INTERNATIONAL DIMENSIONS OF XENOPHOBIC ATTACKS ON FOREIGN NATIONALS IN SOUTH AFRICA

BY

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Dissertation Submitted in Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree Master of Social Science in International Relations to the Faculty of Human and Social Science at the North-West University, Mafikeng Campus
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By

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DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, declare that this dissertation submitted to the North-West University, Mafikeng Campus, for the degree Master of Social Sciences in International Relations and the work contained therein is my own work in design and execution and has not previously, in its entirety or part, been submitted to another university for a degree, and that all the materials contained therein have been duly acknowledged.

Signed_________________this_________day of________________2016
DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to mum, Theo, Emmanuel, and Menyoli all of blessed memories.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to express my sincere and heartfelt gratitude to Prof. V. Ojakorotu who is my supervisor, for his timely encouragement, motivation and moral support.

To my sister, Dr. E.E. Wose Gobina, I say a big thank you for all the financial and moral support, the love and care she has shown to me throughout the years. She has been there not only as a sister, but also as mother, and I will forever be grateful to her.

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The North-West University is not left out for the financial assistance received.

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To my supportive family and Christian brothers and sisters, I wish to thank them for been there for me.

Above all, I thank the Almighty God, Jehovah, for his bountiful love and inspirations. I owe Him all my life and achievements.
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<table>
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<tr>
<th>Acronym</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AFP</td>
<td>Agence France-Presse</td>
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<td>ANC</td>
<td>African National Congress</td>
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<td>APC</td>
<td>All Progressive Congress</td>
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<td>AU</td>
<td>African Union</td>
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<td>BEE</td>
<td>Black Economic Empowerment</td>
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<td>CBD</td>
<td>Central Business District</td>
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<td>CNN</td>
<td>Cable News Network</td>
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<tr>
<td>CoRMSA</td>
<td>Consortium for Refugees and Migrants in South Africa</td>
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<td>CRAI</td>
<td>Citizens Rights of African Initiative</td>
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<tr>
<td>CSRV</td>
<td>Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation</td>
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<tr>
<td>DA</td>
<td>Democratic Alliance</td>
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<tr>
<td>DIRCO</td>
<td>Department of International Relations and Corporation</td>
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<td>eNCA</td>
<td>eNews Channel Africa</td>
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<tr>
<td>ExLAG</td>
<td>Excellent Leadership Awards Group</td>
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<td>FDI</td>
<td>Foreign Direct Investment</td>
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<td>FIFA</td>
<td>Fédération Internationale de Football Association</td>
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<tr>
<td>GCRO</td>
<td>Gauteng City-Region Observatory</td>
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<td>Abbreviation</td>
<td>Full Form</td>
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<tr>
<td>GNP</td>
<td>Gross National Product</td>
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<tr>
<td>HIV/AIDS</td>
<td>Human Immune Virus/Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome</td>
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<tr>
<td>HSRC</td>
<td>Human Rights Research Commission</td>
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<tr>
<td>IDASA</td>
<td>Institute for Democracy in Southern Africa</td>
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<tr>
<td>IDPs</td>
<td>Internally Displaced Persons</td>
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<td>ILO</td>
<td>International Labor Organization</td>
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<td>MEC</td>
<td>Member of Executive Council</td>
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<td>MTN</td>
<td>Mobile Telephone Network</td>
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<td>OAU</td>
<td>Organization of African Unity</td>
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<tr>
<td>PoC</td>
<td>Persons of Concern</td>
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<td>RDP</td>
<td>Reconstruction and Development Program</td>
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<tr>
<td>SABC</td>
<td>South African Broadcasting Corporation</td>
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<td>SADC</td>
<td>Southern Africa Development corporation</td>
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<td>SAHRC</td>
<td>South African Human Rights Commission</td>
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<td>SAMP</td>
<td>South African Migration Project</td>
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<td>SAPS</td>
<td>South African Police Services</td>
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<td>SSA</td>
<td>Statistics South Africa</td>
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<tr>
<td>TML</td>
<td>Times Media Limited</td>
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<tr>
<td>Abbreviation</td>
<td>Full Form</td>
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<tr>
<td>UN</td>
<td>United Nations</td>
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<td>UNHCR</td>
<td>United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees</td>
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<td>UNHCR ROSA</td>
<td>UNHCR Regional Office of Southern Africa</td>
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<tr>
<td>US</td>
<td>United States</td>
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<tr>
<td>USA</td>
<td>United States of America</td>
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<td>YPEN</td>
<td>Young Professional Economist Network</td>
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ABSTRACT

