Bill rectifying violence against foreign small businesses

Based on the research findings, the bill would potentially reduce the violence against foreign small businesses as the locals would not have to compete with foreign national business owners in running small businesses, as it would place financial restrictions on foreigners. This is however highly dependent on foreign nationals being unable to meet the financial criteria.

The responses were generally driven by the perception that the bill fostered nationalistic interests, which advantage South African informal traders. As a result, the researcher assumes that it is unlikely that there is a possibility that the Licensing of Businesses Bill could rectify the violence against foreign small business within the Klipspruit community. The reasons for this assumption is based upon theories of ethnic politics and the state of development, that covers the following aspects that seemed to shape and also potentially could have influenced the introduction of the bill:

- Civil war and genocides

The prevalence of civil wars and genocides, as well as unrests such a xenophobia or violent attacks against foreign nationals has an effect on a nation's human capital and investment sources. A portion of the respondents highlighted this matter, as the bill could rectify the violence if the possibility was given for the business acumen of foreign nationals to be seen as an asset. However it seems to be seen as a threat to local traders and the community at large. Therefore violent attacks could be potentially countered if the bill achieves a result of no competition from foreign nationals for local small business owners. It could potentially stabilise the violent attacks as foreign

nationals are discouraged to run businesses, which according to Gören (2014) affects the much needed economic investments for the economic growth of the country and small businesses market.

- Financial implications

The current financial implication that the bill will have on foreign national small business owners shows an element of the government giving superiority to a dominant groups interests. As Eifert, Miguel and Posner (2010) state that this could be related to government leaders trying to control the risk of not being favored by dominant groups in the society especially when distress such as foreign nationals supposedly taking away the opportunities of locals small business is spreading widely and causing conflicts.

- Human capital

The violence against foreigners may subside, however the implication is that foreign nationals will leave the country in search of establishing businesses in countries that are socially and legally accepting and open to foreign businesses. This comes as a result of the government allowing a dominant group to establish their power and superiority in a market that should be open for all individuals to invest in, as this is crucial to enhance the development of the community and the nation at large (Leftwich, 2005).

- Political instability

If the bill is enacted, it can in many ways influence South African citizens to undertake violent action when facing issues that the government has not prioritised or solved at that time. Gören (2014), states that situations that ignite violence and aimed at oppressing ethnic or any minority group can destabilise democratic frameworks that are created to protect all inhabitants within South Africa. As per the Professor of Migrations observation, introducing this regulation is basically a way of accepting the negative atmosphere towards foreign nationals and the unwillingness to condemn xenophobic attacks. This may create a dangerous precedent. Foreign national business responses coincide with the latter discussion, as they state that current regulations against crime have been undermined by locals who commit crimes against foreigners, therefore they will never be relaxed in this country as business owners.

In closing, Sriskandarajah (2005) indicated that in a country such as South Africa, that has experienced a high prevalence of violent attacks against foreign nationals, ethno-nationalistic movements against foreigners seemed to be encouraged. In terms of policies and political insurgencies that occurred, it was also highlighted that policies can indirectly promote identity politics and also be driven for the benefit of a specific group or community. It was concluded that identity such as politics can trigger conflict between beneficiaries and non-beneficiaries (Kanbur, Rajaram & Varshney, 2011). Sriskandarajah (2005) discussed how migrants and refugees move to host countries as a result of ethnic conflicts and their interests being disregarded in their country of origins. However it was also emphasised that migrating does not guarantee social and economic inclusion, as seen in the reality of how the Somali respondents perceived the Licensing of Businesses Bill as a regulation that would disadvantage them. However the bill would possibly rectify the violence against foreign small businesses as foreigners would leave the country in hopes to secure economic opportunities in other countries.

5.3.3 Social Cohesion and Development Theory

To explore the anticipated effects of the Licensing of Businesses Bill on social cohesion development in Klipspruit, the research findings that were gathered were subjected to the literature review that addresses social cohesion and its importance for development.

In the literature review, Wu, Howlett and Fritzen (2012) state that it is important that governments prioritise the interests of all identity groups when developing policies. It was also stated by Calland (2013) that there is an influence of powerful groups on defining policy agendas, which leads to low levels of public services being delivered to minorities and to inequalities. It was stated by Fischer, Miller and Sidney (2007, p. 67) that “understanding of power helps us understand how groups compete to gain access to policy agenda’s and to deny access to groups and interests that would damage their interests”. Therefore policies that are disadvantaging specific groups should be of a high concern as these policies can be detrimental for developing a society (Wu, Ramesh, Howlett & Fritzen, 2012).

