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FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES AND HUMANITIES

The Role of the Mquma Local Municipality in Addressing Xenophobic
Tensions between Foreign Shop Owners and Local Community Members in
South Africa: A case study of Butterworth; 2010-2012



By

University of Fort Hare
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DECLARATION

I declare that this research which I hereby submit for the Degree of Masters of Social Science at the University of Fort Hare is my own work. I have never previously submitted this dissertation for a degree at this or any other tertiary institution.

Sibongile Ndinisa

Signed.....

Date July 2020.....



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DEDICATION

The study is dedicated to the following people:

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ABSTRACT

The study examines the role played by the Mngquma Local municipality in addressing xenophobic violence in Butterworth between 2010 and 2012 and subsequent sporadic tensions. The study also examines the causes as well as the sporadic recurrence of xenophobic tensions between foreign shop owners and local community members in Butterworth. Due to the nature of the study, ethnographic fieldwork was considered the most practical and suitable method in getting necessary responses regarding the study. The data collection instruments used were in-depth interviews and focus group discussions. Participants comprised 15 foreign shop owners, 15 local community members. In addition, three interviews were conducted with relevant Mngquma Local Municipality officials who had been involved in addressing xenophobic tensions in Butterworth. In order to understand the dynamics of xenophobic tensions in Butterworth, the study employed two theories; the Scapegoating theory and Relative Deprivation theory.

The study established that the causes of xenophobic tensions were largely due to the poor socio-economic situation in the Mngquma Municipality, which resulted in high rates of poverty, unemployment and competition for resources and business opportunities. Furthermore, misinformation on media platforms about foreign nationals and the inadequate opportunities for interaction also exacerbated tensions. Moreover, it was uncovered that the Mngquma Local Municipality did not have effective mechanisms to address xenophobic tensions. The study recommends that the municipality addresses service delivery needs of both locals and foreign nationals as this will create a safe and peaceful environment for foreign nationals to coexist with locals in Butterworth.

The study further urges the Mnquma Local Municipality to formulate an anti-xenophobia unit that can detect and combat any sign of xenophobia in all communities in Butterworth.



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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

According to Harrison (2005:11) and Sonyombo (2008:94), “globalisation and migration are responsible for xenophobic sentiments across the globe”. Lassailly, Boyer and Brachet (2006) assert that migration can also contribute to urbanisation, war, environmental degradation and economic crises, which result in large populations in host countries. Immigration is also associated with xenophobic tensions though people migrate for different reasons. The International Institute of Social Studies (2009) reveals that poverty, conflicts, environmental factors and other crises force people to leave their countries. South Africa continues to experience unprecedented levels of xenophobic violence against foreign nationals, in particular, black foreign nationals who reside in poor communities and in cities. These foreign nationals are perceived by some locals as threats to basic services in the country (Harris, 2001) as such, they are targets for violent attacks.

Neocosmos (2006:14) states that “Black South Africans, particularly those living in township and informal settlements are the main perpetrators of xenophobic sentiments against immigrants”. However, violent attacks in South Africa are not directed at all foreign nationals in general but predominantly at black informal traders from other African countries (Valji and Fuller, 2008). Furthermore, Neocosmos (2006:12) is of the view that “xenophobic experiences in South Africa are based on race and that those targeted are black migrants while migrants from Europe and America seem to be more welcomed”.

Everatt (2011:7) and Mngxitama (2008:195) used the term “negrophobia” or “afrophobia” to refer to the racialised nature of xenophobia in South Africa, which is

directed at Black African migrants. Landu et al. (2005) concluded that xenophobia includes all forms of discriminatory attitudes towards foreigners regardless of national origins. Thus, xenophobia in South Africa is “manifested in prejudice, discrimination, hostility and violence directed towards foreigners” (Muvusa, 2015:2). This is evidenced in numerous instances of xenophobic violence reported in all provinces of South Africa, where foreign nationals have been tortured, harassed or brutally killed and had their property looted.

Xenophobia is a problem that has also been endemic in Butterworth. Butterworth is a small rural town in the Eastern Cape Province of South Africa. The researcher observed that there are numerous businesses which are owned by foreign nationals in and around the city center. The researcher also observed the looting of foreign owned-shops in Butterworth as local community members accused non-South African nationals of taking over local businesses in 2010 and 2012. There are still latent tensions between locals and foreigners in the area and it is imperative for the Mquma Local Municipality to formulate and implement effective strategies to address these xenophobic tensions.

1.2 The Research Problem

The persistence of xenophobic sentiments in South Africa towards immigrants has at times resulted in violent attacks, killings and irreparable damage to property. This has led to international condemnation, which has tarnished the image of the country (Nelson and Salawu, 2017). Butterworth, one of the rural Towns in the Eastern Cape Province, has experienced sporadic outbreaks of violence targeted at foreign-owned businesses. As a member of the community, the researcher observed foreigners being

beaten and their shops looted by local community members in 2010 and 2012. These received little media attention largely due to the localised nature of the conflict. In this light, the sources of these tensions between foreign shop owners and local community members have not been properly documented. There are no records or publications on the incident of xenophobic tensions in library books and online sources. Even the Mquma Municipality does not have any archived document relating to the xenophobic tensions between 2010 and 2012. The Mquma officials who participated in the study provided information they know by heart but there is absolutely no archival reference. Moreover, the recurrence of the attacks in 2012 in Butterworth and the continuous latent conflict between foreign shop owners and local community members questions the effectiveness of the Mquma Municipality in sustainably resolving these tensions. It is against this backdrop that the problem can be stated in the following research questions. The main research question of this study was: What is the role of Mquma Municipality in addressing xenophobic tensions between foreign shop owners and local community members in Butterworth? The sub-research questions were:

- What are the perceptions of both local community members and foreign shop owners regarding the sources of xenophobic tensions in Butterworth?
- In what ways has the Mquma municipality addressed these xenophobic tensions between local community members and foreign shop owners in Butterworth?
- What factors account for the recurrence of tensions by local community members towards foreign shop owners in Butterworth?
- What solutions and recommendations are needed to prevent the xenophobic tensions between foreign shop owners and local community members in Butterworth?

1.3 Research Aim and Objectives

The main aim of this study is to examine the role of the Mquma Municipality in addressing xenophobic tensions between foreign shop owners and local community members in Butterworth. The following are the objectives of the study:

- To examine the perceptions regarding to sources of xenophobic tensions between local community members and foreign shop owners of Butterworth.
- To explore how the Mquma Municipality has addressed these xenophobic tensions between foreign shop owners and local community members in Butterworth.
- To probe factors that account for the recurrence of xenophobic tensions by local community members towards foreign shop owners in Butterworth.
- To provide solutions and recommendations needed to prevent the xenophobic tensions between foreign shop owners and local community members in Butterworth.


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1.4 Significance of the Study

The study sought to provide in-depth knowledge of the sources of xenophobic tensions between foreign shop owners and local community members. It was designed to lay a foundation of sustainable and effective solutions targeted at ending xenophobic tensions in Butterworth, as it might be of utmost benefit to the Mquma local municipality officials who render services to foreign nationals. Furthermore, the study could benefit the officials responsible to formulate the by-laws of the Mquma local municipality including both foreign nationals and local community. Therefore, the study contributes to literature on xenophobic tensions and is of potential benefit to students, researchers and policy makers.

1.5 Chapter Outline

Chapter One provides an introduction and background to the study, problem statement, research aims and objectives, significance of the study and the chapter outline.

Chapter Two reviews the current literature that is available on contextualization xenophobia. The chapter goes further to look at xenophobia in global stance; the role of international bodies in fighting xenophobia, the migration pattern in South Africa is also examined in this chapter. Included in the chapter is the review of legal right of foreign nationals, drivers of xenophobia in South Africa, efforts and challenges made by South Africa in combating xenophobia. The last part of the chapter contains summary of theories relating to the phenomenon of xenophobia.

Chapter Three presents the methodology adopted for the study, methods of data collection, sampling, methods of data analysis, the chapter also looks at ethical consideration.

Chapter Four examine the sources of tensions between foreign shop owners and local community members in Butterworth.

Chapter Five examine interventions that have been made by the Mnguma municipality in addressing the tensions between foreign shop owners and local community members in Butterworth

Chapter Six presents the factors that account for the recurrence of violence by local community members towards foreign shop owners in Butterworth.

Chapter Seven is the last section of the research it presents the conclusion and recommendations of the study.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Literature Review

2.1.1 Introduction

A literature review is an outline including the current knowledge including substantive findings as well as theoretical and methodological contribution to a particular topic. Literature reviews are secondary sources and do not report new or original experimental work. Therefore, the purpose of the literature review is to give the background information about a research project. This study, therefore, reviews existing literature as part of secondary sources on the conceptualization of xenophobia in South Africa. This chapter then, reviews migration patterns as believed to be resulting in xenophobia in South Africa, xenophobia in global stance, the legal frameworks adopted by countries like Australia, Kenya and Egypt in efforts to address xenophobic attacks and the role of international bodies in fighting xenophobia is examined in this chapter. Included in the study is the review of legal rights of foreign nationals, drivers of xenophobia in South Africa and efforts and challenges made by South Africa in combating xenophobia. This chapter also critically reviews two theories that have been proffered to explain the emergence of xenophobic tensions between local shop owners and local community members in Butterworth. The theories are thematically distinguished in terms of the scapegoat and the relative deprivation theory.

2.2.2 Contextualization of Xenophobia

In order to understand the reasons for the attitudes and practices of xenophobia in the country, the study finds it imperative to first define the term “xenophobia”. Various scholars, however, highlighted that xenophobic attacks occur in other jurisdictions of the world, but in South Africa, the phenomenon is characterized by extreme violence

and the widespread hostility in attitude that accompanies xenophobia (Crush, 2008). Xenophobia is derived from a Greek word Xenos which means stranger and it is defined as hatred or fear of foreigners (South African pocket Oxford Dictionary, 1994).

Xenophobia is described as fear or contempt of what is foreign or unknown especially of strangers or foreign people (Harrison, 2002:11). According to South African Human Rights Commission, xenophobia is a deep dislike of non-nationals by nationals of a recipient country (Harrison,2002:11). Thus, the word xenophobia in South Africa is described by violent actions as well as negative social representations of immigrants, refugees and migrants. Tshitereke (1999:4) posits that xenophobia in South Africa is not restricted to fear or dislike, rather it results in intense tensions and violent actions by South Africans towards African Immigrants. Tshitereke (1999:4) further views xenophobia as being different from other phobias that have a psychological condition; he described xenophobia as a social condition that requires a social explanation.

Another defining feature of xenophobia is the "attitudes, prejudice and behavior that reject, exclude and often vilify persons, based on the perception that they are outsiders or foreigners to the community, society or national identity" (Adjai & Lazaridis, 2013: 192). Neocosmo (2006: 12) argued that xenophobia "is a form of discrimination closely related to racism and liable to affect anyone or any group which for whatever reason is considered non-indigenous or non-autochthonous". Morris (1998) is of the opinion that individuals with no history of integrating to strangers are likely to be less welcoming towards foreign nationals. The argument is supported by a regression analysis performed by Ruedin (2018), of the South African Social Attitudes Survey and

HSRC (2013), which displayed a clear pattern that South Africans with less contact to foreign nationals are xenophobic.

Adjai and Lazaridis (2013:192) further highlight the distinctive difference between what they refer to as “old Racism”, which is the discrimination based on one’s skin color; and “new Racisms” which they identify as the discriminatory treatment of ‘the other’ based on national origin or ethnicity. Similar views by Tsheola and Segage (2015), attributes that interpreting and theorizing xenophobia as the new racism, rejected the belief that, the new South Africa identity expresses a new racism. Xenophobia in South Africa was inherited from the colonial era. Matsinhe (2011:301) posits that “under the apartheid rule and colonial rule, South Africa separated itself from the rest of Africa”. Due to its technological advancement and infrastructure, South Africa linked itself to European countries (Tella, 2016). Thus, the establishment of the Union of South Africa in 1910 citizenship and nationality were represented by whites only (Tella, 2016). The scholar went further to say “hence socio-psychologically, white people were perceived good and valuable, while black people were perceived bad and evil”. This view is supported by Wolfe and Copeland (1994) who posit that xenophobia has led foreign nationals to be perceived as people with no value.

2.2.3 Categories of Foreign Nationals in South Africa

Handmaker and Parsley (2001) are of the view that studies conducted on xenophobic violence, have failed to differentiate between different categories of foreigners in South Africa. Harris (2001) identified three broad categories of foreigners as mentioned in the South African legislation, which include refugees, migrants and immigrants.

Refugee

According to South African Government Gazette (1998), a *“refugee is a person who, owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted by reason of his or her race, nationality, tribe, religion, political opinion or membership of particular social group, is outside country of his or her nationality and is unable to avail himself/herself to the protection of that country”*.

The rights of refugees are set out in Chapter 5 of the Refugee Act of 1998, and prescribes that refugees enjoy the rights set out in Chapter 2 of the South African Constitution. The rights include a right to seek employment, basic health care services and education, which are enjoyed by South Africans (South African Constitution, 1996). The United Nations Refugee Agency (UNHCR, 2001) estimated that about 60 million people are forcibly displaced around the World.

Migrant

A migrant is a person who moves from one place to another in order to live in another country for more than a year (Adjai, 2010). Harris (2001) attributes that on-going migration has resulted in a huge number of foreign nationals becoming permanent migrants in South Africa. It is important to note that “the key distinction between refugees and migrants is that migrants are allowed to enter the country for work purpose whilst refugees are often allowed for reasons pertaining to safety” (Lombard, 2015:26). International Organisation of Migration estimates that 732 million people become international migrants and 740 million moves within their countries.

Immigrants

Harris (2001) describes immigrants as those who make a permanent move from one country to another. She further argued that foreign nationals who enter the country may be granted a permanent residency on the basis of temporary or permanent employment after 5 years.

Asylum-Seeker

An asylum-seeker is any person who is seeking recognition as a refugee in the republic or claims asylum under the 1951 United Nations Convention on the status of refugee. The Convention states that they must be given access to fair and efficient asylum, safety and live in dignity even while their claims are being processed.

2.2.4 Xenophobia in Global Stance

Xenophobia is a “Global phenomenon that varies in intensity and manifestations in different contexts” (Muvusa, 2015:2). For example, immigration attacks such as killings and physical abuse that are attributed to xenophobia have been documented in other jurisdictions including developed countries (Muchiri, 2016:76), although it is revealed that South African researchers have focused their studies on incidents of xenophobia that have transpired within South African borders (Vaiji, 2003). Muvusa (2015:2) views xenophobia as the “symptom of globalizing world as a result of transnational movement of people from one country to another driven by imperatives of survival”. Therefore, an influx of foreigners in host countries has precipitated xenophobic sentiments (Sorensen, 2012).

Mayfield (2010) argues that continents such as Australia, North America and Europe have had a long history of xenophobic sentiments against immigrants. In Italy for example, xenophobic tensions were manifested towards Russians and Hungarians who were non-citizens coming from the neighbouring countries. Muchiri (2016:190) indicates that Australia has experienced an influx of migrants from China, Africa, the Middle-East and neighbouring Asian countries such as Indonesia. United Nations High

Commissioner for Refugees (2014) revealed that these migrants travel to Australia by boat as such, they were called boat people. It was estimated that a total of 34053 refugees and 13600 asylum seekers were registered in 2014 (UNHCR, 2014).

Poynting and Mason (2007) also revealed that between 1999 and 2002 several xenophobic attacks were documented in Australia. The majority of these xenophobic attacks targeted Lebanese youth and Ethnic Arabs (Poynting and Mason 2007). Fetzer (2000) stated that Mexicans, Italians and some Asians were generally discriminated against and were targets of violent attacks in Australia.

According to Fetzer (2000), CNN/IBN in 2009 reported nine separate incidents of xenophobic attacks against students of Indian origin in cities of Sydney and Melbourne where students suffer from physical abuse, robberies, killings, discrimination and exploitation in housing and jobs. The attacks were racially motivated in nature. Reports also revealed that a 21-year old Indian was attacked by a group of Native Australian men in Melbourne College in May 2009. Kuhn (2002) argues that xenophobia and racism undermine the efforts of the government in promotion of social cohesion and the nation's goal and commitment in creating diversity.