Xenophobia has been described by many as the fear or hatred of foreigners or strangers being embodied in discriminatory attitudes and behavior that often result in violence, abuses of all types, and exhibitions of hatred. While xenophobic sentiments continue to be strongly entrenched in developed countries, increasing incidents have been reported in developing African countries like Ghana, Nigeria, Ivory Coast, Equatorial Guinea, and particularly in South Africa. The past violent outbreaks of xenophobic attacks, which resulted in the deaths of many foreign nationals in South Africa, threatens not only the lives and livelihoods of refugees, asylum seekers, economic migrants and other locally defined ‘outsiders’ including domestic migrants and ethnic minorities, but also the health, education, tourism and economic sectors of our “Rainbow Nation”.

This research adopted a qualitative research method and was guided through five research questions; (1) what are the causes of xenophobia in South Africa? (2) What is the impact of xenophobia on foreign nationals living in South Africa? (3) What are the reactions of other nations to the xenophobic attacks on foreign nationals in South Africa? (4) What are the economic implications of xenophobia to South Africa? The research participants were three representatives from each of seven foreign High Commissions in South Africa whose nationals were affected in one way or the other namely Nigeria, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Malawi, Ghana, Congo and Zambia High Commissions, and 3 representatives from DIRCO, giving a total of 24 participants.

A total of five out of the 24 participants responded to the research questions provided. From the five respondents, it was evidently clear that the causes of the past waves of xenophobic violence were twofold:
context and underlying causes. The context was the living conditions in the affected communities; characterized by poor service delivery (often poor living conditions in squatter camps or shacks and poor sanitation facilities), job insecurities and peace jobs. The underlying causes were the local’s frustrations with and perception of foreigners taking their jobs and their women. In addition, there were specific triggers such as statements made by high profile personalities; but whether or not such statements were said out of good faith or not, derogatory and racist statements made by high profile elites and government officials can be a catalyst factor to spark xenophobic violence toward foreign black nationals. These acts of violence left many foreign-owned shops and properties destroyed, a handful of foreigners’ dead, majority displaced and some returned back to their home countries for fear of what might happen next. The country saw a decrease in the number of tourists from the SADC communities as well as other African states, decrease in manufacturing production, mineral sales amongst others.

In conclusion, South Africans generally do not welcome diversity; as a result xenophobia persists in South Africa and will continue to pose significant threats not only to foreign nationals and some locals, but also to the economy, tourism and migration, manufacturing as well as mining sectors in the country. Above all, acts of xenophobic violence on foreign nationals put a strain on the international relations South Africa has firmly established with their foreign counterparts. Therefore, the current South African government needs to reinforce their policies and address the underlying issues facing the country, and strongly emphasize to their nationals the negative impacts that violent acts of xenophobia have on the country.
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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

“Never, never and never again shall it be that this beautiful land will again experience the oppression of one by another.”

~ Nelson Mandela

1.1 Overview

Since South Africa’s independence in 1994, xenophobia has grown along with the rising number of foreigners coming into the country. According to Misago et al. (2015:13), the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) recognizes that xenophobia’s various manifestations represent protection threats to its persons of concern (PoC), which include refugees, stateless persons, asylum seekers and internally displaced persons. Expressions of xenophobia range from prejudiced attitudes and remarks to institutional or social segregation, harassment, and blatant forms of interpersonal and collective violence. In South Africa, xenophobic practices continue to threaten the lives and livelihoods of PoC while generating enduring fear and insecurity (Misago, 2015:13) Foreigners in South Africa have been harassed, attacked and even killed. The attitudes towards immigrants held by sections of the South African population have become more hostile. The attitude of hatred towards foreigners is especially held against people coming from other African countries (Hopstock & de Jager 2011). This adversely affects the quality of asylum and directly works against local integration as a form of protection or as a durable solution. In South Africa, xenophobic
practices continue to threaten the lives and livelihoods of PoC while generating enduring fear and insecurity.

1.2 Statement of the problem

South Africa in recent times has displayed tendencies of xenophobia attacks targeted at foreign nationals living within its jurisdiction. According to studies conducted by the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) in 2008, South Africa is considered an extremely xenophobic society (HSRC 2008). The killing of foreign nationals in the recent xenophobic violence in South Africa sparked international reactions as some neighboring countries whose nationals were victimized, threatened to close down South African owned business and companies operating in their countries. The thrust of this study therefore, sought to look at the international reactions to the xenophobic attacks targeted on foreign nationals living in South Africa with its economic implications on South Africa’s bilateral relations with the rest of Africa.