5.3.3.1 Anticipated effects of the bill on social cohesion and development

For the purpose of this question, cultural and economic development will be discussed in order to discuss the anticipated effects of this bill on social cohesion and development in the community of Klipspruit. According to Fao (n.d) the development of social cohesion is important to create an inclusive environment for different people according to ethnicity, race, religion etc. to coexist and cooperate.

- Social and economic exclusion of township economic contributors

According to Taran and Ivakhnyuk (2009), the physical features of people are usually irrelevant when there is social cohesion, because people value a diverse community. Social cohesion was stated to be beneficial for attaining economic growth and improving bad economic situations as various identity groups begin to value building relationships of trust and carrying out economic activities as a collective. Based on the research finding, Somali informal traders express that the bill is not a tool that will drive initiatives of social cohesion, however it will have the repercussion of foreign nationals being excluded from social and economic activities in the community. For the South African informal traders residing in Klipspruit, the bill will have a positive effect on locals, as they will have the informal trading market in Klipspruit at their disposal and a legal instrument that protects them from business competition from foreign nationals.

The research findings show that the policy response would have a negative effect on social cohesion as it was generally stated that the bill would lead to foreign nationals closing down their business operations due to the strict regulations on migrants and refugees. It was noted that the foreign national population would decrease in South Africa. A South African informal trader did not show concern about the bill disadvantaging foreign nationals, and stated that tensions against Somali informal traders would increase if they meet the bill requirement and if the government does not regulate the number of businesses that they operate.

- Boundaries for business relations and access to affordable products
- The bill was also said to have a negative effect on the employment of both, Somalis and South Africans. This is because there are existing business relations between the two groups that could face a potentially be interrupted due to limitations faced by foreign nationals. A South African informal trader

stated that the consequence of Somalis leaving the townships would be felt by the community as they are dependent on the well-run convenience store products offered by Somalis. The latter is a valid point, as the business interactions and relationships that are already established are beneficial in terms of creating conditions whereby Somali informal traders and other foreign nationals have the ability to positively contribute towards development. According to Taran and Ivahnyuk (2009) policies should aim to be a tool of social integration in fragmented societies whilst providing a fair system for diverse groups. Unequal and divided community

The Professor of Migration studies asserted that the governments' bill is a reflection of its 'xenophobic nature' and attitudes against foreign nationals, and therefore the imbalance of interests in the bill would essentially not champion the issues of social cohesion. Furthermore, stated that the consequences of this bill being considered for enactment would be a form of legalising exclusion. The South African informal traders perceived that the government had an agenda against foreign nationals, however also realised the advantage of the informal sector being dominated by locals without facing competition from foreign nationals businesses.

A significant response was obtained from a Somali Community Board member who insisted that the employment and livelihood of foreign nationals would be affected. This respondent also showed an understanding of the policy response, and insisted that the government could redefine the bill, however it should not be suggested that Somalis and South African ethnic groups such as Zulu or Sotho to partner in business with Somalis. It was indicated that social cohesion would not be facilitated as these groups have different cultures and they are like 'water and oil'. The Somali Community Board member had a primordial perspective of no 'ethnic mixing', stating that understanding each other's culture was a major factor to create social cohesion and adhere to a policy (Young, 2002).

Scholars such as Paul Collier explain that identity politics can be used as an instrument to gain access to economic resources, especially in low income countries (Weir, 2012). This reveals that identity and belonging to a dominant group can be instrumental for political and economic advantages.

5.4 Conclusion

In this chapter the researcher was able to present the data derived from the interviews carried out in Klipspruit and Johannesburg with the Somali Community Board members, government officials from the Department of Trade and Industry, Somali and South African informal traders and a Professor specialising in Migration studies.

This chapter also consisted of a discussion of the research findings. The research findings were subjected to the theories in the literature review. In this process the researcher made a comparison between theory and reality of the research.

According to the researcher, the main research question 'What is the anticipated effect of the proposed Licensing of Businesses Bill on social cohesion development in Klipspruit?' was answered adequately as the research provided the following important findings:

As seen in the responses, the Somali informal traders emphasised that the bill would disadvantage them and not provide relief for the violence, however the South African government officials viewed the bill as a relief as it could decrease the tensions. The latter indicated that a majority group can have influence on policies, as the government officials see the benefit as being the interests of the South Africans being addressed. Based on these findings the relief is a result of local traders being advantaged through less business competition from foreign nationals, who have to adhere to regulations that are in contradiction to their refugee rights.