Xenophobia in Africa is also a "familiar phenomenon" (Bell, 2008). According to Muchiri (2016:178), incidents of xenophobia and its manifestations through violent attacks, discrimination and harassment of foreign nationals have been reported in the African Nations such as Egypt and Kenya. Refugees, Asylum-seekers and other migrants from Sub-Saharan African Countries have been main targets of xenophobic attacks and racial violence in Egypt. Human Rights Organisation based in Egypt has

persistently reported xenophobic attacks including physical and verbal abuse against foreign nationals (Human Rights Watch, 2008).

Yeargain (2011) maintains that refugees and other migrants from non-Arab countries experience xenophobia on daily basis. Human Rights First (2011) also discovered that African migrants including Eritreans, Ethiopians, Somalis and other blacks from Sub-Saharan Africa are exposed to xenophobia, racial discrimination and harassment because they are easily distinguishable by Egyptians due to their racial features (Human Rights First, 2011). Sub-Saharan refugees are treated with different informal rules than those of Arab origin. Sub-Saharan refugees are excluded from schools, health care services, work opportunities, business opportunities and hampered in legal cases (Muchiri, 2016:178). However, in Kenya, Somali migrants and Ethnic born in Northern- Eastern Region of Kenya are exposed to xenophobic discrimination and human rights abuses ascribed to imputed links to terrorism (Human Right First, 2011). Xenophobia against ethnic Somalis has become a growing phenomenon as the country struggles with threats posed by the terror group based in Somalia called Al-Shabaab.

Kenyan Police and the general public have perceptions that Somali refugees and even Kenyan nationals of Somali ethnicity are involved in terrorist attacks (Muchiri, 2016). Massive clashes between Kenyan nationals and ethnic Somalis were reported in the suburb of Eastleigh after a terrorist grenade attack in Nairobi (Human Right First, 2011). "In September 2013 armed terrorists from the Al-Shabaab group attacked a Westgate shopping mall in Nairobi killing 67 people" (Muchiri, 2016:184).

2.2.5 Legal Framework Adopted by Australia, Kenya and Egypt

The CNN/IBN in 2009 discovered, after a long battle of fighting xenophobia, that the Australian government implemented social and institutional policies and racism campaigns across the country to fight against xenophobia and racism (Fetzer, 2000). Kuhn (2002) revealed that efforts by the Australian government had resulted in change of perceptions among local residents regarding foreign nationals. The local population have realized the importance of unity thereby acknowledged multiculturalism, which advocates for equality and social justice for all. Muchiri (2016:195) states that “Australia has also used its federal education system to fight and combat xenophobia and foster social cohesion”. The Australian government in 1999 reformed the school curriculum and introduced a Nation-wide programme known as “A New Agenda for Multicultural Australia” (African Human Rights Commission (AHRC), 2012).

According to Kuhn (2002), the Australian government has also established a National Anti-Racial Secretarial and Race Discrimination Commission. The institutions are established to promote social cohesion in Australian borders. They are mandated to eliminate all forms of racism, racial discrimination and xenophobic-related intolerance. According to AHRC (2012), the Race Discrimination Commission is also tasked to deal with complaints against citizens who breach the law and to provide civil solution. Television campaigns in Australia are conducted for countries that are sources of illegal immigrants especially those that come from Middle East and neighbouring central Asian countries. This strategy is implemented specifically to discourage their nationals from visiting Australia. According to AHRC (2012), such institutions were mandated to fight against racism and promote social cohesion and reduce xenophobia in the country.

Kenya and Egypt have implemented a number of laws, which prevent hate speech, hate crimes and prescribed judicial sanctions for those who found to disobey these laws (Kuhn, 2002). Egypt formulated its Constitution in 2014 to deal with xenophobic incidents. The Constitution outlines a range of social, economic, civil and political rights including the right to petition and access courts (Human Rights First, 2011). Egypt has acceded to International Human Rights Conventions, which protect foreign nationals living in the country from xenophobic attacks, abuse and violation of human rights. Kenya formulated its Constitution, which guarantees freedom of expression (Kenyan Constitution, 2010).

The Kenyan Constitution limits freedom of expression as they are found to constitute hate speech, incitement of violence, ethnic incitement, vilification of others and general incitement to cause harm to another individual or group (Kenyan Constitution, 2010). The Kenyan Penal Code was also implemented to prevent physical injury to any person or to lead to damage or destruction of property (Kenyan Penal Code). Muchiri (2016:186) argues that “the actions are common manifestations of xenophobia”.

2.2.6 The Role of International Bodies in Fighting Xenophobia

States have primary obligation and responsibility to protect individuals from any type of violence and the duty to implement their international obligations to combat discrimination (Human Rights First, 2011). Furthermore, States have taken on obligations under International Human Rights Law and made other commitments to protect individuals from discrimination, especially in its most violent forms (Human Rights First, 2011). The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) requires all concerned parties such as States, United Nations, International and

regional organizations as well as Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) to combat xenophobia and intolerance including public statements (United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, 2008).

The United Nations Refugees Agency (UNRA) engages in efforts to combat xenophobia and racism from the perspective of its mandate to provide international protection to refugees. Furthermore, the UNRA will assist the government in finding durable solutions as well as to prevent and reduce stateless population (UNHCR, 2010). UNHCR has an important role to play in working with governments, civil society, and victims in attempt to document xenophobic violence affecting population “of concern” to UNHCR. UNHCR assist these victims of xenophobia by reporting violence to the authorities, and advocate accountability through criminal justice systems. Several UNHCR offices have developed projects and initiatives aimed at addressing xenophobia and racism. However, there is still a greater need for consistency to ensure that the UNHCR offices engage proactively to address the protection challenges when refugees are affected by xenophobia (UNHCR, 2010). UNHCR has taken imperative steps at various levels of the agency towards addressing protection of refugees, asylum seekers and internally displaced persons who are affected by xenophobia, racism, intolerance and violence.

The UNHCR’s division of International Protection Services (DIPS) in December 2009 issued a Guidance Note on “Combating Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance through a Strategic Approach”. The Guidance Note introduces the UNHCR offices around the world as well as governmental authorities and civil society key elements of strategic approach to tackle racism, xenophobia and

hate speech (UN High Commissioner for Refugees, 2010). The Note also provides monitoring and tracking incidents, support to victims and engage in diverse networks and actors such as law enforcement, government institutions and officials. Furthermore, the Note cites Human Rights First's Ten Point Plan for Combating Hate Crime. The Ten point Plan outlines steps that should be taken to address biased-motivated violence (UN High Commissioner for Refugees, 2010).

Furthermore, the UNHCR's Urban Refugee Policy was released in September 2009. It acknowledges that urban refugees face discrimination and xenophobia. Therefore, the Urban Policy commits the UNHCR to address such challenges faced by urban refugees (UNHCR, 2009). The Policy also acknowledges the importance of UNHCR's partnership with locals, including police and judiciary, the private sector, NGO's legal network and other parts of civil society in protecting refugees and migrants in urban settings (U.N High Commissioner for Refugees, 2009).

Moreover, the UNHCR has developed and supported several projects aimed at countering xenophobia and other related protection problems in various countries such as Ukraine, South Africa, Costa Rica and Italy. UN High Commissioner for Refugees, Press Release (2007), noted that some of the projects focused on awareness raising. For example, the diversity initiative in Ukraine is aimed at improving documentation, working with government officials, police, and bringing together communities affected by violence. The projects also raise awareness among the public (UN High Commissioner for Refugees, Press Release, 2007). The UNHCR also developed a specific project aimed at developing an "early warning" system in South Africa.

South Africa on 8 September 2001 hosted a World Conference against racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance. The World Conference was adopted by member States of the United Nations. The Durban Declaration and Programme of Action (DDPA) provide a comprehensive framework on which South African government could rely on to fight xenophobia in the country (Durban Declaration and Programme of Action, 2001). Therefore, the program of action provides human rights instruments such as CERD, which forbids racial discrimination and xenophobia to any migrant living in South Africa irrespective of their status (DDPA, 2001).

The Durban Declaration and Programme of Action reaffirm that cultural diversity should be a cherished asset for the advancement and welfare of humanity within the country (DDPA, 2001). The Programme of action also noted that racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance constitute to gross violation of human rights. Furthermore, the DDPA disapproves any culture of racial superiority along with theories which attempt to undermine the existence of human races. The Durban Declaration and Programme of Action recognizes that National and International actions are required to combat racism, discrimination and xenophobia and related intolerance in order to ensure full enjoyment of human rights: economic, social, cultural, civil and political rights.

The DDPA also recognizes the importance of enhancement of International Cooperation for the promotion and protection of human rights. Furthermore, the achievement of the objective to act against racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance (Durban Declaration and Programme of Action, 2001). The

DDPA urges the States to carry out thorough investigations and combat impunity in cases of racist or xenophobic violence. The DDPA also reaffirmed the responsibility of the government to respond to racist and xenophobic crimes and called on the government to collect reliable information on these forms and other hate crimes in the country (Durban Declaration and Programme of Action, 2001). However, the State has full obligation in terms of the law to protect foreign nationals in its borders.

It is evidential that the country has failed to protect foreign nationals from attacks or provide remedy to victims of attacks. Therefore, South Africa constitutes to a breach of its obligation. Landu (2004) observes that foreigners in South Africa regardless of their immigration status pose a high risk of xenophobic attacks. Muchiri (2016:104) contends that “discriminatory attitudes, harassment, violence against foreign nationals, physical attacks, destruction of property and looting are some of the manifestations of xenophobia and violates and undermine human rights of foreign nationals”. Furthermore, refugees and asylum-seekers right to enjoy safe asylum is infringed (Muchiri, 2016:104).

South African Development Community (SADC) efforts in addressing Xenophobia

The South African Development Community (SADC) is a regional Economic Community comprising of 16 member States, namely Angola, Botswana, Comoro, Democratic republic of Congo, Eswatini, Lesotho, Madagascar, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, Seychelles, Tanzania, Zambia, Zimbabwe and South Africa.

The objectives of the SADC are to achieve economic development, peace and security, growth, alleviation of poverty, enhance the standard and quality of life of the people of Southern Africa, and support the socially disadvantaged through Regional Integration (SADC Document).

The continuous occurrence of xenophobia has serious implications on the regional peace and thus, it cannot be tackled by South Africa alone (Tirivangasi & Rankoana, 2016:6). SADC have played a prominent role in fighting and preventing xenophobia

in the SADC. According to Van Nieuwkerk, (2012), the SADC established its Organ on Politics, Defence and Security Cooperation (OPDSC) to help fighting xenophobic attacks in South Africa. The Mandate OPDSC was to implement Strategies Indicative Plan for the (SIPO) to shape the institutional framework for day to day activities of the organ and to align SADC peace and security with that of the African Union (AU). The SIPO ensured trust and confidence among members states through information sharing in particular cooperation in various defence areas. The SIPO further allows access to information where South Africa can enquire strategies to combat and prevent xenophobia from other countries.

SADC also established a Regional Early Warnings Centre, the centre has team of researchers from the SADC members states to detect early warning signs of xenophobia in the region (Tirivangasi and Rankoana, 2016:6) . The SIPO contains policing and public security which focuses on the prevention of cross border crime and enhancing of law and order. The SADC has the mandate through policing sector to find sustainable solutions on any incident xenophobia.

Zambia Strategy in Tackling Xenophobia

Zambia as one of the countries that has experienced xenophobia, where non-nationals attacked, discriminated, physically abused and some killed. In order to fight xenophobic sentiments against no-nationals, Zambia introduced a subject called civics in the education system from grade 4 learners which was compulsory in all public and private schools. The subject taught the children about the history of the region. The children learnt to value and respect people who come from other countries in particular the neighbouring countries. This strategy as pointed out by Tirivangasi and Rankoana (2016:8), can be “taken by the SADC as a region on account that the region shares a

rich history, not worth to be destroyed detector or lack of knowledge”. In conclusion Tirivangasi and Rankoana (2016:8), attributes that “education is the best weapon to remove psychological fear or long stereotyping which may have existed over the generation”. This was one of the most important interventions to address xenophobic tendencies in Zambia.

2.2.7 Migration and Xenophobia in South Africa

South Africa has a long history of transnational movement of people from around the World. Vorster (2010) attributes migration as being triggered by conflicts, economic deprivation, unemployment, droughts, climate change and persecutions in neighboring countries. After the country attained its independence in 1960, the apartheid government implemented immigration policy which encouraged white immigrants and discouraging black migrants in South Africa (Morris, 1998). Black immigrants were seen as political threat by the apartheid government as the country gained its political independence as such border posts between South Africa, Botswana and Lesotho were implemented. Copper (1989) discovered that about 900 000 white immigrant families moved to South Africa between 1960 and 1987, and were offered permanent residence and employment. White immigrants were encouraged to provide skilled labour and to boost the number of white people in the country. Immigrants were not treated the same as blacks were exploited as cheap labour working in mines and in the agricultural sector (Crush, 2000).

Vale (2002) uncovered that black migrant workers were housed at hostels to prevent them from filtering in black townships and remaining in the country. After the inception of democracy in 1994, South Africa implemented new immigration legislation, which

encouraged free movement of people regardless of their race. Mavusa (2015:27) on her doctoral thesis attributes that “The ban of racist immigration policies meant that Africans from around the world could migrate to South Africa”.

Chapter 2 of Bill of Rights and Refugee Act (Act no. 130 Of 1998) provides protection, right to work; study, health care services and basic education and thus South Africa become attractive destination for African migrants. Conflict afflicted countries have led people to seek refuge and settle in South Africa. Currently South Africa receives influx of migrants from Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Nigeria, Somali, Zimbabwe, Malawi and Mozambique (McKnight, 2008). The transmissions of cultures in many communities are a result of migration (Castles and Milles, 2009). In addition, the International Organisation for Migration (2001) discovered that growing number of ethnic and racial diversity in many societies is the inevitable consequence of migration. Thus, the growing number of states become more multi-ethnic and confronted with challenge of accommodating people of different culture. Terrif (1999) argues that migration has a negative impact on infrastructure and social services like housing, education, transportation and welfare providing-institutions.

“The rising number of black African migrants has been accompanied by the rise of xenophobia” (Guy, 2004:68). This is evident as South Africa experienced a wave of violent attacks in 2008 which started in Alexandra and spread to other townships and informal settlements in Gauteng, Mpumalanga, Kwazulu Natal and Western Cape (Bekker, 2010:125). Foreign shop owners were potential targets for attacks, fomented by local businessmen who were unhappy of competition with foreign nationals (Hayem, 2013).

The African Centre for Migration Studies at Witwatersrand on 10 June 2011 condemned the wide escalation of xenophobia against foreign national traders in townships and informal settlements. Furthermore, a study conducted by the Forced Migration Studies Programme (FMSP) at the University Witwatersrand interrogates xenophobic manifestations towards foreign nationals by South Africans as crisis that is unlikely to change in the near future (Masago et al., 2015). Migration will continue for the near future and thus result in the rise of xenophobic attacks in South Africa (Vorster, 2010). International migration in South Africa, in particular the black African migrant has been met with intense violence and discrimination. Peberdy (2009) observed that foreign nationals, irrespective of their legal status, are generally viewed as 'illegal aliens' and perceived as threat.



2.2.8 Legal Rights of Foreign Nationals

South Africa is party to international treaties, which means it has an obligation to protect migrants within its borders. The International Organization for Migration (IOM) (2009) indicated that foreign nationals should enjoy their fundamental human rights enshrined in Customary International Law and relevant National laws in the country including the constitution of the Republic. After the inception of democracy, South Africa acceded to a number of International treaties and human rights instruments like the 1951 Convention relating to Refugee Status, 1967 Convention and Protocol for Status of Refugees as well as 1969 Organization of African Union (OAU).