1.3 Ethical consideration

Fairness and ethical consideration were very important to the success of this work. Issues such as voluntary participation, informed consent, confidentiality and privacy were taken into consideration. Since some high profile confidential information were required from government departments, the need for privacy was guaranteed.

- **Informed consent from participants**: explicit consent to carry out the study will be obtained from the academic authority concerned. Participants will be informed that their participation in the study is completely voluntary and that they will not participate in the study under duress.
• **To hold anonymous information obtained about the participants:** The participant can express written consent to have his/her anonymous information that will be shared in the author’s thesis. Sensitive information such as the names of the participants or names of the organizations they belong to will not be included in the dissertation.

### 1.4 Background to the study

Because of its economic potential, South Africa, in the past years, has attracted and continues to attract foreign nationals who come in as tourist visitors, business persons and students. According to the Tourism and Migration January 2015 release of Statistics South Africa (Stats SA P0351, 2015: 5), majority of tourists [825 976 (94.1%)] were in South Africa for holiday purposes with only 37 885 (4.3%) and 13 851 (1.6%) of tourists who came in for business and study purposes, respectively. While xenophobia is generally accepted as the fear or dislike of foreigners, this social phenomenon has received so much attention worldwide. While foreign nationals are the targets of xenophobic attacks, some nationals get caught in the crossfire, as was the case of past xenophobic attacks on foreign nationals living in South Africa. There are a lot of scholarly works on the subject of xenophobia in South Africa and elsewhere, but little is known on the international dimensions of xenophobia in South Africa.

#### 1.4.1 Type of study

Thomas and Harden (2008:73) state that the two accepted approaches to research are qualitative and quantitative models. The research study was conducted using the qualitative approach. Also, as Liebscher (1998:668-680) noted; “qualitative methods are appropriate when the phenomena under study are complex, are social in nature, and do not lend themselves to quantification.” Therefore, qualitative research is
essentially interpretative and involves methods of data collection that are non-quantitative or non-numerical (Miles and Huberman 1994:32-48). The qualitative method captures the intricacies of social life and “treats actions as part of holistic social process and context, rather than as something that can be extracted and studied in isolation” (Payne and Payne, 2004:176). The qualitative method lends itself to the investigation of complex social phenomena without predetermining or delimiting the paths that such investigation should follow. The study therefore adopted a qualitative method in the context of the complexities associated with the subject matter of this study: international dimensions of the xenophobic attacks on foreign nationals living in South Africa. The researcher conducted in-depth literature search and questioners were sent via emails to gain viewpoints on the dimensions of xenophobic attacks on foreign nationals living in South Africa. Participants included the different foreign representatives in South Africa [Nigeria, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Ghana, Malawi, and the Department of International Relations and Corporation (DIRCO)].

1.4.2 Aim of the study

The study aims to survey the phenomenon of xenophobia and some perceived causes of xenophobia in South Africa, as well as to examine the international dimensions of xenophobic attacks on foreign nationals living in South Africa.

1.4.3 Research hypothesis

The research postulates that South Africa’s strained socio-political relations with some African countries are not unconnected with the xenophobic assaults against black foreign nationals residing in South Africa.
1.4.4 Research objectives

In view of the above aim, the objectives of the study were to:

- Conduct an in-depth literature search on the reasons why xenophobia continues to prevail in post-apartheid South Africa
- Provide a theoretical analysis on the experiences of xenophobic attacks on foreign nationals living in South Africa
- Explore the factors which contributed to the recent xenophobic attacks on foreign nationals in South Africa and
- Analyze the diplomatic implications involved as a result of the past incidences of xenophobic violence between the victims of attack and South Africa.

The research questions addressed were:

1. What are the causes xenophobia in South Africa?
2. What is the impact of xenophobia on foreign nationals living in South Africa?
3. What are the reactions of other nations to the xenophobic attacks on foreign nationals in South Africa?
4. What are the economic implications of xenophobia to South Africa?
1.5 Research design and methodology

1.5.1 Qualitative approach

Due to the number and nature of participants chosen, the qualitative method was considered most feasible and appropriate with the guide of questions in getting the necessary responses. This was to help the researcher to fully evaluate the different reasoning of the participants to xenophobia in South Africa.