CHAPTER SIX: SUMMARY, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

6.1 Introduction

The overriding problem of the research study was to undertake a study that was necessary to establish the possibility of ethnic politics as a determinant for non-inclusive policies that favour dominant or populous ethnic groups, and how that can have an effect on social cohesion development. To accomplish the goals of the research, the researcher undertook a literature review and collected data that provided a tool to provide the reasons underlying violence against Somali informal traders, the possibility of the Licensing of Businesses Bill in rectifying violence against foreign national small businesses and the anticipated effects of this policy on social cohesion in the community of Klipspruit.

The purpose of the research was to examine the root causes of violence against Somalis and the potential effect of the governments' policy response this phenomenon. In particular, the study aimed at investigating the anticipated effect of the proposed Licensing of Businesses Bill on social cohesion development between Somalis and South Africans in Klipspruit. The sample of the research included the Somali Community Board members, government officials from the Department of Trade and Industry, Somali and South African informal traders and a Professor specialising in Migration studies. In the following section the conclusion and recommendations of the research will be presented

6.2 Recommendations for the Research Study

This section of the chapter seeks to elaborate on the recommendations that can be considered with regards to addressing the issue of ethnic politics and the effect of potentially bad policies on social cohesion development in diverse societies. The recommendations include a model for democracy, monitoring and correcting horizontal inequalities, the promotion of cultural diversity and integration, and enforcing the constitution.

6.2.1 Consociation: Model for Democracy

Consociation is the synonym of power-sharing whereby a resolve is set out to manage the fragmentation and conflict between identity groups. In seeking to address ethnic,

national and other identity conflicts, consociation can be utilised as it provides an environment for political stability and highlights the important role of power-sharing in efforts to manage conflict (Solomon and Matthews, 2001). Power-sharing is a vital tool as it enables various identities to equally contribute and influence decisions that are made by the government for the welfare of the society. It also limits the control and dominance of majority groups and the oppression of minority groups within a society.

In terms of the research project, consociation can be practiced by ensuring that all identity groups are participating in decision-making processes in the society. An environment must be created whereby all identities are represented and allocated public resources and services proportionally. The last key role of power-sharing is that the public policy process should provide ways in which the various identity groups have the opportunity to veto on vital issues concerning the public.

Traniello (2008, p. 31) states that “Timothy Sisk defines power-sharing as a set of principles that, provide every significant identity group or segment in a society representation and decision-making abilities on common issues and a degree of autonomy over issues of importance to the group”.

6.2.2 Monitoring and Correcting Horizontal Inequalities

According to Stewart (2002) horizontal inequalities are about the inequalities that exist between different identity groups such as ethnicity, religion, class, gender, and nationality. The inequalities are visible through the unequal access to political, economic and social resources, and innately this limits the welfare of people as a result of the cultural groups they belong to. It is therefore imperative that the government and other political actors prioritise solving the issue of horizontal inequalities between different identity groups. This can be done by ensuring that development policies incorporate systems that will monitor and correct this type of inequality that exists amongst diverse societies.

6.2.3 Promoting Cultural Diversity and Integration

The promotion of cultural diversity and integration is seen as one of the key elements of addressing the politics of identity and unequal policies. Rorty (1994) states that it is essential that policies in diverse states are aimed at creating cultural consciousness,

people are sustained by their cultural identities. In terms of the research findings, the researcher believes that in a liberal society such as South Africa, the promotion of cultural diversity and integration can be a mechanism to ensure that the diversity of opinions within a society are garnered through civic participation. To implement this, the government can begin with education on multiculturalism. Rorty (1994) emphasises the importance of education as a way to engage the society on recognising the importance of protecting all cultural identities and building a socially cohesive society. Multicultural education can also be a prerequisite of civic agency as people start to build relationships based on trust and consciousness of each other's background.

6.2.4 Constitutionalism

In terms of addressing the issues with regards to the Licensing of Businesses Bill, which a number of critics deem to favour South African nationals, the government should seek to ensure that it acts in a constitutional manner. This is mainly because the bill is being criticised for contradicting refugee rights for freedom of employment in South Africa. Ayferam (2015) states that constitutionalism is applied when political actors use the legal frameworks within the supreme law to make decisions that will ensure that all groups within a society are represented and protected by the law.

6.3 Recommendations for Future Research

The following entails recommendations for theories that can be considered to undertake further research in the field of ethnic politics and policy preferences. The following theories are found in the discipline of political science and sociology.