The South African Constitution

The preamble of the South African Constitution declares, "South Africa belongs to all who lives in it". The Constitution broadly outlines the right of immigrants shielding from unconstitutional conduct and the human rights violation (Hicks, 1999). The government of South Africa created a progress instrument, which enriches liberal protection to all citizens living in the country including non-citizens. After the inception of democracy the elected government felt it was obligatory for the country to provide broad political rights to redress the imbalance of the past for example the apartheid-like violations. The Bill of rights recognizes the fundamental rights of every person by "enshrining the rights of all people in the country and affirming the democratic values of human dignity, equality and freedom" (South African Constitution, 1996).

The right to human dignity, wherein "everyone has inherent dignity and the right to have their dignity protected and respected" (South African Constitution, 1996). It is outlined in the Bill of Rights; the constitution commits to protect civil, political cultural and socio-economic right for "everyone" residing in the country.

The Bill of Rights guarantees all persons including refugees/asylum-seekers, a right to a safe environment, right to equality before the law, right to life, right to property, access to adequate housing, sufficient food, water, basic health care and universal access to basic education. The South African Bill of Rights proved procedural protection to all persons. Section 12 provides "freedom and security persons "secures the right to "not be deprived of freedom arbitrarily or without a just cause," not be detained without a trial," to "not be treated or punished in a cruel, inhumane, or degrading way," and to be "free from all forms of violence both from public and private sources (South African Constitution, 1996).

The Refugee Act

The Preamble of the Refugee Act of South Africa thus proclaims:

"Whereas the Republic of South Africa has acceded the 1951 convention relating to the status of refugee, the 1967 protocol relating to the status of refugee and the 1969 Organization of African unity Convention governing specific aspects of refugee problems as well as other human right instrument, has in so doing assumed certain obligations to receive and treat in its

territory refugees in accordance and principles stipulated in international Law” (The Refugee Act, 1998).

A section 22 of the Refugee Act of South Africa permits asylum-seekers and refugees a right to work and study in the country. Section 24 of the Act guarantees refugee and asylum-seekers to the same socio-economic right as citizens of the country without distinction of any kind. Section 24 of the Act further outlines institutions of any proceedings in respect of unlawful entry in South Africa.

However, Section 22 and 24 of the Refugee Act grants refugees and asylum-seekers a right to work (South African Constitution, 1996), the Private Security Industry Regulation Act (PSIRA) limits employment in the country’s private industries (Private Security Industry Regulation, 2001). Section 23(1) (a) of Private Security Industry Regulation limits refugees from choosing employment in the security industry, yet the act does not prevent refugees from seeking employment in other industries.

The Immigration Act

The Immigration Act regulates matters relating to immigrants entering the country (Act 13 of 2000). The act outlaws immigrants entering or remaining in the country without permit or immigration papers (Act 13 of 2000 s 49), and also provides for arrest and deportation of illegal foreigners (Act 13 of 2000 s 34).

The preamble of the Immigration Act of South Africa thus proclaims:

The act provides full security consideration and the State retains control on the immigration of foreigners. The economy of South Africa may have access at all times the full measure of needed contributions by foreigners. The contribution of foreigners in South African labour market does not adversely impact on existing labour standards, the rights and expectations of South African workers. Immigration control is performed within the highest applicable standard to protect human rights and prevent xenophobia both within Government and civil society (Immigration Act, 1998)

The immigration act prevents and deters xenophobia within the Department, any sphere of government or organ of the state and at community level.

The Act promotes economic growth by ensuring that business in the Republic may employ foreigners who are in need. Immigration Act also provides education and organs of the civil society about the rights of foreigners, illegal foreigners and refugees and also conducts other activities to prevent xenophobia. The civil societies organize and participate in community or other community-based organizations to deter xenophobia and involve the citizenry in the application. Section 15 (1) of Immigration Act grants a business permit to any foreigner who intends to establish, or invest in a business in the Republic. Section 17 (1) provides medical treatment to any foreigner who intends to receive such treatment in the Republic for longer than three months (Government Gazette, 2002).

2.2.9 Drivers of Xenophobia in South Africa

Xenophobia is not a new phenomenon in South Africa. South African Migration Project (SAMP) discovered that perceptions against immigrants are at the heart of xenophobic sentiments in the country (Crush and Pendleton, 2004). Landu (2008) argues that foreign nationals in South Africa are perceived “as group to be feared, disdained, pitied and often exploited”. However, Maharaj (2002) contends that “foreign nationals in South Africa have a significant economic impact” supported by studies conducted by the University of Witwatersrand where it highlighted positive contribution foreign nationals bring in South Africa. In addition, the majority of foreign owned businesses employ South Africans (Adjai & Lazaridis, 2013:191). These migrants open up businesses, create employment opportunities for South Africans, pay tax through their entrepreneurship and thus contribute to the economy. The Centre for Development and Enterprise for Immigrant Business revealed that the majority of immigrants are self-employed in informal sector and that 12% of them employ about four South Africans in their informal sector (Landu, 2004). Although immigrants are perceived as stealing jobs in South Africa, they seem to be creating employment. Regardless of their positive contribution to the country’s economy, immigrants continue to suffer from brutality and violent attacks. This is evidential as 2008 experienced the worst violent

attacks which left 62 people dead, hundreds injured, tens of thousands displaced and a lot of property destroyed (Worby et al., 2008).

The Human Science Research Council (HSRC, 2004) revealed that xenophobia in South Africa is racialized in nature where it is evidenced by black foreigners facing abuse and discrimination. Neocosmos (2006:12) concurs with the statement, arguing, “Xenophobia experiences in South Africa are one based on race”. A Malawian scholar, Paul Zeleza (2008), states that “this racial devaluation of black lives is what we see in South Africa today in xenophobic violence against African migrants perpetrated by the fellow Africans whose lives were devaluated during the horrific days of Apartheid”. A SAMP Survey indicated that not only Africans are excluded but also SADC citizens are not regarded any more favourable than Africans in the continent are. The wave of intolerance from South Africans against its fellow Africans tarnishes its image internationally (Nelson and Salawu, 2017).

The National public opinion survey conducted by SAMP revealed high levels of intolerance towards migrants in late 1990 regardless of their immigration status in the country. Scholars like Fine and Bird (2006) consider xenophobia as regular feature of media coverage since 1994. About 250 incidences of xenophobic violence has been reported between December 1994 to December 2012 (Consortium for Refugees and Migrants in South Africa, (CORMSA), 2011). CORMSA (2011) uncover that xenophobia in South Africa is not ending, resulting from unreported violent xenophobic incidences, and thus create a wrong impression that xenophobia is no longer a problem. Moeletsi Mbeki contends that “treating the symptoms of xenophobia will never treat the underlying malaise” (Misago et al., 2015).

Li (2008:48) argues that “in order to treat the symptoms of xenophobia, it is imperative to correctly find its causes”. Xenophobia in South Africa originates from perceptions since there is no evidence to support such actions. Sonyombo (2008:96) argues that “the influx of foreign nationals in South Africa places a huge strain on social services”. However, Agence France-Presse (AFP) (2012) states that it is due to government’s inability to address the issue of unemployment and inequality in the country. DA leader Mmusi Maimane notes, “the root cause of xenophobia is our inability to bring about economic growth and decrease the inequality that plagues our nation” (Kinge, 2016:31).

The former Minister of Home Affairs Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi described the influx of foreigners as “illegal immigrants” and his “biggest headache” claiming that foreigners would hamper the economic growth of the country (BBC News, 2003). Similar views by Azam and Gubert (2006) supported that migration influences the welfare of the household in various ways. “The main channels for negative economic outcome for the destination countries increased job competition that allegedly bring down wage for the locals” (Mavusa, 2015:171).

Papadimitriou et al. (2009) cited that the public tends to blame economic down turn on foreign nationals. A study conducted by the Centre for Research and Analysis of Migration cited fear of job losses, wage competition and costs of social services as the driving forces behind xenophobic sentiments towards immigrants in South Africa (Landu, 2004). However a research conducted by Valji and Fuller (2008:55), discovered that “targeting of African foreigners is a product of proximity as they reside

in areas where both poverty and lack of government response to economic situation is at its highest among South Africans”.

The Human Science Research Council (2008) discovered that frustrations over insufficient service delivery and consultation in general fuel the tensions between immigrant and local community. Access to housing, business opportunities and formal employment are perceived to be under threat to the local community. According to Kinge (2016:45 /), the former Minister of Police Nathi Ntleko condemns such justifications; “poverty and unemployment are not justifications for attacking foreign nationals”. It is evident that xenophobic tensions originate from perceptions because there is no proof to support such allegations.

The criminalisation of immigrants makes them vulnerable targets for violent attacks. SAMP survey revealed that 48% of South Africans blame foreign nationals for high rate of crime in the country (Crush and Williams, 2003). Human Rights Watch (1998) also discovered that illegal immigrants are responsible for high rate of crime in South Africa as such immigrants find themselves being easy targets of violent attacks by South Africans.

In December 2016, the Mayor of Johannesburg Herman Mashaba on social media opined that foreigners living in Johannesburg were illegal criminals responsible for squalor and chaos in the City. Furthermore, there are perceptions that Nigerian migrants are associated with controlling the drug trade, Congolese associated with passport racketeering and diamond smuggling, Mozambicans associated with theft while Zambians are associated with indulging in prostitution (Nyamnjoh, 2006:232).

However, a study conducted by Morris (1998) reflected that Nigerian migrants felt that crime and violence in South Africa was far more widespread than in their country of origin.

2.2.10 Efforts Made by South Africa in combating Xenophobia

In 2008, South Africa was in the international spotlight following the wave of xenophobic violence, the worst violence witnessed in the country since the demise of apartheid. This has led to international condemnation, which has tarnished the image of the country (Nelson and Salawu, 2017). The widespread violent attacks witnessed in 2008 have prompted South African government and civil society organisation to take steps in attempt to combat the phenomenon. The various groups were aimed at addressing xenophobic violence and racial discrimination against African migrants in South Africa. The initiatives included investigation of the causes of xenophobia, investigation of violent attacks and provision of civil support like trauma counselling and medical services to victims. Educational awareness campaigns were provided in communities that were affected by xenophobia. The National policies to fight against discrimination and xenophobic intolerance were also implemented as mandated by the DDPA in 2001.

The National Assembly (Parliament)

A delegation from the Parliament was then deployed to affected areas to express solidarity, give support to local leadership and organisations, after the series of violent attacks which broke out in Alexandra and Gauteng on Sunday, 11 May 2008. The visit was also aimed at investigating the causes of the xenophobic attacks and expresses the call to calm and end the violence. The National Assembly ensured provision of

medical services and trauma counselling for the victims of violence both foreign nationals and South African citizens (Report of Task Team of Members of Parliament Probing Violent Attacks on Foreign Nationals, 2008).

The National Assembly also ensured the revival of campaigns by the South African Human Rights Commission “Rolling Back Xenophobia” and allocation of necessary resources for this purpose. Furthermore, the campaign was aimed at educating and creating awareness on historical, cultural and economic linkages to the continent of Africa. The Report of Task Team of Members of Parliament Probing Violent Attacks on Foreign Nationals (2008) set out to examine and exercise the oversight policies, domestic law, international conventions that deal with migration, immigration, refugees and asylum seekers. The National Assembly provides support to the Presidential panel probing the attacks and intelligent initiatives aimed at investigating the root causes of the violence and monitor progress made. The resolution also recommends the Parliament to make follow-ups on the ratification of the International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of all Migrant Workers and their Families (The Report of Task Team of Members of Parliament Probing Violent Attacks on Foreign Nationals, 2008).

The Government (National Action Plan)

South Africa has adopted a National Action Plan (NAP), which was mandated by the Durban Declaration and Programme of Action in 2001. The Durban Declaration and Programme of Action urges the “state to establish and implement a national policies and action plans to fight against racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance” (Durban Declaration and Programme of Action, 2001).

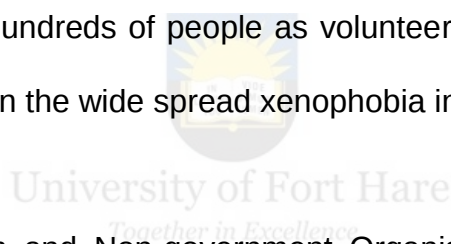
The National Action Plan (NAP) provides the basis for the development of public policy against racial discrimination. Assist the State in giving effect to the International human rights obligations and elimination of racism, racial discrimination and xenophobia The Report of Task Team of Members of Parliament Probing Violent Attacks on Foreign Nationals, 2008). The NAP also provides platforms for various stakeholders to sit and discuss challenges of combating racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance. The NAP provides technical guiding framework for the State's policies, programmes and strategies aimed at combating racial discrimination and xenophobia in the country (The Report of Task Team of Members of Parliament Probing Violent Attacks on Foreign Nationals, 2008). It is worth noting some of the recommendations by DDAP in 2001 have been implemented, for example, the Local Government and Social Development implemented social-cohesion programmes and the Counter Xenophobic Unit came to effect in 2004. The implementation of specialised unit in Police force, Inter-Ministerial Committee responsible for investigation of causes of xenophobia came to effect in 2008.

The National Assembly Resolution (NAP) (2008) also provides monitoring on-ongoing incidents of racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance through establishing rapid response and reporting directly to the government. Furthermore, the NAP is intended to assist South Africa to meet its International Treaty and regional obligations, that is, the International Convention on Elimination of all forms of Racial Discrimination (ICERD) and Third UN World Conference against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance (National Assembly Resolution, 2008). The NAP reaffirms transparent, adequate commitment of resource,

participatory planning and realistic prioritization and action-oriented planning (The Report of Task Team of Members of Parliament Probing Violent Attacks on Foreign Nationals, 2008).

The Civil Society Organisation and Non-Government Organisation

Civil Society Organisation and Non-Government Organisation in South Africa played a significant role in fighting against xenophobic attacks. According to Jara and Perberdy (2010:4), "Civil Society Organisation was found to be closer to the needs of the people and having to respond in emergency". Jara and Perberdy (2010:4) further revealed that in "the early day of the crisis, civil society organizations essentially replaced the absent, incapable and dysfunctional government". Civil Society Organisations mobilised hundreds of people as volunteers to put more pressure on government to intervene on the wide spread xenophobia in the country.



Civil Society Organisation and Non-government Organisation such as the Social Movement, Community-Based Organisation, Civics, schools, School governing body, academics, Refugee and Migrant Organisation Jewish and Muslim Faith Based, Community Policing Forum, Professional Association, and trade unions have worked together for the success of fighting xenophobia (Nyar, 2010). These diverse groups worked under several umbrellas, which served different purpose such as humanitarian aid to political activism (Nyar, 2010). Furthermore, these organisations also put pressure on Political Parties and Constitutional Institutions to intervene on xenophobic attacks. In displacement camps, the Non-Government Organisation continues to play a leading role in service provision, psychological support, legal assistance, education and advocacy (Jara and Perberdy, 2010:4).

The Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation (CSV)

The Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation (CSV) is mandated by the South African Human Rights Commission to coordinate the humanitarian response Civil Society Organisations (CSO) to displaced victims. CSV has played a significant role in conducting research on interventions on current crises such as migration, integration, xenophobic violence and trauma. Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation recommended the government to provide education and attitudinal training on xenophobia and rights of refugees to municipal officials and public. Palmary (2001) discovered that CSV reaffirms the government to provide information to refugee communities on the workings of the local authority, and role of councils in protecting refugee rights. CSV also reviews council systems and policies to ensure that they allow refugees to access the rights stipulated in the Refugee Act (Palmary, 2001).



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The South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC)

After the xenophobic attacks in 2008, the South Africa Human Rights Commission conducted investigations about the violent attacks and made recommendations to prevent the re-occurrence of the attacks (South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC), 2008). The SAHRC (2008) discovered that government and institutional coordination weaknesses played a vital role in hindering responses to the violence. Furthermore, the impunity enjoyed and exhibited by perpetrators of xenophobic violence was the result of the failure of the law enforcement officials and criminal justice system to investigate the violence and prosecute the perpetrators.