1.5.2 Target population

The target populations were different foreign representations in South Africa and the Department of Internationals Relations and Corporation (DIRCO). The research participants were three representatives from each of seven foreign High Commissions in South Africa whose nationals were affected in one way or the other namely Nigeria, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Malawi, Ghana, Congo and Zambia High Commissions, and three representatives from DIRCO, giving a total of 24 participants.

1.5.3 Sampling method

Attempt to get hold of participants was initiated by surfing the websites to get their contact details. Emails were sent introducing myself, and the purpose of my research, and to seek permission to be granted audience with prospective respondents. The prospective respondents were then contacted via email and in all 24 emails were sent out.
1.5.4 Data collection

To capture the necessary information needed for the study, a combination of both primary and secondary sources of information were used:

1.5.4.1 Primary source

The primary source was the generation of specific questions presented hereunder, which were emailed to all participants:

What are the causes of xenophobia in South Africa?

This question was asked in order to get the participants viewpoints on the causes of the xenophobic attacks on foreign nationals in South Africa. Literature has it that the causes of violent and negative attitudes toward foreign black nationals in the apartheid history of South Africa.

What is the impact of xenophobia on foreign nationals living in South Africa?

The main aim here was find out the extent of harm caused by xenophobia on foreign nationals living in South Africa and the challenges foreign nationals face amidst the critics and hatred.

What are the reactions of other nations to the xenophobic attacks on foreign nationals in South Africa?

The primary intention of this question was to better comprehend how other nations reacted to the violent attacks, some which resulted in the death of many, met out to foreigners residing in South Africa.

What are the economic implications of xenophobia to South Africa?

This particularly question was directed to the DIRCO in a bid to understand the implications of South Africa’s xenophobic attitudes towards foreign nationals on their economy. Truth be told, no country has survived without the external support and South Africa is no exception.
### 1.5.4.2 Secondary sources

Secondary data sources for this research were published books, journal articles, magazines, newspapers, government legislations, reports, and company reports obtained from the Internet. These secondary sources provided extensive bibliographic and contextual information that complemented the primary source.

### 1.5.5 Data analysis

In their study, McMillan and Schumacher (2008:45) stated that data analysis is the process of bringing order, structure and meaning to data gathered. In support, Maree (2007:83) describes content analysis as a process of analyzing materials as books, handouts, composed archives, transcripts, news reports, and visual media. Qualitative data analysis is primarily an efficient process of organizing the data into categories and identifying patterns among the categories. On the basis of this, data obtained from primary and secondary sources were analysed through content analysis and drew qualitative insights to enable inferences and relevant content from diverse data generated during fieldwork to be isolated and analyzed.

### 1.6 Limitations of the study

The main limitation to this study was the unwillingness of certain foreign representatives to participate. This was due to the sensitive nature of the topic, as policy regulations of some of the foreign representatives prohibit divulging of sensitive information to the public. As a result, of the 24 targeted participants only five participated in the research. Hence the results presented are narrowed down to the responses of these five respondents. The researcher however, is confident that, despite these constraints, the evaluation is able to achieve the aim and objectives of the study as well as provide useful reflections for future improvements.
1.7 Significance of the study

There is a considerable number of published literatures on xenophobic assaults targeted on foreign nationals living in South Africa, which left many black foreign nationals wounded, displaced, and a few deaths. These acts of violence were greatly criticized within and outside South Africa at the international level. This study sought to illustrate how acts of xenophobic violence can negatively impact not only on the growth of the country but also on the well-founded international relations that South Africa has established and maintained over the years. The research will contribute to knowledge toward the design of local African policies intended to create egalitarianism through improved social integration. The findings reflect on how inequality has influenced the exclusion of foreigners and some poor black locals from key social and development issues.

1.8 Structure of the dissertation

The entire dissertation is divided into four main sections. Section one, which is the introduction, has set out an overview and background of the study, methodology and limitations of the study.

The second section (chapter two) provides an in-depth review of published literature related to the xenophobia by first understanding the meaning. The chapter goes further to look at xenophobia on a global scale, its scope, extent and nature in South Africa, manifestations of xenophobia, and lastly the theoretical framework.