6.3.1 Coalition Theory

The coalition theory is found in political science and forms part of global theories. This theory is essential for this type of research study as it focuses on policy changes, and how to facilitate the process through coordinating activities among diverse individuals with the same or different core policy beliefs. The research believes that the theory is useful as it provides a way in which to administer policy, and to manage strong groups of allies with a common goal that might have an effect on a minority group (Stachowiak,

2013). A key author who can be looked up is Hank Jenkins-Smith, who is a Professor of Political Sciences.

6.3.2 Power Politics Theory

The theory of power politics is established in the field sociology, and also forms part of global theories. Theories on power politics bring relevance to such a research study as they interact with insights that encapsulate how policy changes are made when directly working or taking into consideration the perspectives of individuals or communities with power to make decisions or influence decision making. This theory can be useful as it brings out view points on how policy decisions are shaped by key allies in a position of power on a particular issue in the society or an institution. It also helps to identify ways to implement rule changes and identify power plays (Stachowiak, 2013). Key authors to be considered include Charles Wright Mills who is a Professor in the field of Sociology and William Domhoff, a Professor in Psychology and sociology.

6.3.3 Grassroots or Community Organising Theory

According to Stachowiak (2013) theories on grassroots or community organising can be found in the field of social psychology, and is rooted in tactical theories. This theory is relevant for this kind of research study as policy change is always made through collective action by members of the community that are affected by the problem. The identified theories can potentially be useful as a distinct group of individuals are usually affected in introduction or changes of policies. Writers that can be considered include a founder of modern community organising Saul David Alinsky, and Douglas Paul Biklen, an educator known for promoting controversial theory and facilitated communication.

6.4 Conclusion

This research was prompted by a social phenomenon faced by African countries, which is the political mobilisation of ethnicity that has been portrayed as a hindrance to development within the post-independence period (Thomson, 2010). It was stated by Lieberman and McClendon (2012) that the contributing factor to ethnic polarisation and rivalry is the deliberate attempts of leaders to remain in power by reinforcing ethnic

differences, and policies favouring a dominant ethnic group. He further stated that “a large and influential body of scholarship has demonstrated that ethnic heterogeneity is associated with bad policies and poor development outcomes across a range of sectors and in polities of varied scale” (Lieberman, McClendon, 2012, p. 575). However, this conclusion was not sufficiently warranted.

Liebermann and McClendon (2012) contended that there have been studies on the link between ethnic diversity and low levels of public goods provision, however there is a minimum focus on the role of preferences on policies held by ethnically diverse groups. Some scholars argued that ethnic groups have culturally distinct preferences for policy making and distribution purposes, and that such is to the detriment of effective policy making, but evidence supporting this claim is limited. A study was necessary to establish the possibility of ethnic politics as a determinant for non-inclusive policies that favour dominant and populous ethnic groups, and how that can have an effect on development.

In terms of finding an appropriate research topic that was directed to the above issue, the researcher undertook research to investigate the reasons for the violent attacks against the Somali population that is operating informal businesses in the Klipspruit community. The Somali nationals seek economic security mostly by operating informal businesses expanding into Johannesburg townships (Jinnah, 2010).

As a minority population within South Africa, Somalis are particularly known to be service orientated and business savvy, creating nationwide business networks, and showing their ability to respond to shifting markets and industry trends in the informal sector. This success has however exposed Somali nationals to violence and tension from locals, as they are perceived as dominant in some business sectors and also due to their expansion to townships across South Africa (Jinnah, 2010; Misago, 2009).

According to the Consortium for Refugees and Migrants in South Africa (CoRMSA) (2013), as a response to domestic pressures to mitigate the trend of xenophobic attacks in South Africa, the government proposed a Licensing of Businesses Bill in 2013, which potentially could detrimentally impact non-nationals by making it more difficult to run businesses in the informal sector. The bill would introduce a business permit requirement usually priced around R1 million, which according to CoRMSA

(2013) seems to be setting limitations to non-national economic opportunities in South Africa. CoRMSA (2013) also states that this 'hostile' policy response has been prompted by popular pressure over foreign national businesses in communities, which influenced the government to tighten laws and regulations with the intention of decreasing business ownership by non-nationals. With this regard, the research had an objective to find out the potential impact of the Licensing of Businesses Bill on social cohesion, specifically in Klipspruit.