The SAHRC (2008) also acknowledged the progress made by the government and non-government Agencies to fight against xenophobia across the country. SAHRC provided recommendations to government departments including Department of Cooperative Governance, Education, Home Affairs, Justice and Constitutional Development, Social Development, Local Government, Human Settlement, the Provincial Government, independent Complaint, South African Police Service (SAPS), South African National Defence Force (SANDF) and the Treasury. The main objective of these recommendations was to strengthen the state institutions to work towards implementation of sustainable measures to curb social conflict. Furthermore, to inspire institutional and policy reforms and shape future national policy towards xenophobia (Muchiri, 2016:146).

The recommendations to the Department of Justice and Institutional Development (DoJID) were also initiated in order for the Department to develop Hate Crime legislations. The South African Police Service (SAPS) was recommended to train its officials on investigations and prosecutions of xenophobic-related crime. Improve its record keeping systems and standardised reporting and draw guidelines in order to ensure xenophobic attack and hate crime are reported (SAHRC, 2008).

The South African Police Service (Post 2008 Reforms)

The South African Police Service (SAPS) is a government institution, which is statute by the Constitution of the Republic and other relevant laws of South Africa to arrest, investigate and prosecute criminal offenders in South Africa (Muchiri, 2016:147). In South Africa, SAPS ultimately hold responsible to arrest and prosecute the perpetrators of violence targeted at foreign nationals such as looting, physical attacks,

targeted robberies and destruction of property (Kaaajal, 2013). A positive achievement by SAPS was the creation and filling of posts for National Co-ordinators for xenophobia at the level of Director. These posts were created and filled within the Visible Policing Department. A strategy to increased police visibility to areas prone to high rate of crime, xenophobic attacks and violence was implemented and has made a huge improvement in fighting xenophobia. Such initiatives have made a great success (Polzer and Takabvirwa, 2010). Progress has been made by Provinces with better access to roads, for example, Gauteng. However, other provinces such as Limpopo, Free State and Eastern Cape, which lack good road infrastructure, continue to be in need of police interventions to prevent xenophobic attacks (Kaaajal, 2013). Aftermath the 2008 xenophobic attack, South Africa recorded an improved cooperation between National Police, Civil Society and United Nations Agency such as the UNHRC in matters relating to xenophobia (Polzer and Takabvirwa, 2010).

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The Consortium for Refugee and Migrants in South Africa (CORMSA)

The Consortium for Refugee and Migrants in South Africa (CORMSA) is a national network of Organisations working with refugees and migrant. Its mandate is to protect and promote the rights of asylum seekers and refugees and encourage compliance in the policies and legislations pertaining to non-nationals in the Country. The CORMSA contribution in the country is largely seen in the programmes like advocacy, research, creation of public awareness and capacity building. CORMSA has made a significant role in combating xenophobia in the country by ensuring government condemns all forms of xenophobic attacks. Another highlight was ensuring of accountability in political leaders who exhibit xenophobic tensions against foreign nationals living in the country. In 2008, CORMSA in collaboration with the SAHRC have also marked a great

contribution in conducting investigation about the causes of 2008 xenophobic violence in the country (CORMSA, 2008). CORMSA have further advised that education and public information campaigns could play a vital role in addressing negative stereotypes of foreign nationals and promote understanding of the benefits of diversity (CORMSA, 2008).

The Centre for Human Rights at University of Pretoria

The Centre for Human Rights at University of Pretoria is an internationally recognised University-based institution combining academic excellence and effect activism, which advances human rights particularly in Africa. Its objective is to promote and advance human rights through education, research and advocacy (Centre for Human Rights (CHR), 2009).



The CHR has played a significant role in fighting xenophobia and human rights violations in the country (Centre for Human Rights, 2009). During 2009 the Centre conducted a study and released recommendations which the South Africans legal obligation to fight against xenophobia (Centre for Human Rights, 2009). The study concluded that South Africa is obliged by National and International Laws to protect and respect human rights of people living in the country (Centre for Human Rights, 2009). The Centre revealed that South Africa's lack of hate crime law has resulted in law enforcement officials to address xenophobic attacks through criminal justice system. The Centre for Human Right at the University of Pretoria has established a xenophobia project and website, which contains educational literature on the issues of xenophobia in South Africa.

The African Centre for Migration and Society at University of Witwatersrand

The African Centre for Migration and Society at University of Witwatersrand, formerly Forced Migration Studies Programme (FMSP), is a research-based organisation at University of Witwatersrand in Johannesburg. FMSP uncovers that violence was not triggered by poor economic conditions, competition for resources or poor service delivery (Misago et al., 2008). The study further concluded that violence was also not a trigger of organised crime as claimed by political leaders (Misago et al., 2008). Misago et al. (2008) discovered that the 2008 violence was rooted in the micro-politics of township and informal settlements. Furthermore Misago et al. (2008) concluded that organisers of violence use violence as a mean to appropriately localise state authority for personal and political gain.

2.2.11 Challenges of Addressing Xenophobia in South Africa Humanitarian Situation in South Africa

The Report of Task Team of Members of Parliament Probing Violent Attacks on Foreign Nationals (2008), revealed that the “living conditions at the Police Stations and halls visited were not the best though it was evident that effort was made to supply shelter, safety and food to victims of violence”. The education of displaced children and service delivery in affected areas were reported disrupted (Report of the Task Team of Members of Parliament Probing Violent Attacks on Foreign Nationals, 2008).

The Government, with the assistance of the United Nations High Commission for Refugees and other Aid Bodies, provide citizens and foreign nationals with food, shelter as well as other general services. However, this posed a huge challenge on South African citizens living in poverty who perceive it as a wasteful expenditure. The

Report of the Task Team of Members of Parliament Probing Violent Attacks on Foreign Nationals (2008) discovered that reintegration would continue to pose challenges if basic perceptions remained unchanged implying that the needs of foreign nationals are being met by government while the basic needs of South African citizens such as housing, water and sanitation, food and employment remain a challenge (Report of the Task Team of Members of Parliament Probing Violent Attacks on Foreign Nationals, 2008).

Access to accommodation

The CORMSA discovered that while South African refugee policy encourages integration, it is evident that the national housing policy is still an obstacle on documented asylum seekers and refugees in the country (Consortium for Refugee and migrant in South Africa, 2011). It is also noted that South Africa faces a huge challenge in accommodating displaced victims of xenophobic violence in informal settlements around the country. According to CORMSA, 2011 non-nationals renting privately were regularly discriminated against by landlords who were unable to distinguish whether they are documented or undocumented. CORMSA revealed that other South Africans take advantage of non-nationals vulnerability by charging them higher rates than South Africans (Consortium for Refugee and Migrant in South Africa, 2011).

Land Ownership

CORMSA revealed that proposed prohibition of foreign nationals on land ownership promote perception that non-nationals are not welcome in South Africa (Consortium

for Refugee and Migrant in South Africa, 2011). According to CORMSA, it is a major barrier, which attempts at integration and reinforces idea that non-nationals, regardless of the status, cannot be full members of South Africa (Consortium for Refugee and Migrant in South Africa, 2011).

Assertions by Media on Immigrants Living in South Africa

Assertions made by media that migrants are 'flooding' and 'swarming' in South Africa (Daso and McDonald, 2000) have fuelled police actions. However, the number of illegal migrants is unknown and such figures are highly contested. The South African Institute of International Affairs calculated that there were 5 million illegal immigrants in the country (Solomon, 2001). According to Statistics SA (2011), there were about 2.2 million foreigners who live in the country and Mail & Guardian (15 July 2015) estimated between 500 000 and 700 000 undocumented foreigners in South Africa.

According to Reitzes (1998), Buthelezi estimated between 2.5 – 5 million and bases his assumption on the number of repatriations. The South African Police Service placed the figures at 2-3.5 million (Adjai and Lazaridis, 2013:191). The Freedom Front estimated 8 million (Solomon, 2001). The Human Science Research Council claims there are about 12 million, implying that one in four South Africans is an illegal migrant. In 2008 estimates ranged between 3 – 15 million (CORMSA, 2008). Such figures have been used to fuel anti-migrant sentiments, for example, the former Home Affairs Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi used these figures to politicise the tightness of immigration control. However, Harris (2001) discovered that the African Chamber of Hawkers and Independent Businessmen used these figures in their campaign against foreigners.

Inflammatory Statements by Political Leaders

Crush et al., (2013) indicate that “Globally South Africa is still the most resistant countries to immigration”. According to Du Toit and Kotze (2011), South Africans generally do not feel comfortable in the presence of foreign nationals, as such; they are in support of restrictive regulations that enable them to settle in the country. South African Human Rights Representative Commission (SAHRC), Judith Cohen quoted “it is clear that there are levels of xenophobia among Public Officials” (Murray, 2003). An example of Senior Police Superintendent, Johan Steyn cited that “90 per cent of criminals who break homes, commit armed robbery and rape women are from Zimbabwe” (Hanekom and Webster, 2008).

In 1994, former Minister of Home Affairs, Mangosuthu Buthelezi declared in parliament *“If we are going to compete for scarce resources with millions of aliens pouring into South Africa, then we can kiss goodbye our Reconciliation and Development Programme”* (Hill and Lefko-Everette, 2008).

Mangosuthu Buthelezi in 1997 also claimed that “illegal aliens cost South African taxpayers billions of rands (Hill and Lefko-Everette, 2008). According to Mail and Guardian (2011), the former President Thabo Mbeki described the xenophobic violence against foreign national in 2008 as “naked criminal activity and crime opportunity”. Survey conducted by South African Migration Project in 2006 uncovers “pervasive xenophobic attitudes” by South Africa Police Service Official (Misago et al., 2008). Polzer and Takabvirwa (2010) discovered a denial of xenophobic acts by the department of South African Police Services (SAPS), which treat these violent attacks as normal criminal acts.

According to News 24 (2010), in July 2010 the erstwhile Minister of Police quoted in his public statement “there is no such systematic thing as xenophobia in South Africa”, instead he attributes such attacks as “criminality disguised as xenophobia”. According to reports in Mail and Guardian in 2011, after a Zimbabwean man was stoned to death by Polokwane residents, the Spokesperson of South African Police Service declared the attack as crime disguised under xenophobia.

Forced Migration Studies Programme (FMSP) at University of Witwatersrand argues that the widespread of xenophobic violence in South Africa cannot be equated with organized crime (Misago et al., 2008). Polzer and Takabvirwa (2010) posit that such treatments hamper the prevention of xenophobia in the country. Landu (2006) view such actions by the government as bound to fuel xenophobic sentiments in the country. Another example of an inflammatory statement was made by King Goodwill Zwelithini in 2015, in quote “Foreigners should pack their belongings and go back to their country”. After such statement the KwaZulu-Natal province witnessed violent attacks on foreign nationals. The attacks also spread to other provinces and Eastern Cape in particular. South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC, 2010) condemned a statement made by the Deputy Minister of Police, Bongani Mkongi, who was quoted on media saying; “how can the city be 80% of foreign nationals, South Africa have surrendered their own city to foreigners”. Such statements by Political leaders are perceived to fuel xenophobic violence in the country. The study falls short in the body of knowledge on xenophobia in Butterworth, because at the moment there are no studies available on xenophobia in relations to local government in Butterworth, therefore the literature used in the study is the data collected on xenophobic violence in Global stance and in South Africa. The incidents of this nature in some of townships

and rural areas in South Africa do not get media attention. They are localised as such they are not known by Researchers, hence there is limited and literature on local government's role in relations to xenophobia in South Africa.

2.3 Theoretical Framework

Xenophobia is a complicated and remarkable occurrence and thus, it cannot be explained by a single theory (Muvusa, 2015:50). Eisenhar (1991) defines theoretical framework as structure that guides a researcher, by relying on a formal theory, constructed by using established, coherent explanation of certain phenomena and relationship. According to Lovitts (2003), it is criteria for applying or developing theory to the dissertation that must be appropriate, logically, well interpreted and also align with the research question. It is upon the above insight that the research will be using two theories, which are the Scapegoating theory and Relative Deprivation theory to understand the dynamics of xenophobic tensions in Butterworth. The study finds these two theories interrelated in the case of Butterworth.

2.3.1 Scapegoat Theory

Scapegoat theory is defined as a tendency to blame a person or a group for something they did not do, which then result in prejudice towards the person or group that one is blaming (Cramer,1987). According to Duncan (2012), xenophobia occurs when indigenous populations turn their anger resulting from whatever hardships they are experiencing against foreigners, primarily because foreigners are constructed as being the cause of all the difficulties. Similar to scapegoat often occur when society is plagued by long-term socio-economic problems. In addition, Baumeister (1998) believes that individuals change the target of emotions or impulse because the original

target inappropriate or threaten self-perception. According to Statistics South Africa (2011), to date the unemployment rate in South Africa still remain on the rise with limited job opportunities. This has fuelled frustrations in many communities especially in townships where the majority of people are living in poverty, whilst foreign nationals prosper in their businesses (Steignberg, 2008). The theory is important to the study due to its applicability and relevance in the case study of Butterworth. Some of the local community members are to compete with foreign nationals in casual jobs due to cheap labor offered by foreign nationals. Thus, creates fear and frustration in locals who perceive foreign nationals dominate in the job market. The scapegoat theory applied in this study serves to explain the attitudes of locals as they trigger their frustrations towards foreign nationals living Butterworth. The limitation of the theory is that, it focuses on the local community members' frustrations that are to be blamed for the dilemma.



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The outbreak of violence in Butterworth in 2010 which reoccurred in 2012 saw foreign owned businesses attacked by the local community. Foreigners were beaten, property looted and damaged in townships. Many businesses were left with no choice but to close down, while some of the victims had moved to nearby town's competition for business opportunities. Thus, Harris (2001) concluded that foreign nationals represent a scapegoat, someone to blame for social ills and personal frustrations.

2.3.2 Relative Deprivation Theory

Relative deprivation theory is defined by De La Rey (1991) as subjective feeling of discontent based on belief that one is getting less than one feels entitled to. Relative deprivation theory is defined as an actual or perceived lack of required resources to

maintain the quality of life that the people you compare yourself to (Muvusa, 2015:52). According to Hegensen (2014:18), “Relative deprivation theory suggests that the psychological factor of deprivation is a key factor to social unrest”. Furthermore, “relative deprivation shed light to underlying cause of xenophobia in South Africa” (Hegensen, 2014:18). However, Pillay (2008) posits that it is not deprivation per se that evokes feelings of hostility towards foreigners, rather perceptions of being deprived in relation to others.

However, Tshitereke (1999:4) argues that the South African political transition to democracy has exposed the unequal distribution of resources and wealth within the country. The unequal distribution of resources has created a wider gap between the rich and the poor in the country (Hopstock & De Jager, 2011:120). According to Hegensen, 2014:18) “the economic conditions in South Africa are associated with racial categories, with poor groups often blacks who live in townships without domination in resources”. The relative deprivation theory suggests that South Africans feel frustrated over the lack of access to basic rights promised in the Constitution. It also locates that, where deprivation is widespread and extreme, the possibility of violence is much higher (Conteh-Morgan, 2014), and the “potential for collective violence varies strongly with the intensity and scope of relative deprivation among members of the society” (Fortman, 2005:7). The frustrations are widely evidenced by violent protest over service delivery problems in black communities (Coplan, 2009:76). The theory also locates that service delivery failures are then blamed on foreign nationals whom local community perceive as competitors (Bekker, 2011: 162). Thus, Du Toit and Kotze (2011:162) are of the view that in such “situation violence became

a desperate act in which local community seek to compensate for the lack of promised services”.

It is against this background that the study finds the relative deprivation theory useful and applicable to gain a deeper understanding on the emergence of xenophobic violence in black communities, in particular Butterworth. The limitation of relative deprivation theory is not different from that of scapegoat theory due to its interrelatedness. Both theories originate from a socio-economic context and focus on frustration of locals who are to be blamed for social ills.