The third section (chapter three), presents the findings obtained from all respondents and discussion of findings. The discussion addresses each of the research questions correlating the responses of all respondents
with published literature. The final chapter (chapter four) offers overall conclusion of the findings and recommendations based on the findings and literature review.
CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Literature review

2.1.1 Conceptual understanding of xenophobia

Notwithstanding its extensive usage, xenophobia is an ambiguous and contested term in common, policy and academic debates. According to the Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English (1978: 1275) the word xenophobia is derived from the Greek words ‘xeno’, meaning stranger or foreigner, and ‘phobia’, meaning fear. It means ‘unreasonable fear and dislike of foreigners or strangers’. Some scholars consider it to be intense dislike, hatred or fear of others (Crowther 2006: 185, Hunt 1996, Nyamnjoh, 2006), others only recognize it when it manifests itself as a visible hostility towards strangers or that which is deemed foreign (Stolcke, 1999). Still others (Azindow 2007:98) describe xenophobia as discrimination towards foreigners or strangers. According to the South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC), xenophobia is defined as “the deep dislike of non-nationals by nationals of a recipient state” (Bekker, and Carlton 2010: 127). This is manifested in individuals who could be, for instance, the same color as the local inhabitants. There are also ongoing debates on whether xenophobia originates at the individual or collective level (Berezin, 2006). While these methods are unified by a generalized recognition that xenophobia is a set of attitudes and/or practices surrounding people’s origins, the precise locus of debate and work is highly contextualized and often generally unsurpassed.
Despite the different explanations of xenophobia, it is understood as a violation of human dignity and human rights in keeping with Article 26 of 1998 of the United Nations (UN), which declares racism, racial discrimination and xenophobia as human rights violations (Bustamante 2002:337). As a societal issue, numerous studies have established that xenophobia is deep-rooted in many sectors of the South African society, including government, media and financial organizations (Dodson & Oelofse 2000). Bond et al. (2010) and Vale (2002) rightly assert that political xenophobic arrogance and attacks against foreigners are based and rooted in the politics that marked the apartheid and post-apartheid leadership and influenced public policy toward African foreigners that filtered in post-apartheid South Africa.

2.1.2 Xenophobia: A global phenomenon

Historically, xenophobia did not start in South Africa; Australia, North America, Europe, United Kingdom, Japan and others have had long histories of xenophobia (Mayfield, 2010). In Rome for example, xenophobic tendencies were manifested towards the Russians and Hungarians who were not citizens but from neighboring countries (Saideman and Ayres, 2008:155-160). Australia though a multicultural society, xenophobia sentiments were manifested towards immigrants. Foreign nationals were seen at all times as criminals or asylum seekers. The situation was worsened by the fact that the government and opposition parties took advantage of these immigrants by indulging in loathing of refugees (Buchanan, 2003:7). France, which was once a white and Catholic country anti-immigrant sentiments were directed or developed following the presence of the Muslims in particular and other races. Xenophobia in France became widespread to the extent that French citizens were blaming the increased unemployment and insecurity on foreign nationals (Roemer et al., 2007:237-247). The end result was the tightening up of security (immigration laws) by the French government as foreign nationals were called criminals. The French and the British for fear of contamination of
their culture by foreign nationals coming from other continents such as Africa, Asia and the Caribbean, established a more stringent immigrations laws, which were passed restricting the number of foreign nationals coming those continents (Campbell, 2003:77).

In the United States of America (USA), xenophobic assaults are manifested in the form of anti-Hispanic hate crimes (Stacey et al., 2011:287-294). Research has it that xenophobia in the USA from a historical perspective started as far back in the 19th century. In 1885, it was reported that White Americans rioted against Chinese residents. Again in 1890, another incident of Xenophobic attacks on the Chinese was reported were white farm workers assaulted their Chinese counterpart. The Americans attitude towards Mexicans, Italians, and Asians, shows that they are not welcomed in the USA. Xenophobic assaults against Mexicans became riffed in 1914. During this period in America, only foreign nationals from Germany, England, French speaking Canadians and Jews, were welcomed to the USA (Fetzer, 2000:31 and 33). Mikulich (2009:4) articulates the U.S fear that foreign nationals from Mexico and Latino will overlook ‘white European-power over U.S. identity’. In view of Mikulich (2009:4): U.S.A. xenophobia, based on the assumption that ‘our country’ is defined by, and should maintain, its dominant White European heritage is rooted in the myth of the U.S. as a nation of European immigrants. This situation represses America’s original sin of racism and obscures the fact the country was in part built, advanced and sustained on the backs on African people who were stripped from their cultures of birth and arrived involuntarily via the Atlantic slave trade.