From the research findings it was gathered that ethnic identity politics is not the reason for the violent attacks against Somalis. However, it was expressed by the respondents that the governments' policy response seems to be nationalistic in nature, and seeks to advantage South African nationals at the expense of Somali nationals that are successfully operating businesses in the informal sector. It was highlighted that the government would not be able to champion social cohesion, as the bill has an impact that will chase Somalis and other foreign nationals out of South Africa. A South African informal trader recognised that the bill would encourage locals to operate businesses as there would be less competition, however it was stated that the measures in the bill would not unite locals with foreign nationals in Klipspruit due to closed networks that Somalis have created. In terms of the impact of the bill, the Professor specialising in Migration studies added that the government is creating a negative atmosphere that is xenophobic by using this policy as a response to the violence against foreign nationals.

By highlighting the root cause of the violence against Somali informal traders in Klipspruit, and the potential impact of the Licensing of Businesses Bill, this research paper has shown that the government of South Africa should consider addressing economic inequalities in the society to curb the violence against Somali or any other foreign national groups. It should also ensure that it acts in a constitutional manner by prioritising the issues of people regardless of their identity or cultural background. Lastly, this chapter covered recommendations that the researcher considered to be relevant in terms of finding solutions to societal issues that are related to ethnic politics and policy preferences. Recommendations for future research were suggested and entailed global and tactical theories that can be found in the discipline of political science and political science.

References

- Adetiba, T.C. (2013). Ethnic conflict in Nigeria: A Challenge to inclusive social and political development. Unpublished Master's Dissertation. Alice: University of Fort Hare.
- Agostini, C.A., Brown, P.H., & Roman, A.C. (2010). Poverty and inequality amongst ethnic groups in Chile. *World development*, 38(7), 1036-1046.
- Ayferam, G. (2015). Constitution, constitutionalism and foundation of democracy in Ethiopia. *International journal of research*, 2(1), 586-596.
- Baxter, P., & Jack, S. (2008). Qualitative case study methodology: study design and implementation for novice researchers. *The Qualitative report*, 13(4), 544-559.
- Bellú, L.G. (2011). *Development and development paradigms*.(EASYPol Module 003). Rome: Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations.
- Breede Valley Municipality. (2010). Breede Valley Municipality: Informal Trading Policy. Retrieved March 1, 2016 from www.breedevallei.go.za/bvmweb/images/Bylaws/Gazette/informal%20trading.pdf.
- Bryman, A., (2004). *Social research methods*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Bumham, P., Gilland, K., Grant, W., & Layton-Henry, Z. (2004). *Research methods in politics*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Calland, R. (2013). *The Zuma years: South Africa's changing face of power*. Cape Town: Zebra Press.
- Chandra, K. (2012). *Constructivist theories of politics*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Charman, A., & Piper, L. (2010). Xenophobia, criminality and violent entrepreneurship; violence against Somali shop keepers in Delft South, Cape Town, South Africa. *South African Review of Sociology*, 43(3), 81-105.
- City of Johannesburg. (2012) City of Johannesburg: 2012/2016 Integrated development plan: committing to a promising future. Retrieved November 30, 2015 from www.joburg-archive.co.za/2012/pdfs/idp/idp201216.pdf.

Cloete, F., & de Coning, C. (2012). *Improving public policy*. Pretoria: Van Schaik Publishers.

CoRMSA. (2013). Licensing of business bill. Retrieved November 30, 2015 from www.cormsa.org.za/wp-content/uploads/2009/05/Licensing-of-Businesses-Bill-submission_CoRMSA.pdf.

Deacon, B., Olivier, M., & Beremauro, R. (2015). *Social security and social protection of migrants in South Africa and SADC*. (MiWORC Report). Johannesburg: Migrating for Work Research Consortium.

Denzin, N.K., & Lincoln, Y.S. (2000). *Introduction: the discipline and practice of qualitative research*. California: Sage.

Department of Trade and Industry. (n.d). Legislation and business regulation. Retrieved February 28, 2016 from http://www.thedti.gov.za/business_regulation/business_regulation.jsp.

Easterly, W., & Levine, R. (1997). Africa's growth tragedy: policies and ethnic divisions. *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 112(4), 1203-1250.

Eifert, B., Miguel, E., & Posner, D.M. (2010). Political competition and ethnic identification in Africa. *American Journal of political science*, 54(2), 494-510.

Eriksen, T. H. (2012). Ethnicity. In Ritzer's Willey-Blackwell Encyclopedia. Blackwell Publishing Ltd (1st Ed.), *Encyclopedia of globalization*.

Everret, D. (2011). Xenophobia, state and society in South Africa, 2008-2010. *Politikon*, 28(1), 7-36.