The above theories relate to the case study of Butterworth, where the majority of community members felt deprived and frustrated over insufficient service delivery and the influx of foreign nationals. The presence of these foreign nationals is perceived as threat on the limited resource and thus results to xenophobic tension among locals. However, a Steinberg (2008) state that xenophobic violence against foreign nationals is a result of human frustration and aggression is a misplaced anger. The situation in Butterworth is extreme, the majority of citizens are living in poverty some depends on social grants. According to Mnquma Local Municipality Draft Review, (2015/2016), reflected highest levels of poverty, illiteracy and unemployment. It worth noting, approximately 16.7% of the population is employed while 70% of the Municipal population is considered economically inactive. In situations like this, where communities are struggling to survive, violence is likely to erupt.

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

Myers (1997) defines research methodology as the process or procedures that one follows when trying to find out much information on a particular topic when conducting a research. There are different procedures to follow in conducting a study and a researcher should plan these before tackling the actual research so that they are aware of the steps that they are going to take. This chapter served to shed light on the research methodology that the study used.

This study is qualitative in nature. A qualitative study as defined by Myers (1997) is a primary explanatory research, which is used to gain an understanding of underlying reasons, opinions and motivations. Qualitative method “treats actions as part of holistic social process and context, rather than something that can be studied in isolation” (Payne and Payne, 2004:176). Berg (2001:7) points out that “qualitative researchers then, are most interested in how humans arrange themselves and their settings and how inhabitants of these settings make sense of their surroundings through symbols, rituals, social structures, social roles and so forth”.

Myers (1997) indicates that qualitative research explores a phenomenon using a variety of data sources, which allows for understanding in different ways. The rationale for the use of qualitative research method and more specifically, the study design is discussed. This includes the collections of data, the reason behind the participant observation and interviews.

3.2 Methods of Data Collection

Due to the nature of the study, the ethnographic approach was considered to be the most feasible and appropriate in getting necessary responses regarding the research questions. Hamersley and Atkinson (1995) define ethnography as the study of social interactions, behaviours and perceptions that occur within groups, teams, organisations and communities. To capture the necessary information needed for the study, a combination of both primary and secondary sources of information were used.

Primary data collection was carried out through in-depth interviews and focus group discussions. Wolcott (1995) defines primary data as a form of enquiry that requires a researcher to be immersed personally in the on-going social activity of some individual or group carrying out a research. Furthermore, ethnographic studies typically gather data through focus group discussions and in-depth interviews.

In-depth Interviews: According to Hamersley and Atkinson (1995), in-depth interviewing is “repeated-face-to-face encounters between the researcher and informants directed towards understanding informant’s perspectives of the lives”. Thus, an in-depth interview enables the researcher to obtain detailed information about the personal feelings, perceptions and opinions of the perpetrators of violence. Interviews were conducted in a quiet place and the participants were made comfortable for the duration of the interviews. A tape recorder was used to capture the dialogue between the interviewer and the interviewee.

Focus Group Discussions: Focus group discussions were intended to provide shop owners, locals as well as victims the opportunity to share their views regarding the sources of xenophobic tensions.

Secondary data included published books, journal articles, newspaper articles, government legislation, online publications and official reports on the sources of tension between local community and immigrants.

3.3 Sampling

Polit and Hungler (1991:254) refer to sampling as “the process of selecting a portion of population to represent the entire population”. The process of selecting participants in the research was done through purposive sampling. Purposive sampling as defined by Tracy (2007:418) as the process of choosing samples who meet the criteria of the study. This type of sampling was chosen because it gives a researcher an opportunity to select people who serve as key informants, for example, people who have knowledge about my study. To find the sources of tension between foreign shop owners and local community members, the researcher interviewed 10 foreign shop owners who had been targets of previous xenophobic attacks in Butterworth. Another 10 local community members who had an in-depth knowledge of the xenophobic attacks were also interviewed.

One focus group discussion consisting of 10 people was conducted with foreign shop owners and local community members. The selection of participants, 5 foreign shop owners and 5 local community members was intended to balance feedback from the two communities. In addition, 4 interviews were conducted with relevant Mnguma Local Municipality officials who had been involved in addressing xenophobic tensions in Butterworth.

Target population: The research targeted participants from the following villages: Ibika township, Zitulele and Msobomvu township, because these villages were involved in xenophobic tensions in 2010 and 2012. Foreigners were beaten, property looted and damaged in townships. Many businesses were left with no choice but to close down, while some of the victims had moved to nearby town's competition for business opportunities.

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

Table 1: Interviews with Mnquma Local Municipality officials, foreign shop owners and local community members

Name of Interviewee	Area of expertise	Country of origin	Place interviewed	Date interviewed	Permission Y/N
Mrs	Official	South African	Municipality	2019-10-01	Y
Mr	Official	South African	Municipality	2019-10-01	Y
Mss	Official	South African	Municipality	2019-10-01	Y
Foreign shop owners					
Mr L	Business Man	Burundi	Ibika	2019-07-10	Y
Mr S	Business Man	Ethiopia	Msobomvu	2019-07-15	Y
Ms H	Business Woman	DRC	Zitulele	2019-07-23	Y
Mrs K	Business Woman	Zimbabwe	Ibika	2019-07-22	Y
Mr J	Business Man	Ethiopia	Zitulele	2019-07-23	Y
Ms A	Business Woman	Somalia	Msobomu	2019-07-14	Y
Ms B	Business Woman	Somalia	Msobomvu	2019-07-14	Y
Mr E	Business Man	Nigeria	Town	2019-07-20	Y
Mr P	Business Man	DRC	Town	2019-07-20	Y

Mr V	Business Man	Burundi	Ibika	2019-07-10	Y
Local community & shop owners					
Ms B	Unemployed	South African	Zitulele	2019-08-02	Y
Mr T	Unemployed	South African	Msobomvu	2019-08-06	Y
Mrs C	Business Woman	South African	Msobomvu	2019-08-06	Y
Mr Z	Unemployed	South African	Ibika	2019-08-11	Y
Mr S	Public sector	South African	Ibika	2019-08-11	Y
Mr H	Unemployed	South African	Zitulele	2019-08-02	Y
Mrs M	Business Woman	South African	Zitulele	2019-08-02	Y
Mrs A	Working at retail	South African	Msobomvu	2019-08-06	Y
Mr Y	Business Man	South African	Ibika	2019-08-11	Y
Mr A	Business Man	South African	Ibika	2019-08-11	Y

Table 2: Focus group discussion foreign shop owners and local shop owners

Interviewee number	Area of expertise	Country of origin	Place of Interview	Date of Interview	Permission Y/N
Mr A	Business Man	Ethiopia	Msobomvu	2019-06-26	Y
Mr Y	Business Man	Somalia	Msobomvu	2019-06-26	Y
Ms T	Business Woman	Somalia	Msobomvu	2019-06-26	Y
Mr Z	Business Man	Ethiopia	Msobomvu	2019-06-26	Y
Mr Q	Business Man	Somali	Msobomvu	2019-06-26	Y
Mr A	Business Man	South African	Msobomvu	2019-06-26	Y
Ms S	Business Woman	South African	Msobomvu	2019-06-26	Y
Mr B	Business Man	South African	Msobomvu	2019-06-26	Y

Ms R	Business Woman	South African	Msobomvu	2019-06-26	Y
Mr O	Business Man	South African	Msobomvu	2019-06-26	Y

3.4 Method of Data Analysis

Data analysis is one of the most important aspects of any study. Kothari (2004:122) refers to data analysis as “the computation of certain measures along with searching for patterns of relationship that exist among data-groups”. Kothari (2004: 122) is of the view that “analysis of data in a general way involves a number of close operations which are performed with a purpose of summarizing the collected data and organizing these in such a manner that they answer the research questions”. Cohen et al. (2007) argue that there is no single way of analyzing and presenting qualitative data. They state that the method of analyzing and presenting is dependent on the purpose of the study. Creswell (2009:183) states that the process of data analysis “involves preparing the data for analysis, conducting different analyses, moving deeper and deeper into understanding the data, representing the data and making an interpretation of the larger meaning”.

Primary data analysis: In the process of data analysis, the study followed five steps outlined by Creswell (2009).

Step 1: *Organize and prepare the data analysis (Creswell, 2009:185).* The researcher carefully transcribed the data collected through in-depth interview and focus group discussions, and summarized any additional notes made directly after the interviews and arranges them by data type.

Step 2: *Read through all the data* (Creswell, 2009:185). The researcher read all themes to get an idea of the emerging themes, and to get meaningful ideas from both focus group and in-depth interviews.

Step 3: *Begin detailed analysis with a coding process* (Creswell, 2009:186). At this stage, the researcher separated the data into different segments of text and categories and assigned basic terms to each segment for easy reference.

Step 4: *Using the coding process to generate a description of the setting or people as well as categories or themes for analysis* (Creswell, 2009:186). Creswell (2009:189) states that “this analysis is useful in designing detailed descriptions for case study, ethnographies or research projects”. Therefore, the researcher used descriptions to render information about people, as recommended by Creswell. The researcher then used a coding process to generate themes that were used in the general description of the study.

Step 5: *Advance how the description and themes will be presented in qualitative narrative* (Creswell, 2009:189). During this step, the researcher used major themes that emerged from coding process to provide a narrative passage. This was combined with perspectives gained through participants in order to find correlations.

Secondary Data analysis: Data was analysed using content analysis. Qualitative content analysis is an approach that focuses on interpreting and identifying themes or patterns that are evident in the study (Hsieh and Shannon, 2005). According to Mayring (2000), qualitative content analysis is “an approach of empirical, methodological controlled analysis of texts within the context of communication. It follows content analytic rules and systematic models, without rash quantification and “any qualitative data reduction and sense-making effort that takes a volume of

qualitative material and attempts to identify core consistencies and meanings” (Patton, 2002).

According to Miles and Huberman (1994), qualitative content analysis goes beyond merely counting words or extracting objective content from texts to examine meanings, themes and patterns that may be manifest or latent in a particular text. The process of qualitative content analysis often begins during the early stages of data collection. This early involvement in the analysis phase makes it easy to move back and forth between concept development and data collection, and may help direct subsequent data collection toward sources that are more useful for addressing the research questions (Miles and Huberman, 1994).



3.5 Ethical considerations

Somekh (2006) argues that because social science research focuses on people, it is important for the researcher to consider the importance of ethical issues. In light of the above, the study will be using both primary and secondary data. Primary data was guided by principles of informed consent, voluntary participation and confidentiality.

Informed consent from participants: consent to carry out the study was obtained from the Faculty Research Ethics Committee at University of Fort Hare. Participants were informed that their participation in the research was voluntary and the participants were allowed to withdraw from the study any time they felt discomfort.

To hold anonymous information obtained about the participants: the participants expressed written consent to have his/her anonymous information shared in the author's dissertation. Sensitive information such as names of participants is not

included in the dissertation. Participants were allowed to remain anonymous if they want. Participants were fully informed that the study is purely for academic purpose.

Citation: Information obtained from secondary data such as published books, journal articles, newspaper articles, government legislation, online publications and official reports are properly cited to avoid plagiarism.



CHAPTER FOUR: THE SOURCES OF TENSIONS BETWEEN LOCAL COMMUNITY MEMBERS AND FOREIGN SHOP OWNERS IN BUTTERWORTH

4.1 Introduction

This chapter seeks to investigate and present findings on sources of tensions between the local community and the foreign shop owners in Butterworth in 2010 and 2012. The findings from both in-depth interviews and focus group discussion are grouped into two categories, the responses from local community members and those from foreign shop owners in Butterworth.

4.2 Narratives from Local Community Members

The study identified eight themes from the areas that were affected by the xenophobic tensions in 2010 and 2012. An interview comprised of ten participants, five local community members and five shop owners.

4.2.1 An influx of Foreign Nationals in Butterworth

The perception over the increasing number of foreign nationals pouring in Butterworth was found to be one of the causes of xenophobic tensions between local community members and foreign nationals. One of the respondents, a male shop owner in Zitulele Township was of the view that “the tensions of xenophobia were as a result of huge numbers of foreign nationals pouring in Butterworth and it’s a burden on the local municipality resources”.

A study conducted by Morris (2008) on Congolose and Nigerian migrants in Johannesburg, discovered that a rise in the number of foreign population in South Africa that has been accompanied by substantial growth of xenophobia and numerous

attacks. Crush and Williams (2001) is of the view that the drastic increase in the number of foreign nationals in South Africa apparently puts a strain on scarce resources thereby deepening tensions. In relation to the above, another reason for xenophobic sentiments in South Africa may have been the unrealistic figures of migration. For example, the former Commissioner of SAPS stated that “there were 8 million illegal immigrants in South Africa” (Misago et al., 2015). The former Minister of Home Affairs Mangosuthu Buthelezi in 1998 stated that “there were between 2.5 and 5 million illegal foreigners which were costing “billions of Rand per year” (Misago et, al., 2015). Thus, foreign nationals are viewed as burden to social services and threats to business opportunities, thus breeds resentment and frustration in poverty-stricken black South Africans (Burns, 2008: 120).

4.2.2 Lack of Service Delivery

The research discovered that frustration over slow pace of service delivery was also found to be a reason behind the eruption of xenophobic attacks between foreign nationals and community members in Butterworth. One female respondent stated; “the Municipality is failing to provide us with adequate socio-economic needs”. A similar study conducted by the Human Science Research Council (2008:6) revealed that xenophobic tensions are triggered by citizens’ frustration over lack of service delivery, such as lack of transparent information from the Municipality regarding their services, housing, corruption and insolence of government officials. The HSRC (2008) also discovered that the eruption of xenophobic attacks in Masiphumelele (2006), Motherwell, Port Elizabeth (2007), was motivated by dissatisfaction of citizens on lack of service delivery. However, Chaome et al. (2011), is of the view that xenophobic attacks are “attributed by severe inequality and discrimination in the allocation of

wealth in both social and economic sphere”. Furthermore, the on-going inequality in resource distribution has created a very serious and significant gap between the rich and poor (Chaome et al. (2011). Harris (2001) concluded that such context of compounding frustrations and disappointment is easy to turn migrants and foreigners into scapegoats.

4.2.3 Competition for Scarce Resources

The competition for scarce resources between poor community members and foreign nationals was an important explanation cause of xenophobic tensions in Butterworth in 2010. For example, the access of foreign nationals to resources such as water, electricity, health care services and education have created a general feeling of insecurity on resources. Thus, the majority of respondents were of the view that foreign nationals should be denied of basic services. However, a few participants disagreed and were of the opinion that foreigners should be allowed to access basic services that all South Africans are entitled to. Following are the different opinions expressed during in-depth interviews and the focus group discussion. Bongiwe a Business owner in Msobomvu Township noted; “the municipality should stop providing foreign nationals with resources that are meant for the local citizens”. The respondent added if the municipality could listen to their concerns that would improve the living conditions of the communities that are living in poverty. However, one of the respondents, a female shop owner was of the view that the triggers of xenophobic tensions in Butterworth should not be associated with resources as most South Africans claim. She noted; “documented foreign nationals are entitled to basic services, and they also pay VAT which in turn contributes to economic growth”.

Studies by CoRMSA (2009) and Landau et al. (2005), posit that one of the root causes of xenophobia is the threat of presence of foreign nationals in terms of access to employment opportunities and social services. The former Minister of Home Affairs, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, declared in his speech in parliament that “South Africans are going to compete for scarce resources with millions of aliens who are pouring in South Africa” (Landau et al., 2005).

4.2.4 Perceptions that Foreign Nationals are Illegal

Most respondents expressed frustrations on the high number of undocumented foreign nationals living in Butterworth. Unregistered businesses were also highlighted as a biggest threat. However, respondents were unable to differentiate between documented and undocumented when asked to distinguish them. A male shop owner in Zitulele Township expressed a view that “the government at National level should implement systems in regards to border controls to address the issue of illegal foreigners”.

Jacob Zuma’s son, Edward Zuma also expressed similar anti-foreigner sentiments when he stated that “we South Africans are unnecessarily accommodating illegal immigrants in the country” (Mnyaka, 2003). He also stated; “you will never know whether they (foreigners) are funded by ISIS (Islamic State in Iraq and Syria) and al-Shabaab”. However, Hassim et al. (2008:7) concluded that “poor locals made scapegoats of foreign nationals as a way of venting their frustrations about failing to enjoy the fruits of the freedom that South Africans secured in 1994”.