Xenophobic inclination was expressed in India targeting mostly foreign nationals from Bangladesh who were accused by the Indians for the country’s predicament such as increased unemployment, terrorism and environmental degradation. Just as in the case of South Africa, the numbers of Bangladesh foreign nationals
in India were most often than not, portrayed as a national threat to the country by government officials. One peculiar thing regarding xenophobia in India was that xenophobic assaults against Bangladeshi vary according to religious backgrounds. Xenophobic violence targeted against foreign nationals in both South Africa and India are similar in the sense that it was founded on ‘politics of exclusion’ and again associated with post-independence and nation-building (Crush and Ramachandran, 2010:214-217, Human Rights Watch, 1998:18-20 and 123-125).

Coming to Africa, Nigeria and Ghana have had records of hatred for foreign immigrants, which ended up with xenophobia (Campbell, 2003:74). Xenophobic inclinations in Ghana became rife in 1969 to the extent that the Ghanaian government had to evict and expelled a total number of 1.5 million foreign nationals particularly Nigerians. Research has it that in 1983, the Nigerian government evicted 1.5 million foreigners from Nigeria who were Ghanaians in particular (Campbell, 2003:74). The xenophobic inclination in both countries was spurred by economic difficulties confronting them. Nationals of both countries (Ghana and Nigeria in 1969 and 1983, respectively) accused each other of their predicaments (Soyombo, 2008:94-95). Globalization can be responsible for xenophobic attitudes because in the face of globalization, different nationals of different countries move from one country to another in search for greener pasture and at the end of the day, are exposed to xenophobic assaults (Harrison, 2005:11-13, Nyamnjoh, 2006:230-236).

In the same light, citizens from Botswana taking prompt xenophobic ideas from South Africa referred to foreign nationals (excluding South Africans) in Botswana as “makwerekwere”. Such derogatory word, which is also used in South Africa, refers to people who speak strange languages coming from economically devastated countries in search of greener pastures. Xenophobic attitudes towards foreign nationals in both
countries slightly differ in that in Botswana, the Indians are hated for being perceived as treacherous. The Indians despite their huge economic investments in Botswana, the Indians are still targeted (Campbell, 2003:101).

2.1.3 Scope of xenophobia in South Africa

Xenophobia runs deep in South Africa and goes beyond the fear and dislike of foreigners. Since the 1990s, studies have consistently acknowledged strong negative sentiments and hostility towards foreigners amongst the general public and government bureaucrats (Dodson 2010, Crush 2008, HSRC 2008, Joubert 2008, Nyamnjoh 2006). While there are cases of hospitality, tolerance, and South Africans defending the rights of non-nationals, there is convincing evidence that South Africans are generally uncomfortable with the presence of Black and Asian non-nationals in their country (Misago et al. 2015:18). This is exposed in various statistics, produced at both national and local levels:

- In a 1998 survey, the South African Migration Project (SAMP) found that 87% of South Africans felt that the country was letting in too many foreigners (Dodson, 2002);

- Crush, 2000 asserted that 25% of South Africans nationally favor a total ban on immigration and migration, considerably more than in other countries in the region and another 20% feel that everyone from neighboring countries living in South Africa (legally or not) should be sent home;

- According to Landau et al. (2004), a survey of residents in the inner city Johannesburg in 2004 by the University of the Witwatersrand showed that 64.8% of South Africans thought it would be a positive thing if most of the African refugees and immigrants left the country. By contrast, few see ridding the
country of its white population as a priority;

- In another survey by the Institute for Democracy in Southern Africa (IDASA) in 2011, the findings were that negative attitudes towards foreign nationals and particularly migrants from other African countries are still as strong and persistent as they have always been: “South Africans who are opposed to immigrants exhibit various forms of xenophobia citing that immigrants weaken society and threaten the health of the nation” (IDASA 2011:6). As in 2008, around a third of people would be willing to take action against foreign nationals in the country, 32% would be willing to take action to prevent foreign nationals from moving into their neighborhood, 36% from operating a business in their area, 32% from sitting in class with their children and 31% from becoming co-workers (IDASA 2011:6);

- A 2014 survey by the Gauteng City-Region Observatory (GCRO) revealed “levels of xenophobia and intolerance of foreigners are increasing in Gauteng”, as “thirty-five percent of all respondents said we should send all foreigners home now” (IOL news)

Crush’s finding (2008:1) concludes to say, “South Africans are the least open to outsiders and want the greatest restrictions on immigration.” Amongst South African citizens, he notes that a third would be willing to take action against foreign nationals, typically to protect ‘local’ jobs or fight crime.