Fao, R. (n.d). The economic rationale for social cohesion- the cross country evidence. Retrieved January 18, 2016 from www.oecd.org/development/pgd/46908575.pdf.

Fischer, F., Miller, G.J., & Sidney, M.S. (2007). *Handbook of public policy analysis: theory, politics and methods*. New York: CRC Press, Taylor & Francis Group.

Gastrow, V. (2013). Business robbery, the trader and the small shop: how business robberies affect Somali traders in the Western Cape, *SA Crime Quarterly*, 43, 5-15.

Gören, E. (2014). How ethnic diversity affects economic growth. *World development*, 59, 275-297.

Guichaoua, Y. (2010). How do ethnic militias perpetuate in Nigeria? A micro-level perspective on the Oouda people's congress. *World development*, 38(11), 1657-1666.

Jabareen, Y. (2009). Building a conceptual framework: philosophy, definitions, and procedure. *International journal of qualitative methods*, 8 (4), 49-62.

Jinnah, Z. (2010). Making home in a hostile land: understanding Somali identity, integration, livelihood and risks in Johannesburg. *Journal of Sociology and Social Anthropology*, 1(1-2), 91-99.

Kanbur, R., Rajaram, P.R., & Varshney, A. (2011). Ethnic diversity and ethnic strife: an interdisciplinary perspective. *World development*, 39(2), 147-158.

Kanu, I. A. (2012). The colonial legacy: hidden history of Africa's present crisis. *An International Journal of arts and humanities*, 1(1), 123-131.

Kohlbacher, F. (2006). The use of qualitative content analysis in case study research [43 paragraphs]. *Forum: Qualitative Social Research* [Online journal], 7(1) Art. 21. Retrieved August 17, 2015 from <http://www.qualitative-research.net/index.php/fqs/article/view/75/153>.

Laws, K., & McLeod, R. (2004). Case study and grounded theory: sharing some alternative qualitative research methodologies with systems professionals. *Proceedings of 22nd International Conference of the Systems Society*. Oxford: University of Oxford.

Leftwich, A. (2005). Politics in command: development studies and the rediscovery of social science. *New political economy*, 10(4), 573-607.

Leiberman, E.S., & McClendon, G. (2012). The ethnicity-policy preference link in Sub-Saharan Africa. *Comparative political studies*, 46(5), 547-602.

Liphoko, M, E. (2013). Xenophobia and the leadership factor in Alexandra. Unpublished Master's Dissertation. Johannesburg: University of Witwatersrand.

Maathai, M. (2009). *The challenge for Africa*. London: Arrow Books.

- Mabuza, N. (2009). Traditional leadership in development. Unpublished Master's dissertation. Johannesburg: University of Witwatersrand.
- Mamdani, M. (2005). *Political identity, citizenship and ethnicity in post-colonial Africa*. Columbia: Columbia University.
- Marschke, M., Szablowski, D., & Vandergeest, P. (2008). Engaging indigeneity in development policy. *Development policy review*, 26(4), 483-500.
- Mazars, C., Matsuyama, R., Rispoli, J., & Veary, J. (2013). The well-being of economic migrants in South Africa: health, gender and development. (Working paper for the world migration report 2013). Geneva: International Organization for Migration.
- Merriam, S.B. (2002). Introduction to qualitative research. *In qualitative research in practice: examples for discussion and analysis* (pp. 3-17). Retrieved July 25, 2015 from http://media.wiley.com/product_data/excerpt/56/07879589/0787958956.pdf
- Misago, J.P. (2009). *Towards tolerance, law and dignity: addressing violence against foreign nationals in South Africa*. (IOM Research Report). Johannesburg: Forced Migration Studies Programme.
- Misago, J.P., Monson, T., Polzer, T., & Landau, L.B. (2010). *May 2008 violence against foreign nationals in South Africa: understanding causes and evaluating responses*. (Migration issue brief 3). Johannesburg: Forced Migration Studies Programme.
- Oyebade, A., & Alao, A. (1998). *Africa after the Cold War*. Asmara: Africa World Press inc.
- Polzer Ngwato, T. (2011). Together apart: migration, integration and spatialized identities in South African border villages. *Geoforum*, 43(2012), 561-572.
- Polzer, T. (2009). Population movements in and to South Africa. Migration fact sheet. Johannesburg: Forced Migration Studies Programme.
- Reeskens, T. (2008). Defining social cohesion in diverse societies: how generalised trust leads to social cohesion. Internet Centre for political research. Leuven: University of Leuven.