4.2.5 Lack of Knowledge about Foreign Nationals and their Rights by Local Community Members

The research also discovered that lack of knowledge about foreign nationals living in Butterworth has contributed to hatred towards foreign nationals living in Butterworth. A female entrepreneur stated that “Citizens are clueless; they do not know that foreign nationals have rights to be here in Butterworth that is why they hate them”. However, another female respondent was of the view that “hate speech by our Political leaders also triggers xenophobia”. She made an example of the statement by King Goodwill Zwelithini who said, “foreigners should pack their bags and leave South Africa”. She further blamed the failure of local municipality to educate its people about the presence of foreigners living in Butterworth.

A study by Centre for Human Rights (2009) cited that lack knowledge in regards to laws; policies and protection of foreign nationals in South Africa pose a serious challenge. Kinge (2016:55) reflected on his study that illiteracy and lack of knowledge about rights of foreign nationals and entitlements in the country are contributors of xenophobic sentiments towards foreign nationals. Lombard (2016:96) also blames the literacy and poor skills level in South Africa as a direct result of apartheids under-education for leaving too many South African citizens trapped in abject poverty. The article further opines that “not knowing how to escape this plight of poverty, the blame game will always seek out easy targets, thus attacks on foreign nationals living in South Africa”.

4.2.6 High levels of Crime

An overwhelming number of respondents blame foreign nationals for the high rate of crime in Butterworth. One of the respondents, a community member cited that the majority of foreign nationals are conducting drug businesses, which result in high levels of crime. The respondent added that “these foreigners introduced drugs to our children hence we are now faced with a broken society”. Another example of Senior Police Superintendent, Johan Steyn cited that “90 per cent of criminals who break homes, commit armed robbery and raping women are from Zimbabwe” (Hanekom and Webster, 2008).

However, such statements by politicians blaming foreign nationals for the levels of crime in the country have been accompanied by police brutality and harassment (Dodson, 2010; Crush, Ramachandra, 2014). In addition, Tella (2016) highlighted that “the Lindela Repatriation Centre is notorious for the abuse of immigrant’s rights”. In general, there is widespread perception that Nigerians in particular are involved in organised crime and drug trafficking. Violence and criminal acts in townships and in rural areas have apparently been blamed on foreign nationals and thus, further deepens tensions between locals and foreign nationals. A survey conducted by Palmary (2001) also indicated that 30% of Police Trainees and Officers in the City of Johannesburg believed that foreign nationals are responsible for crime.

4.2.7 Rising Unemployment in Butterworth

The respondents blame the rising number of youth unemployment as the reason behind the recurrence of xenophobic attacks in 2010. A community member stated that “the majority of citizens here are unemployed and we are unable to make a living

and the Mngquma municipality is doing nothing to assist us”. The research discovered that there are a few people with jobs, those few individuals work in town and nearby towns as domestic workers, security guards, shop assistants, and mostly doing part-time contract work. The unemployment in Butterworth have left many homes living in dire poverty, thus community gets frustrated when foreign nationals are able to survive.

According to Mngquma Local Municipality Draft Review (2015/2016), Mngquma is among the Municipalities with the highest levels of poverty, literacy and unemployment. Approximately 16.7% is employed while 70% of Municipal population is considered economically inactive. Draft Integrated Development Plan 2016/2017 concludes that the level of poverty implies that a big percentage of the Mngquma population has no access to credit, are unable to finance their children's education and use child support grants as a source of income. Furthermore, these factors also contribute to a lower per capita growth because of the income disparities (Draft Integrated Development Plan, 2016/2017). It is worth noting that the high poverty rate, if it remains unabated, will result in aggravated levels of poor health, child malnutrition and lower levels of education (Draft Integrated Development Plan, 2016/2017). These factors have negative effects on foreign nationals living in Butterworth.

4.2.8 Business Competition

The study discovered that, the eruption of xenophobic sentiments was due to business competition. It was highlighted that local businesses were unable to compete with foreign-owned business. A male business owner stated that “These people are taking our business, they are selling at cheaper prices, and as such our businesses are not

coping. The foreign owned businesses are growing faster simply because they get preference for their cheap products”. Nyamnjoh (2006) posits that the majority of foreign nationals living in Townships or informal settlement communities often run profitable businesses. They provide affordable goods and services at convenient locations to locals, especially the low-income groups in rural areas or townships. A similar study by Monareng (2003), on informal sector revealed that the conflict between locals and foreign nationals was triggered by frustration over business competition. The lack of service delivery in the Vanderbijl Park has resulted in foreign nationals become scapegoats and often blamed for increasing poverty and deprivation. Muchiri (2016:70) also revealed that, many incidences of xenophobic attacks are organised by South African business owners with the intention of eliminating the foreign competitors.



4.2.9 The Rising Number of Foreign Shop Owners

The study discovered that from 2010 until 2020, there has been a huge increase of foreign owned businesses in Butterworth. The respondents also highlighted that “it makes it difficult for South Africans to even find properties to rent for businesses more especially in town”. A study conducted by Jinnah (2010), revealed similar findings that, “migration to South Africa and Johannesburg in particular is on the rise”. The study revealed that in Johannesburg, there are 60 Somali owned businesses and a shopping centre which has a branch in Nairobi. “The shopping mall was established by the Somali Community which houses some 70 shops, ranging from retail and wholesale goods, electronics, daily consumable clothing, telephone services” (Jinnah, 2010). It was discovered that premises are also let out to other migrant groups thereby creating some economic instability (Jinnah, 2010).

It is important to note that “over the years these migrants relocate to smaller towns in the Eastern Cape, Limpopo and North West Province” (Jinnah (2010). Whenever they experience hardships such as xenophobia they spread to other places that are less xenophobic. Regardless of the xenophobic tensions in 2010, foreign nationals kept pouring into Butterworth posing same challenges that were a result of the outbreak of xenophobic tensions in 2010. It is for this reason that the respondents felt that the influx of foreign nationals is a reason for the recurrence of xenophobic tension in 2012. Table 1 is the pattern of business of South African owned vs foreign owned businesses that operate in Butterworth.

Table 1: OWNERSHIP PATTERNS OF LOCAL BUSINESSES IN BUTTERWORTH

TYPE OF BUSINESS	SOUTH AFRICAN (OWNED)	FOREIGN (OWNED)
Hardware shops	4	7
Salons	3	30
Clothing shops	10	20
Fast food	8	15
Retail shops	8	8
Hawkers	50	15
Private schools	None	10
Carwash	3	3

Source: Researcher's Field Survey during (2019)

Table 1 indicates that foreign nationals dominate trading in Butterworth, thus create competition with locals. Tshitereke's (1999:5) is of the view that “psychological interpretation of scapegoating must not be separated from socio-economic realities for contemporary South Africans”. In fact, there are findings that are beginning to

contradict some beliefs identified. For example, Rogerson, cited in Crush and Williams (2001) on research of migrant entrepreneurs in Gauteng revealed that SMME's hawking businesses created an average of three jobs per business. Aden (2017:53) is of the view that "these perceptions require an evaluation, because most immigrants start their own work and only few who apply for formal jobs". While Sinclair (1999:466), on the other hand believes that "xenophobic attacks against foreigners in South Africa can be seen as a failure to acknowledge the positive impact of foreign migrants". However, another official raised the issue of high rate of crime around Butterworth as being one of the contributing causes of xenophobic tensions around Butterworth.

4.3 Narratives from Foreign Shop Owners

It is interesting to note the different responses on sources of tensions between foreign shop owners and the local community of Butterworth. From the in-depth interviews and focus group discussion with foreign shop owners, four prevalent themes were identified.

4.3.1 Lack of Knowledge about Historical Background

The majority of foreign national respondents were of the view that lack of knowledge about South African history during apartheid was the main source of xenophobic sentiment. In addition one respondent, a female shop owner stated that the "Local Municipality is failing to provide local citizens with adequate information about contributions other neighbouring countries made during apartheid". A study by the Centre for Human Rights (2009) also discovered that South Africans in general lack information about assistance that South Africa received from other neighbouring countries during apartheid era.

Thus, the former President of South Africa, Thabo Mbeki blamed the xenophobia on the lack of knowledge about the continent of Africa, international isolation and focus on Europe during apartheid. He further blamed the media for not reporting the continent in a balanced manner (Solomon and Kosana, 2013:9). In addition, Nyamnjoh (2006) opines that Africans that currently face exclusion are the same nations that harboured and nurtured the liberation struggles through provision of sanctuary, education and sustenance to the fleeing comrades and cadres of the ANC. As such former President Thabo Mbeki on Annual celebration of Africa Day in 2001, called for improved teaching about Africa in schools and institutions of higher education (Mogekwu, 2005).

4.3.2 Lack of Skills and High Poverty Rate

The majority of respondents were of the opinion that lack of necessary skills by local citizens in Butterworth to facilitate self-sufficiency had exacerbated xenophobic tensions. The study discovered that foreign nationals, even those without formal education were able to start businesses and become successful which was rare for local citizens. Thus, the respondents suggested that “the local Municipality should take responsibility to assist in poverty alleviation through skills provision to local citizens”.

Mensah and Benedict (2016:75) opine that foreign nationals “brought skills and attitudes to work that the apartheid system had not allowed black South Africans to acquire”. Thus, Muchiri (2016:68) is of the view that in order to redress poverty, lack of skills and unemployment rate in South African communities, it is crucial to empower citizens in order for them to be able to compete with foreign businesses. Mensah and

Benedict (2016:75) concluded that managing training to reach as many South Africans in low skilled occupations as possible could lift them out of poverty and eliminate feeling of deprivation and, thus address the root cause of xenophobia”.

4.3.3 Lack of Adequate Opportunities for Interaction

The respondents claimed that lack of adequate opportunities for interaction also triggered xenophobic sentiments. One female shop owner stated; “if we work together with local citizens there is no harm. I work with a South African man who has a delivery truck. So whenever people buy in bulk I call the guy to deliver the stock”. She added that “he is a good man; he even protected me and my brother during the 2010 xenophobic attacks. Similar findings by Neocosmos (2006:16) revealed that lack of platforms for interaction between foreign nationals and the citizen in many communities contribute to the on-going xenophobic tensions. A study conducted by Human Rights (2009) also revealed that foreign nationals who have had an opportunity to interact with local citizens in a meaningful way are less likely to be xenophobic.

Crush (2006) shares a similar opinion and posits that South Africans have no direct interaction with foreigners. In his study, he discovered that only four per cent of South Africans have significant interaction with foreign nationals. On the contrary, eighty per cent of South Africans that have no interaction with foreign nationals are significantly likely to be xenophobic. Hence, Crush (2006) is of the view that the more contact local citizens have with foreign nationals, the more likely they have tolerant views about foreigners.

4.3.4 The Spreading of Misinformation on Media Platforms about Foreign Nationals

The research discovered that, the spreading of misinformation on media also exacerbate tensions between foreign nationals and the local community. It is important to note that the respondents were furious about this issue and one of them was of the opinion that “the publicised negative speeches that were made on public by the Political leaders and government officials about us foreign people living in the country make us targets for attacks”. Crush and Plendleton (2004) cited that television, radio, personal interaction and newspapers as source of information in regards to foreign nationals living in South Africa. Thus, the negative portrayal of foreign nationals in South Africa remains evident in media coverage (Tella and Ogunnubi, 2014).

Solomon and Kosana (2013:12) noted; “representations of foreigners are largely of negative bias and extremely unethical in nature, as majority of press has reproduced anti-immigrant terminology unethically”. Research conducted by Tella (2016) also revealed similar findings that “media influences perceptions of citizens in most South African societies”. Derogatory labels such as “illegal immigrants, job stealers, criminals, and drug traffickers are common in pages of South African Newspapers” (Danso and McDonald, 2001). Thus, South Africans seek an avenue to channel their frustrations and black African migrants are easy targets. Another example is the statement made by Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who, at a time when he was the Minister of Home Affairs was quoted as saying, “with an illegal population estimated at between 2,5 and 5 million, it is obvious that the socio economic resources of the country, which are under severe strain as it is, are further being burdened by the presence of illegal aliens” (Crush, 2008:50). Similar statement was made by Beki Cele the Minister of

South African Police Service while addressing Police Officers in a meeting at Khayelitsha which he said “South Africa cannot have a country that’s run by people who jump borders” (Crush and Ramachandran, 2014). Both ministers portrayed all foreign national in South Africa as undocumented and responsible for instability, which in turn makes them vulnerable to xenophobic behaviours. Jacobsen and Landau (2008) and Harris (2002) attributes that institutions put in place in South Africa to serve foreign nationals are likely to abuse them”.

4.4 Chapter Conclusion

The study explored the experiences of both foreign shop owners and local community members in Butterworth with the aim of understanding the sources of tensions. A number of perceptions have been highlighted to be the major causes behind the xenophobic tensions in Butterworth. However, there is little evidence to support some of the issues. On the other hand, foreigners blame the lack knowledge in townships about the rights specifically to live, and entitlement to resources as major concern. Furthermore, the municipality lacks platforms and mechanisms to address issues relating to xenophobic tensions.

CHAPTER FIVE: THE ROLE OF MNQUMA MUNICIPALITY IN ADDRESSING XENOPHOBIC TENSIONS BETWEEN LOCAL COMMUNITY MEMBERS AND FOREIGN SHOP OWNERS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents findings of data collected from municipality officials who have knowledge of the xenophobic tensions that took place in Butterworth from 2010-2012. Therefore, this chapter answers the question introduced in chapter one that reads as follows:

- In what ways has the Mquma Municipality addressed these xenophobic tensions between local community members and foreign shop owners in Butterworth?

It was established during interviews of foreign national and local community members in Butterworth that xenophobic tendencies emanated from socio-economic issues which is the delivery mandate of the local government. Thus, the study finds it imperative to outline firstly the role of Local Government in order to understand the responsibilities of Mquma Local Municipality during xenophobic attacks of foreign nationals between 2010 and 2012.

Chapter seven of the South African Constitution is dedicated to local government. In addition to the Constitution, there are the Municipal Demarcation Act 27 of 1998, Municipal Structures Act 117 of 1998, and White Paper on Local Government. Municipal Systems Act 32 of 2000, Municipal Finance Management Act 56 of 2003 and other legislation that provides regulatory framework for local government.

5.2 Roles and Responsibilities of Local Government

Local government is one of the three spheres of government, which is “distinctive, interdependent and interrelated” (Constitution of Republic of South Africa, 2006). According to Muvusa (2015:99), South Africa is a unitary state which has federal features with the government at national, provincial and local level. Section 152 of the Constitution outlines the roles and responsibilities of local government as:

- a) To provide democratic and accountable government for local communities;
- b) To ensure the provision of services to communities in a sustainable manner;
- c) To promote social and economic development;
- d) To promote a safe and healthy environment; and
- e) To encourage the involvement of communities and community organisations in matters of local government (Constitution of Republic of South Africa, 2006).

Local government have extensive executive and legislative powers contained in Section 156 and 229 of the Constitution. They include the following:

- a) The right to administer the local government matters entrusted in schedules 4(B) and 5(B) of the Constitution;
- b) The authority to make and administer by-laws for the effective administration of the matters assigned to it, and to impose rates, taxes and surcharges for the services provided by, or on behalf of the municipality;
- c) The right to develop and adopt policies, plans and strategies, promote development and implement national and provincial legislations as assigned to it; and
- d) The right to do anything else within its legislative and executive competence (Thornhill, 2008:73).

5.3 Functions of Municipality

The municipal functions in schedules 4(B) and 5(B) are grouped according to their functional areas and summarised in Table 2. The rows that are highlighted in blue are those crucial in the study.