2.1.4 Xenophobia in South Africa: extent, nature and reaction

The xenophobic assaults of the past by black South Africans against foreign nationals resident in South Africa has considerably altered the perceptions of South Africa as ‘a paradise’ that has metamorphosed into another pariah African state. The April 2015 sparks of xenophobic attacks generated intense debates and bitterness
from other African states and has firmly established the nation’s troubled history as this violent history goes back to more than 350 years when the first white adventurers vanquished the domains that are today the Republic of South Africa. The society was partitioned along the two lines of Black and White and from this minute, the general public was characterized by tensions. These tensions were established in the contested opportunities available to the White and Black while The Whites were the rulers and the Blacks were the ruled, and the Whites were the proprietors of profitable undertakings while the Blacks were the workers.

2.1.5 Manifestations of xenophobia in South Africa

Xenophobia in South Africa has been manifested in different forms, ranging from everyday street-level abuse to discrimination and harassment by authority officials and recurring spells of popular xenophobic violence in varying intensity and scale. There is strong evidence to support the fact that foreigners who make up non-nationals, domestic migrants, and others, living and working in South Africa, face discrimination. This comes at the hands of citizens, government officials, the police, and private organizations contracted to manage and provide services, promote urban development or manage detention and deportation processes (Crush 2008, Landau et al. 2004). Xenophobic violence in particular has become a longstanding feature in post-apartheid South Africa. Since its democratic transition in 1994, thousands of foreign nationals have been harassed, attacked, and killed just because they are foreign. Over the years, this xenophobic violence has increased across townships and informal settlements in South Africa (Landau 2011, Landau and Haithar 2007, Murray 2003, Palmary et al. 2003).
The May 2008 widespread outbreak of xenophobic attacks left 62 people dead, 21 of them South African citizens, over 100 000 displaced, 670 wounded, and 1 300 arrested (Monson & Arian 2011: 26). During that incident, a Mozambican, Ernesto Nhamuave, was set alight in Ramaphosa on the East Rand (Zvomuya 2013). Shops, homes and other businesses of foreigners were destroyed (Landau 2011: 1). The government claimed that this violence was random acts of criminality, but the violence was specifically targeted at people who were believed to be a threat to South Africa (Landau 2011: 1). Following the 2008 xenophobic attacks on African foreigners, numerous social and political debates were raised on South Africa’s tolerance for the presence of fellow Africans originating from the same continent. While migrants from the continent consider South Africa as a location of choice where democracy, socio economic justice and human rights are more respected compared to their country of origin, the 2008 xenophobic attacks provided reasons for victims of attacks to question South Africa’s role as a champion of democracy, human rights and socio-economic justice on the African continent (Rukema and Khan 2013). Sadly, the violence did not end in 2008 as dozens have been killed since then (Consortium for Refugees and Migrants in South Africa (CoRMSA 2008: 56). In 2009, the Zimbabwean community was forcefully chased from their informal settlement in a small rural town of De Doorns in the Western Cape. This led to the displacement of 3 000 people Zimbabwean nationals living in the community (Kerr & Durrheim 2013: 583-584). Landau (2011: 22) reported that the hundreds of fans who came in to South Africa for the 2010 FIFA World Cup were welcomed with threatening messages on pamphlets to leave the country.

Other incidents of xenophobic attacks were seen in 2013. Firstly, a Mozambican taxi driver died in police custody after being handcuffed and dragged behind a police van (Zvomuya 2013). Later, violent attacks against foreigners broke out in the Eastern Cape in communities around Port Elizabeth following the death of a 19-year-old South African, allegedly shot by a Somali immigrant (Chauke, 2013). All the above incidents
and many more show that xenophobia in South Africa can and often do result in violence. According to Harris (2010:10) racism, xenophobia and related intolerance continue to thrive in Southern Africa just like the rest of world. The effects of globalization, economic hardship, migration, ethnic conflict and the plight of indigenous people affect many, if not all, countries in the region. Issues relating to education, access to services, disparate economic status, autonomy and problems arising from migration are among the manifestations of racism and xenophobia in South Africa. Currently, there is not much research focusing on the international dimension of xenophobia on foreign nationals living in South Africa. This study will contribute by exploring the nature and scales of xenophobia directed toward foreign nationals and also provide further insight into the diplomatic implications involved.