- Rorty, A. O. (1994). The hidden politics of cultural identification. *Political theory*, 22(1), 152-166.
- Rowley, J. (2002). Using case studies in research. *Management Research News*, 25(1), 16-27.
- Schraeder, P.J. (2000). *African politics and society*. New York: St. Martin's.
- Sen, A. (2006). *Identity and violence: the illusion of destiny*. London: Allen Lane.
- Solomon, H & Matthews, S. (2011). *Transforming ethnic conflicts. In politics of identity and exclusion in Africa: from violent confrontation to peaceful cooperation*. (Seminar report, no 11). Johannesburg: Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung.
- Somali Community Board of South Africa. (n.d). Introduction. Retrieved on February 16, 2016 from <http://somalisouthafrica.co.za/index.php/about-us>.
- South African History Online. (n.d). Xenophobic violence in democratic South Africa. Retrieved January 5, 2016 from <http://www.sahistory.org.za/article/xenophobic-violence-democratic-south-africa>.
- Sriskandarajah, D. Migration and development. Retrieved January 29, 2016 from http://www.migrationdevelopment.org/fileadmin/data/resources/general/research_papers/Thematic_Study_4_01.pdf
- Stachowiak, S. Pathways for change: 10 theories to inform advocacy and policy change efforts. Retrieved on September 6, 2016 from http://orsimpact.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/11/Center_Pathways_FINAL.pdf.
- StatsSA. (2015). Mid-year population estimates. Retrieved December 7, 2015 from <https://www.statssa.gov.za/publications/P0302/P03022015.pdf>.
- Stewart, F. (2002). Horizontal inequalities: a neglected development dimension. Working Paper no 81. Oxford: University of Oxford.
- Stiglitz, J. (2002). Participation and development: perspectives from the comprehensive development paradigm. *Review of development economics*, 6(2), 163-182.

- Taran, P., & Ivankhnyuk, I. (2009). *Economic migration, social cohesion and development: towards an integrated approach*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe.
- Thomson, A. (2010). *An introduction to African politics*. New York: Routledge.
- Todaro, M.P., & Smith, S.C. (2012). *Economic development*. Boston: Addison-Wesley.
- Traniello, M. (2008). Power-sharing: lessons from South Africa and Rwanda. *International public policy review*, 3(2), 28-43.
- Trebilcock, M. J., & Prado, M. M. (2011). *What makes countries poor?: institutional determinants of development*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing Limited.
- UNHCR. (2015). UNHCR country operations profile South Africa. Retrieved on December 3, 2015 from <http://www.unhcr.org/pages/49e485aa6.html>.
- Varshney, A. (2001). Ethnic conflict and the civil society: India and Beyond. *World Politics*, 53(3) 362-398.
- Wagner, C., Kawulich, B., & Garner, M. (2012). *Doing social research: a global context*. London: McGraw-Hill.
- Weir, N. (2012). *Primordialism, constructivism, instrumentalism and Rwanda*. Retrieved March 24, 2016 from http://www.academia.edu/1526597/Primordialism_Constructivism_Instrumentalism_and_Rwanda.
- Werbner, R., & Ranger, T. (1996). *Postcolonial identities in Africa*. London: Zed Books Ltd.
- Wu, X., Ramesh, M., Howlett, M., & Fritzen, S.A. (2010). *The public policy primer: managing the policy process*. New York: Routledge.
- Yin, R.K. (1989). *Case study research: design and methods*. Newbury Park: Sage.
- Young, C. (2002). *The postcolonial state in Africa: fifty years of independence*. London: University of Wisconsin.

APPENDIX A: RESEARCH DATA INSTRUMENTS

Information Sheet and Consent Form

Introduction

My name is Mbali Motsoeneng from the Wits School of Governance. I am studying towards a Master of Management in Public and Development Management. I will be conducting interviews in order to understand the anticipated effect of the proposed Licensing of Businesses Bill on social cohesion development. This interview is important as it will enable me to develop research that seeks to provide information on issues associated with development challenges.

I have a consent form that I would like you to sign as an indication that you have received information about this research project and agree to participate as an interviewee. With your consent, this interview will take up one hour of your time.

Please be reassured that your participation is voluntary, and that you may voice out any concerns you hold. There is no risk associated with this study as there is a confidentiality clause.

Confidentiality

Please be advised that your name will be kept confidential and I will refer to you by a substitute name, unless you state otherwise. This assurance is fully protected by the law. All information obtained from this interview will only be used after you have signed the consent form.