Table 2: Functional areas of municipalities

Functional area	Description
Water services-water and sanitation	Supplies water and sanitation services.
Electricity and Gas Reticulation	Electricity and gas reticulation, street lighting.
Municipal transport	Municipal public transport. Municipal airports, Pontoons, ferries and harbours
Waste management	Refusal removal, refuse dumps, and solid waste disposal cleansing.
Community and social services	Beaches and amusement facilities, local amenities, local sports facilities, municipal parks and recreation, Public places, cemeteries and crematoria, child care facilities, libraries and museums.
Planning and development	Municipal planning, Building regulations, land use management, property development (non-municipal property)
Emergency services	Fire fighting, Rescue services, disaster management, ambulance services
Municipal health	Municipal health care facilities, licencing and control of undertakings that sell food to the general public, noise pollution, pounds, accommodation, care burial of animals, licencing of dogs
Primary health care	Primary health care facilities like hospitals and clinics etc.

Environment management	Environmental planning, Bio-diversity management, climate change intervention, alternative energy planning, air pollution.
Economic development	Protect local tourism, markets, abattoirs, Trading regulations, Street Trading, billboards, control of undertakings that sell liquor to the public. Fencing, local economic development.
Housing	Housing facilitation, act as developer of housing projects, landlords (owning and managing housing stock)
Traffic and policing	Traffic and municipal police, community safety, control of public nuisances, driver licencing, motor vehicle licensing.
Roads and storm water systems	Municipal roads, storm water systems in built-up areas

(Source: Municipal Demarcation Board, 2012:6-7)

According to the Municipal Demarcation Board (2012), local government is made up of 278 municipalities, which cover the entire territory of South Africa. These municipalities include Categories A (metropolitan) municipalities, 226 Category B (local) municipalities and 44 Category C (district) municipalities. Mngquma is the category B municipality (local government) (Muvusa, 2015:101), which is crucial to the realisation of many socio-economic rights not only for local citizens but also migrants. However, the realisation of these rights requires the state intervention and the use of public resources (Kabeer, 2005:2).

Local government performance differs; some are performing well while others face poor performance (Municipal Demarcation Board, 2012:151). It is however, highlighted that huge number of municipalities in South Africa face major challenges of fulfilling their mandate. De Villiers (2008:18) attributes that many of the service

delivery challenges in South Africa are a result of “poor understanding of the Constitution, lack of training and coordination, and inadequate distribution of resources”. Cloete (2008:100-) is of the view that “weak leadership, political turf wars and the bad implementation of appropriate constitutional systems constitutes poor service delivery at local government level”. The study conducted by Zybrands (2006:149), revealed that “several municipalities are on uncertain financial position due to culture of non-payment of services, poor management and lack of legal measures to enforce accountability”. Poor performance by Municipalities in South Africa has led to poor service delivery to many communities. This is evident by widespread violent protests in South Africa Zybrands 2006:150). De Visser and Powell (2012) revealed that from the period of 2007 to 2012, a total of 218 protests over service delivery were reported on media adding to 303 protests over land and housing.

It is evident that many communities in South Africa are not satisfied with the services they receive from their municipalities. However, some local citizens have expressed a strong view that foreign nationals use scarce resources meant for South Africans and are to be blamed for violence and crime (Palmary, 2002:17). This is similar to the broader perceptions on foreign nationals in Mquma Local Municipality where the presence of foreign nationals is widely seen as a threat to socio-economic rights of South Africans. However, there is no evidence to support such perceptions. Muvusa (2015:103) suggests that foreign nationals are used as scapegoats for the government inability to provide services to the communities. Thus, Lombard (2015:3) attributes that local government is a major role player in functioning of South Africans’ democracy and in managing conflicts in communities. She further highlighted that the policies and programmes employed at local government are meant to reduce tendencies of

xenophobic violence since local government has the direct access to communities (Lombard, 2015:3).

5.4 Efforts Made by the Mquma Local Municipality in Addressing Xenophobic Tensions in Butterworth

As the legal framework indicated, local government has the mandate to promote peace and security among communities. Thus, Lombard (2015:3) argues that local government has become a major role player in South African politics. Hence, he is of the view that the policies and programmes employed at government level would significantly reduce the manifestations of xenophobia, since the local government has the direct access to communities and people at the grass roots (Lombard, 2015:3). Therefore, three officials from the Mquma Local Municipality were interviewed in order to gain deeper knowledge as to how the municipality addressed the xenophobic tensions between local community and the foreign shop owners in Butterworth during 2010-2012. The following were the actions and resolutions employed by the Mquma Municipality with regards to xenophobic tensions in 2010-2012:

5.4.1 The Mquma Municipality held educational awareness campaigns aimed at addressing xenophobic tensions

It was noted by the officials that the municipality channelled such issues through ward councillors, where every member of the community, both foreigners and locals report problems they encountered. It was also noted that if such problems were beyond the powers of the ward councillors, the relevant offices of the Municipality would assess the problems and take resolutions. Mr G, a municipal official stated that, “the Municipality during the 2010 and 2012 xenophobic attacks, held educational

awareness campaigns in affected communities to address economic and social issues”. However, other officials made it clear that the awareness in the affected communities was voluntary, only individuals who were interested to form part of them voiced out their concerns. The educational campaigns were in form of peace talks to the affected areas. It was also noted that only a few number of both foreign nationals and local community attended such campaigns.

5.4.2 The Municipality Law Enforcement held operations to check permits and trading licences

The officials interviewed mentioned that after the xenophobic tensions in 2012, the Municipality Law Enforcement Team held operations to check permits and trading licence in foreign owned businesses. The operations were done to address the common perception of undocumented foreigners operating businesses without permits. During the process of operation, the municipal officials stated that “the Law Enforcement Team and SAPS found most foreign nationals with permits to trade but without permits to be in South Africa”. This raises a concern on how did they manage to get permits to trade while they were undocumented foreigners. The official stated that if found without permits, they were ordered to go pay fines at the Municipality and nothing else was being done. What is important to note here, is that the Municipality did not have proper management of the foreign nationals in Butterworth.

A similar study conducted in the City of Cape Town revealed that “since the outbreak of violence, there have been no amendments to policies that directly and indirectly affect foreign nationals (Lombard, 2015:80). Despite the condemnation of xenophobic attacks by the United Nations, no forthcoming recommendations were made to reduce

or eliminate the xenophobic attacks (Crush and Ramachandran, 2014). Furthermore, Harris (2001) attested that the Department of Home Affairs plays a very insignificant role in addressing xenophobia. Thus, Muvusa (2015:101) concludes that “a huge number of municipalities experience major challenges in realising their directive”. The Mngquma Local Municipality officials revealed that the municipality does not have clear policies that speak to protection of foreign nationals. This is a clear indication that the Municipality is not doing enough to prevent xenophobia. This was evidence in the reoccurrence of the xenophobic tensions in 2012

5.4.3 Registration of foreign owned businesses to trading associations in Butterworth

It was discovered from the interviews with the citizens that foreigners did not want to register their businesses to trading associations in Butterworth between 2010 and 2012 xenophobic tensions. In fact, there was not even a single foreign business registered in the association during the incident of xenophobic attacks. The official stated that “they did not register because they wanted to escape fees associated with the registration and the fact that some of the foreign businesses did not have permits. However, the study discovered some positive changes in relations to the registration in the hawkers association. The Municipal official revealed that after the attacks to date, the foreign owned businesses managed to register their businesses on Trading Associations in Butterworth. The official also indicated that; “foreigner shop owners choose from two associations, the Mngquma Hawkers Association (MHA) and Butterworth Hawkers Association (BHA)”.

5.5 Shortcomings of the Mquma Municipality in addressing xenophobic tensions in Butterworth

The officials were then given an opportunity to raise other issues that might hinder the Municipality in resolving xenophobic tension between foreign nationals and local community in Butterworth. There were four factors identified, for example inadequate resources, lack of proper knowledge about foreign nationals and their rights by Municipal officials, the absence of policy regulating formal and informal trading, and the lack of social cohesion and social interaction.

5.5.1 Inadequate resources

The municipal official highlighted that the municipality does not have enough resources to address the socio-economic needs of citizens. However, findings of the study revealed that the xenophobic tensions between 2010 and 2012 were mainly linked to the socio-economic situations like the high rate of poverty, unemployment and competition for resources. This concurs with the view expressed by Morris (1998), when he stated that; “xenophobia could be traced to government’s inability to address poverty in the country. Black Africans in particular have thus become scapegoat for social ills”. The official stated that; “the Mquma Municipal is failing to provide enough services to serve the growing population as such many communities around Mquma are complaining about slow pace of service delivery”.

This was evidenced by the recent water protest on 14 August 2019 when residents closed Butterworth town and the N2 demanding answers on the crisis of water after months of not getting water from the municipality (News 24, 2019). The protest took about two weeks of a total shut down where school, clinics and shops were closed. The protestors said the water crisis was not caused by drought as some of the workers

were selling water, while those who cannot afford to buy water were forced to drink dirty water. It is thus important to note that some officials at the municipality blamed the scarcity of water on the foreign nationals. One of the officials stated; “these foreigners are responsible for the water crisis because the majority do not pay for the water they use for example there are foreign owned car wash and salons that uses water every day”. It is therefore, not surprising that there is still a feeling of fear in foreign nationals as they see that the socio-economic needs of the public are not yet addressed.

5.5.2 Lack of proper knowledge about foreign nationals and their rights in Municipal Officials

The study discovered that the municipal officials were not familiar about the rights of foreign nationals and their entitlements in the municipality. They were even unable to give full description of foreign nationals living in Butterworth. One of the officials stated; “we do not have adequate knowledge about the foreign nationals and their rights”. The study conducted in Western Cape suggested; “public officials must be trained on various categories of foreigners and services to be rendered in each category” (Lombard, 2015:96). A similar study conducted in Western Cape also revealed that the officials working in the Government Department and Municipalities have little knowledge about foreign nationals stipulated in the Migration Act of 2001 or the Refugee Act (Palmary, 2002:1). Policy experts in South Africa as reported by Hopson (2009) argued; “the framework relating to non-nationals is still incoherent and in many respects, unimplemented”.

The South African government has pledged to abide by the obligations stipulated in the constitution of South Africa, Refugee Act No 130 of 1998 and the Immigration Act No 13 of 2002 to carry out its humanitarian tasks of both protecting and assisting these refugees. Despite this, many government officials including the Mquma Municipality officials still lack proper knowledge about rights of foreign nationals in the country. Hence, De Villiers (2008) is of the opinion that service delivery challenges experienced by foreign nationals are a result of “poor understanding of the constitution, lack of training and coordination and inadequate sharing of resources”. This concurs with the suggestion by Lombard (2016:96) when he stated; that “there is a greater need for the government and responsible departments to take requisite steps when it comes to educating its officials about foreign nationals.

5.5.3 Absence of policy regulating formal and informal trading

The findings of the study revealed that there are no clear policies regulating informal trading in Butterworth except the by-law of freedom to trade. The by-law does not refer to foreign nationals, however, the majority of foreign nationals make use of informal trading. It is worth to note that there was no amendment to the by-law after the xenophobic tensions in 2010 and 2012. What was clear from the discussion with the officials managing trading was that there was even little knowledge on formal and informal trading. Informal trading operates in townships and in rural areas, where the majority of citizens are living in poverty. As indicated before, the poor regulation of trading has resulted in xenophobic tensions. Therefore, the failure of the Municipality to formulate policies concerning trading have negative impacts on the foreign nationals living in Butterworth.

The official interviewed mentioned that they check permits before granting licences and that the municipality does not grant licences to foreign nationals without legal documentations to live in South Africa. After granting of a licence, there are no follow-ups done to check how the trading is operating. The study also discovered that the officials experience challenges when foreign nationals apply for permits. The official stated “applicants manipulate the process of application by using one permit to register for more than one business while others use fraudulent documents”. Moreover, the study discovered poor hygiene in foreign owned businesses, one of the official stated; “some of these foreigners stay/sleep in the same shops where they also sell food. Some of the foreign-owned businesses are not clean to be selling consumables while some products are expired. This is a result of absence of health inspectors in Butterworth which in turn put the health of the general public at risk”. Thus, the Mnquma Local Municipality cannot effectively address xenophobic tensions without proper regulations on trading in both formal and informal businesses.

5.5.4 Lack of social cohesion and social interaction

It has been established that there is lack of social cohesion and social interaction between foreign nationals and local community members in Butterworth. One of the male respondents, a foreign shop owner stated; “it is not easy to make friends with South Africans, they are very distant and not welcoming at all”. The statement concurs with 70% of the local community members who said they are not willing to make friends with foreign nationals. One of the female respondents, a local community member stated; “I once dated a Nigerian guy and my relationship was not approved by my family and close friends. I then quitted from the relationship”.

A similar study done by Mang'ana (2004:40) with Congolese refugees found that the “Congolese refugees who tried to establish friendships with South Africans, gave up after realizing that their efforts were not successful. Others (the majority) confessed that they did not find it worth trying because they know South Africans are xenophobic and hostile towards foreigners in general and refugees in particular”. The findings of the study indicate that even the Mquma Local Municipality has failed to promote social interaction between foreigners and the local community members thus exhibiting ineffectiveness of the Mquma Local Municipality to address xenophobic tensions.

5.6 Chapter Conclusion

This chapter investigated the role of the Mquma Municipality in addressing xenophobic tensions between foreign shop owners and local shop owners. In light of the above, findings revealed numerous challenges as the municipality failed to adopt sustainable resolutions to end the tensions successfully. This comes after the xenophobic tensions and the recurrence of tensions in 2012. It is important to note that findings uncover that citizens' frustrations is often fuelled by lack of service delivery to local citizens. It is worth to note that officials at Mquma Municipality have little knowledge about the rights of foreign nationals. On account that they have to deliver services to them, it is without doubt that such services are being infringed.

Through the process of the interview, the study concludes that, the Mquma officials also have xenophobic sentiments towards foreign national. It is therefore, important for the municipality to begin to identify their responsibility in relation to providing services and safety to foreign nationals in Butterworth. As this support the argument

highlighted by Hassim, Kupe and Worby (2008:7), who states that “despite considerable efforts, the post-apartheid state has been unable to provide even the basic entitlement of safety, health, and the right to secure the means of life”



CHAPTER SIX: FACTORS THAT ACCOUNT FOR THE RECURRENCE OF XENOPHOBIC TENSIONS BETWEEN LOCAL COMMUNITY MEMBERS AND FOREIGN SHOP OWNERS

6.1 Introduction

Butterworth is one of the towns in the Eastern Cape that experienced recurrence of xenophobic tensions, where foreign-owned shops were looted and foreigners beaten. Mngquma Municipality comprises of the main town of Butterworth, the small towns of Ngqamakwe and Centane, and numerous peri-urban and rural settlements. Butterworth is big and developed than other nearby towns. It is the main service area for Mngquma Municipality, contributing 77% of the GDP in the Municipality (Encyclopaedi Britannica, 2020). It has a big shopping mall, two Provincial hospitals, Butterworth hospital servicing all nearby towns and Tafalofefe hospital. Butterworth is one of the towns in Eastern Cape that has a University, Walter Sisulu University, a former Eastern Cape Technikon. It is a favourable place for business hence it attracts foreign nationals from all lifestyles. The study uncovered that some of the foreign nationals who experienced xenophobic tensions had moved to other places where there were no incidences of xenophobia. It is worthy to note that the town (Butterworth) is still experiencing a significant influx of foreign nationals from other African countries. The study found that there were still latent conflicts where foreign nationals were labelled and called by dehumanizing and derogatory terms, such as *kwerekwere*, which is usually associated with negativity such as criminality, theft, and other social ills. "The term *kwerekwere* in particular, connotes South Africans' attitudes towards participants whom they consider as 'others' that are benefiting undeservedly from their hard earned democracy" (Mujawariya, 2013).

In this regard, this section of the study presents the underlying causes for the recurrence of xenophobic tensions that took place in 2012. Two municipal officials were interviewed and a focus group discussion which consisted of six respondents, three foreign shop owners and three local shop owners.

6.2 Reasons for the Recurrence of Xenophobic Tensions in Butterworth

6.2.1 Preference of Foreign Nationals in Casual work

It was discovered that the central cause of xenophobia was also manifested by the issue of preference of foreign nationals in job opportunities due to cheaper labour. A male respondent from Ibika noted; "I am struggling to get employment, because foreign nationals sell their services at cheaper prices". The respondent added "I used to do laundry work for R100 but now foreigners only charge R50 so I am no longer getting work, they say I am too expensive". Similar incidents were discovered by Reuters (2009) when Zimbabwean farm workers in De Doorns (Western Cape) were attacked by locals for accepting R40 a day, while locals demanded R70 per day.

A study conducted by Human Sciences Research Council (2008) in Alexandra and Soweto also discovered that xenophobic sentiments against foreign nationals were fuelled by local practice of preferring non-South African employees, particularly in the domestic, gardening, and construction sectors. Thus, Nyamnjoh (2006:232) concludes that "lack of minimum wage in the casual labour sector means that local citizens are undercut by foreign nationals which triggers unhappiness". It is evident that the recurring source of tensions between locals and foreigners relates to the competition for jobs.

6.2.2 The failure of the Municipality to address on-going poverty aftermath xenophobic attacks in 2010

The majority of the respondents highlighted that failure of the Municipality to address poverty was behind the recurrence of xenophobic attacks in 2012. A female respondent stated; “even after the attacks in 2010 the municipality did nothing to assist the local community in their state of poverty”. The Draft Integrated Development Plan 2016/2017 indicates that the majority of local citizens in Butterworth are unemployed, which then result in high poverty rates.

The reports further indicates that the majority of local citizens in the Mngquma area depend on old age grants and child care grants in order to make a living. Thus, the municipality in-efficiency and in-effectiveness to provide social needs to the local citizens have adverse impacts on foreign nationals. Furthermore, the Draft indicated that structured support to small businesses and informal businesses as well as mobilisation of micro-credit schemes need to be part of the wider array of strategies for economic development and poverty reduction (Draft Integrated Development Plan, 2016/2017).

6.2.3 Lack of serious interventions to deal with xenophobia

The respondents blamed the absence of appropriate actions and mechanisms by the Municipality and Justice system to deal with the perpetrators of xenophobia in 2010. During the discussion, foreign shop owners were of the opinion that the municipality and the South African Police Service were biased when it comes to enforcing the law to local citizens. A respondent, a local businessperson stated; “the local community members who were involved in the wrong doings were never brought to justice for their actions as such we become targets whenever there are frustrated”.

IOM (2009) also revealed similar findings that local leaders and police officers were typically reluctant to intervene on behalf of victims of xenophobia. It was also cited that in some cases, police officers and local leaders were supporting community's hostile attitude toward foreign nationals (IOM, 2009). Newham (2019) contends; lack of decisive actions by the government, in particular, the investigation and prosecution of suspects involved in xenophobia, ensures that the problem continues. Ngcambu and Mantzaris (2019) concluded that state institutions like the Department of Home Affairs and Municipalities should operate in accordance with the existing laws and rules, the attacks and violence will continue.

6.2.4 Poor border control

Both of the municipal officials blame the poor border control as the main reason behind the recurrence of xenophobic attacks. One of the officials stated; "the population in Butterworth increased drastically due to illegal entrance of foreign nationals in borders". The official further stated; "hence the increased population of foreign nationals have resulted to intolerance against foreign nationals". Adding to that, the officials cited that when the foreign nationals experienced hardships in these big cities, they tend to move to smaller towns. The research conducted by Ngcambu and Mantzaris (2019), revealed that a senior provincial politician in KwaZulu-Natal who once visited the borders indicated that they were unguarded, enabling the free flow of immigrants and refugees from all neighbouring countries.

6.2.5 Lack of price regulations

The officials also highlighted that the recurrence of xenophobic tensions arise from lower prices that are offered by the foreign owned businesses. The local business

owners were complaining that the lower prices offered by foreign businesses have destroyed them. A respondent male shop owner from Ibika Township stated, *“the issue of selling below the profit margin have contributed to closure in many of local businesses because no one buys our products anymore”*. The price comparison emanates from the perception that foreign nationals are selling their products at cheaper prices and Table 3 shows the comparisons of prices on same products they sell.

Table 3: Price list from foreign owned businesses and South African businesses

Type of business	Products	South African shop (prices)	Foreign shop (prices)	Difference in prices
hardware	6m IBR zinc	R340.00	R380.00	R40.00
	6m Rafters	R140.00	R180.00	R40.00
	M6 Bick	R8.00	R5.50	R2.50
Retail	10kg onion	R80.00	R50.00	R30.00
	10kg potatoes	R80.00	R30.00	R50.00
	Sugar 12.5kg (Hullets)	R240.00	R180.00	R60.00
Spaza	Loaf of bread	R12.00	R10.00	R2.00
	1 litre milk	R14.00	R10.00	R4.00
	2 litre cold drink	R15.00	R10.00	R5.00

Source: Researcher's Survey: (2019)

The comparison of foreign prices and South African prices illustrate that foreign owned shops stand a better chance of winning customers than local businesses. It is important to note, the comparisons is made on the same brands that foreign-owned shops and local-owned shops offer. In addition, the study discovered that, on top of the cheaper prices they offer, foreign owned businesses are even willing to give

discounts on their goods and services more especially in hardware shops. Due to low prices offered by foreign businesses, many local owned businesses had to shut down. A study conducted by Jinnah (2010) revealed similar findings that local businesses in Johannesburg who were unable to compete with relatively cheap prices offered by foreign owned businesses were left without any choice but to close down.

6.3 Chapter Conclusion

This chapter discussed the numerous causes surrounding the recurrence of xenophobic attacks in 2012 and subsequently. The study discovered that the recurrence of these tensions resonate from the inability of the Mquma Municipality to resolve issues that were identified during 2010 attacks. The findings of this study include the growing number of foreign owned shops in Butterworth after the xenophobic tensions in 2010, which indicates the failure of the municipality to protect resources meant for citizens. The failure of the Municipality to respond to the needs of the local citizens in particular local shop owners and directly address the concerns of foreign shop owners have created a none protective environment for foreigners. Sources of recurrence include lack of mechanisms to address xenophobia and lack of information to local citizens, poor border control, and lack of price regulations and reliance of local community to government. In light of the inadequacies, it is evident that the municipality have failed to fulfil its mandate. It is therefore argued that failing to keep its promise to maintain order contribute to the recurrence of xenophobic violence.

CHAPTER SEVEN: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1 Conclusion

This chapter presents conclusion and recommendations to the findings about the role of Mngquma Municipality in the attempt to address the xenophobic tensions between foreign shop owners and local citizens. It is important to note that some of the foreign nationals who were attacked in 2010 and 2012 have moved to safer places that had never experienced xenophobia before, for example, Centane, Idutywa, Willowvale and Nqamakwe. It is worth noting that there were still latent conflicts between foreign nationals and the community members.

Due to the nature of the study, ethnographic fieldwork was considered as the most practical and suitable in getting necessary responses regarding the study. The data collection instruments used were in-depth interviews and focus group discussions. Three officials from the Mngquma Local Municipality were interviewed, while twenty interviews consisting of ten foreign shop owners and ten local community members were conducted. A focus group discussion of ten participants which consisted of five foreign shop owners and five local community members was also conducted.

The findings of the study revealed xenophobic tensions were centered on the poor socio-economic situation in the Mngquma Local Municipality, for example, the ongoing poverty, high rate of unemployment, competition for resources and business competition. The misinformation on media platforms about foreign nationals, unsubstantiated and inflammatory statements by Politicians and government officials about foreign nationals and the inadequate opportunities for interaction were also cited as the triggers of xenophobic tensions in Butterworth. It is also important to note that

intolerance is not only limited to ordinary citizens as the study discovered that Mngquma Municipality officials have adopted similar attitudes. The Mngquma Local Municipality officials have often blamed the foreign nationals for poor service delivery; they also blame foreign nationals for high rate of crime, citing operation of drug businesses that are perceived to be owned by foreign nationals.

In relation to the recurrences of xenophobic tensions, the study discovered the lack of mechanisms to address xenophobia, the preference of foreign nationals in casual work, and the in-ability of the Mngquma Local Municipality to address the ongoing poverty. Moreover, poor border control and the lack of price regulations were behind the recurrences of xenophobic tensions amongst locals and the foreign nationals living in Butterworth.



The study also discovered factors that led to the ineffectiveness of the Mngquma Local Municipality to address the xenophobic tensions were lack of social cohesion and social integration, inadequate resources, lack of proper knowledge about rights and entitlements of foreign nationals by the municipal officials and the absence of policy regulation on formal and informal businesses. In relation to the above, it is vital for the government in particular local government to take responsibility in addressing xenophobia in communities to prevent the future occurrences

7.2 Recommendations

Based on the conclusion above, this study advances the following recommendations:

The Mngquma Municipality

- To encourage and promote a peaceful environment for locals and foreign nationals. Community leaders and religious leaders should be encouraged in organising community meetings to ensure interaction of locals and foreigners.
- To educate officials to be aware of rights of foreign nationals and services they are entitled to.
- To create programmes that address xenophobic tensions and thereby creating a space for mutual understanding and education.
- To engage local radio station (Khanya Community Radio) to design special programmes aimed at educating local community about the foreign nationals, their rights and entitlements.
- To address service delivery needs of both locals and foreign nationals, since citizens' frustration is fuelled by poor service delivery. Thus, this will create a safe and peaceful environment for foreign nationals living in Butterworth.
- To work closely with Department of Home Affairs and Social Development, Traditional Leaders and South African Police Service to detect early warning signs of xenophobia.
- Cooperate with churches, schools and civil society organisations in the Mngquma area in condemning tensions of xenophobia against foreign nationals by ensuring the protection of human rights for all people living in Butterworth.
- To create self-reliance, thereby encouraging, capacitating and providing skills to local citizens to be able to open their business in order to obtain self-employment.

- To carefully listen and attend to concerns raised by local community and foreign nationals to prevent conflict.
- Perpetrators of xenophobia to be held accountable by ensuring that cases of xenophobia are investigated and taken to courts for prosecutions/adjudication.
- To put up an Anti-xenophobia Unit in the Municipality where foreign nationals can report the tendencies of xenophobia, such reports should be channelled through South African Police Service for further investigations before they can erupt to violence.
- The officials should use their positions to promote unity and the concept Ubuntu as a principle to guide towards transformation.
- The Municipality Officials and leaders need to condemn tensions of xenophobia. It is important as perpetrators of xenophobia appear to believe they have support in the government.
- To take tough measures against foreign nationals operating business without permits.
- To promote hygiene in shops that sells consumables, by conducting inspections on regular basis.

The National Government

- To take note of the price regulations because foreign owned business are selling their goods and services beyond the profit margin.
- Avoid and condemn publicly any form of insulation of xenophobia by anyone, in particular the government officials and politicians.

- To train departments that are responsible for foreign nationals in the observation of laws and policies governing human rights of foreign nationals in South Africa
- To criminalise the acts of xenophobia in the country.



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APPENDIX ONE: QUESTIONNAIRE

An Examination role of the Mquma Municipality in addressing xenophobic tension between Local shop owners and Foreign Shop owners in South Africa: A Case Study of Butterworth:2010-2012:

These questions are designed to collect information on the above topic. All information received will be used for academic purpose and will be treated with confidentiality.

SECTION A-background of participants

1. What position do you hold in the Municipality?
2. How many years have you been working for the Municipality?

Section B- Demographic details of Mquma Local Municipality

1. What category is Mquma Local Municipality?
2. How do you classify the area of Mquma municipality?
3. What is the population size of this Municipality?
4. Does this population include foreign nationals?
5. How do you describe the nationalities in the Municipality?
1. What are the different categories of foreigner in Butterworth?
2. Are you familiar with the trading rights of both South Africans and foreign nationals? Please elaborate.
3. What are processes needs to be followed when foreign nationals wish to apply for trading licence? Please elaborate.
4. What types of business do foreign nationals open?
5. What types of problems do you encounter in the application process (foreign nationals and local citizens)?
6. What types of services do the Municipality render to foreign nationals in Butterworth? Does the Municipality provide enough services to both foreign and local citizens elaborate?

7. Since the outbreak of violence in 2010 & 2012, have there been any changes on how foreign nationals trading operate in Butterworth?
8. What in your opinion needs to be changed in trading in order to prevent the xenophobic tensions?
9. What do you think are causes of tension between foreign shop owners and local citizens in Butterworth?
10. What policies and measures put in place by the Municipality to prevent xenophobic tensions in Mnquma Area?
11. Do you think the Municipality is doing enough to protect foreign nationals in Butterworth?
12. Are there any platforms where foreign nationals sit and discuss with local communities regarding social and economic issues?
13. What in your opinion can be done to resolve and prevent xenophobic tensions between foreign shop owners and local community?
14. How do the Municipality prevent xenophobic tensions between local community members and foreigners?
15. What challenges experienced by Mnquma Municipality in rendering services to foreign nationals.
16. How do the municipality ensure good relations between foreigners and local community members?
17. How do you ensure transparency of information to community members regarding foreigners and their rights in Butterworth?
18. How does the Municipality address the social and spatial division between local community and foreigners?

19. Do resource distributed equally between foreigners and local community members in Butterworth?
20. What accounts to recurrence of xenophobic tension between local shop owners and local shop owners?
21. Do you have anything else you would like to add which has not been addressed by the questions?



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APPENDIX THREE: ETHICAL CLEARANCE LETTER



University of Fort Hare
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ETHICS CLEARANCE REC-270710-028-RA Level 01

Project Number:	FER021SNDI01
Project title:	The role of the Mnquma Local Municipality in addressing Xenophobic tensions between foreign shop owners and Local Community Members in Butterworth.
Qualification:	Masters in Political Science
Principal Researcher:	Sibongile Ndinisa
Supervisor:	Dr V Ferim
Co-supervisor:	N/A

On behalf of the University of Fort Hare's Research Ethics Committee (UREC) I hereby grant ethics approval for FER021SNDI01. This approval is valid for 12 months from the date of approval. Renewal of approval must be applied for BEFORE termination of this approval period. Renewal is subject to receipt of a satisfactory progress report. The approval covers the undertakings contained in the above-mentioned project and research instrument(s). The research may commence as from the 29/08/19, using the reference number indicated above.

Note that should any other instruments be required or amendments become necessary, these require separate authorisation.
Please note that the UREC must be informed immediately of

- Any material changes in the conditions or undertakings mentioned in the document;
- Any material breaches of ethical undertakings or events that impact upon the ethical conduct of the research.

The Principal Researcher must report to the UREC in the prescribed format, where applicable, annually, and at the end of the project, in respect of ethical compliance.

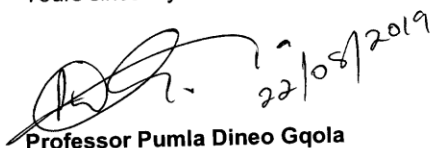
The UREC retains the right to

- Withdraw or amend this approval if
 - Any unethical principal or practices are revealed or suspected;
 - Relevant information has been withheld or misrepresented;
 - Regulatory changes of whatsoever nature so require;
 - The conditions contained in the Certificate have not been adhered to.
- Request access to any information or data at any time during the course or after completion of the project.

Your compliance with DoH 2015 guidelines and other regulatory instruments and with UREC ethics requirements as contained in the UREC terms of reference and standard operating procedures, is implied.

The UREC wishes you well in your research.

Yours sincerely



Professor Pumla Dineo Gqola
Acting UREC-Chairperson
 22 August 2019

APPENDIX FOUR: PERMISSION LETTER TO CONDUCT RESEARCH

P.O Box 15
BUTTERWORTH
4960
08 October 2019

Office of the Municipal Manager
Mnquma Local Municipality
BUTTERWORTH
4960

Dear Sir/Madam

REQUEST FOR PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH

My name is Sibongile Ndinisa, a Master's degree student in Social Science (Political Science) in the Department of Political Science and International Relations, Faculty of Social Science and Humanities at the University of Fort Hare.

I am requesting a permission to conduct a research on **“The Role of the Mnquma Local Municipality in Addressing Xenophobic Tensions between Foreign Shop Owners and Local Community Members in Butterworth”**. The research is part of the requirements of obtaining a Master's degree in student in Social Science (Political Science).

I hope my request will be considered.

Thank You

Yours Sincerely

.....

SIBONGILE NDINISA

Student Number: 201011770