Contact information

The research project has been approved by the Wits School of Governance. If you have complaints or experienced any harm while participating in this interview, please call the Wits School of Governance on 011 717 3527.

Consent form

I hereby agree to participate in the research on the anticipated effect of the proposed Licensing of Businesses Bill on social cohesion development. I confirm that I understand that I am participating voluntarily and without anyone forcing me. I fully comprehend the terms in this consent form and that I may discontinue with the interview when I want to. I also understand that the decision to participate will not cause any harm to me, and that there has been contact details provided if I have a complaint.

I understand that this interview is part of an academic research in fulfilment of an academic degree, and that there will be no personal benefits awarded to me.

I understand that my participation in this interview will be confidential.

.....

Signature of participant

Date

I allow the researcher to voice record the interview.

.....

Signature of participant

Date

APPENDIX B: QUALITATIVE DATA COLLECTION INSTRUMENTS

Interview questions: Somali Community Board Members:

Sub-question 1: What are the reasons for violence against Somali informal traders?

Interview questions:

- What are the reasons to the violent attacks against Somali traders?
- Do you feel the Somali traders are particularly targeted? If so, why?

Sub-question 2: To what extent will the government's proposed Licensing of Businesses Bill provide relief?

Interview questions:

- Do you know of the Licensing of Businesses Bill?
- What would be the consequences of such as bill being enacted?

Sub-question 3: What effect will the proposed bill have on social cohesion development in Klipspruit?

Interview questions:

- Do you think the measures in the bill will reduce or increase the tensions within the townships?
- How would the bill affect the employment of foreigners operating in the informal sector?
- Are the expected benefits of the bill higher than the potential cost for social cohesion? Explain.

Interview questions: Government, Department of Trade & Industry

Sub-question 1: What are the reasons for violence against Somali informal traders?

Interview questions:

- What are the reasons to the violent attacks against Somali traders?
- Do you feel the Somali traders are particularly targeted? If so, why?

Sub-question 2: To what extent will the government's proposed Licensing of Businesses Bill provide relief?

Interview questions:

- What is the purpose of the Licensing of Businesses Bill?
- Which stakeholders influenced the preparation of the bill?
- Do you think that the Licensing of Businesses Bill will reduce the number of businesses run by Somali traders?
- How far will the bill address the issue of violence against Somali traders?
- What are the expected benefits of the bill? (With reference to the violence against foreign traders)?
- Why has the bill not been adopted?

Sub-question 3: What effect will the proposed bill have on social cohesion development in Klipspruit?

Interview questions:

- Do you think the measures in the bill will reduce or increase the tensions within the townships?
- How would the bill affect the employment of foreigners operating in the informal sector?
- Are the expected benefits of the bill higher than the potential cost for social cohesion? Explain.

Interview questions: Professor of Migration Studies

Sub-question 1: What are the reasons for violence against Somali informal traders?

Interview questions:

- What are the reasons to the violent attacks against Somali traders?
- Do you feel the Somali traders are particularly targeted? If so, why?

Sub-question 2: To what extent will the government's proposed Licensing of Businesses Bill provide relief?

Interview questions:

- Do you know of the Licensing of Businesses Bill?
- What would be the consequences of such as bill being enacted?
- Why has the bill not been enacted?

Sub-question 3: What effect will the proposed bill have on social cohesion development in Klipspruit?

Interview questions:

- Do you think the measures in the bill will reduce or increase the tensions within the townships?
- How would the bill affect the employment of foreigners operating in the informal sector?
- Are the expected benefits of the bill higher than the potential cost for social cohesion? Explain.

Interview questions: Somali and South African Informal Traders

Sub-question 1: What are the reasons for violence against Somali informal traders?

Interview questions:

- How is the relationship between foreign and South African informal traders?
- What are the triggers for violence against Somali traders?
- What are the reasons for Somalis to be targeted in comparison to other foreign national/ethnic groups?

Sub-question 2: To what extent will the government's proposed Licensing of Businesses Bill provide relief?

Interview questions:

- Do you know of the Licensing of Businesses Bill?
- What would be the consequences of such as bill being enacted?

Sub-question 3: What effect will the proposed bill have on social cohesion development in Klipspruit?

Interview questions:

- Do you think the measures in the bill will reduce or increase the tensions within the townships?
- How would the bill affect the employment of foreigners operating in the informal sector?
- Are the expected benefits of the bill higher than the potential cost for social cohesion? Explain.