2.2 Theoretical framework

In the South African context, xenophobia is not restricted to the fear or dislike of foreigners but to exploitation, discrimination and intense violence and attacks toward foreign immigrants (Harris 2002). According to Shindondola (2008:56) this fear has turned itself into a severe tension and violence by South Africans towards foreigners. Local black inhabitants blame foreign black individuals who are in the country (either legally or illegally) for taking their jobs, resulting in discriminatory practices that lead to violence and aggression towards foreigners. For the purpose of this study, the term ‘xenophobia’ will be used to denote attitudes of dislike and fear as well as violent actions towards foreigners. Several hypotheses have been put forward in an effort to explain the reasons of xenophobia. Three of these include the scapegoating, isolation and bio-cultural hypothesis.
2.2.1 The ‘scapegoating’ theory

The scapegoating hypothesis suggests that foreigners are used as ‘scapegoats’ as they are interpreted as threats to jobs, housing, education and health care, especially after South Africa’s political transition to democracy, which now exposed the unequal distribution of resources and wealth in the country (Tshitereke, 1999 and Morris, 1998). The democratic dispensation promised an increase in employment opportunities. To date, unemployment rates still remain on the high. These job opportunities are very limited amid significant increase in demand. The locals feel threatened because they have to compete with the out-group, as foreign nationals are more than ready to take up jobs at a cheaper pay rate compared to their South African counterparts. As such the locals use the foreign nationals as ‘scapegoats’ to vest out their frustrations (Soyombo, 2008:99-100).

This theory is important because of its applicability to the study. It is important because it explains the outcome of local South Africans frustration over failed promises, unemployment and low-wage payments. The limitation of this theory is that it focuses on the local South Africans frustration and who to be blamed (scapegoating) for their predicaments. It is because of the weakness of the ‘scapegoating’ theory that another theory; Isolation theory will be examined to complement the first theory. The following section will look at Isolation theory in also explaining the reasons behind xenophobia in South Africa and further complementing the ‘scapegoating’ theory.

2.2.2 The isolation theory

The isolation theory on the other hand, situates foreignness at the heart of hostility toward foreigners. Morris
(1998) argues that apartheid isolated South African citizens from nationalities beyond Southern Africa. In this hypothesis, foreigners represent the unknown to South Africans. With the political transition, however, South Africa's borders have opened up to accommodate foreign nationals from other countries. This has brought South Africans into direct contact with the unknown, with foreigners. Concurring to the isolation hypothesis, the border between previously isolated South Africans and unknown foreigners generates a space for resentment to develop: 'When a group has no history of incorporating strangers it may find it difficult to be welcoming' (Morris, 1998: 1125).

This theory relevant to the study because, firstly its applicability to the study and secondly, it encapsulates a wider understanding as to why local South Africans will resent other nationals in their country as Morris (1998: 1125) alluded, 'When a group has no history of incorporating strangers it may find it difficult to be welcoming'.

2.3 Conclusion

Xenophobia, though a worldwide phenomenon continues to plague African countries with developing economies and South Africa, with its economic hardships and immigration issues, is constantly faced with violent xenophobic attacks on immigrants (Saidman and Ayress, 2008:155-160, Soyombo, 2008:94-95, Fetzer, 2000:30). Xenophobic occurrences in South Africa and Africa in general, are more or less similar to those in the rest of the world. Xenophobic assaults on foreign nationals in South Africa is said to have come from the defunct apartheid regime of South Africa. Xenophobic inclinations towards foreign nationals in South Africa also explain the fact that the former repressive regime practices are gravely embedded into the
country’s system and such development is not ideal for socio development and nation building (Dodson, 2010:4, Olukoju, 2008:45, Steenkamp, 2009:442-442). The long years of isolation from the rest of the world was a practice of the former regime as seen manifested in the strained relationship between black South Africans and foreign nationals under the umbrella of xenophobic sentiments. South Africa, born from the ashes of apartheid, was granted democratic dispensation in 1994, which was greeted with much euphoria.

However, some black South Africans developed a phobia or hatred, mistrust, and suspicions toward foreign nationals who were perceived as people ‘reaping from where they did not sow’ (Crush et al, 2008:31-32, Dodson, 2010:8-9, Neocosmos, 2006:29-31). Regrettably, the situation became dangerous as black South Africans were just liberated from their life of frustration, violence and deprivation and therefore perceived the presence of these foreign nationals as economic competitors and mastermind behind South Africa’s increased crime waves in the country (Solomon, 2003:102-103, Nyamnjoh, 2006:42). The same sluggish manner, in which the South African government responded in the face of the xenophobic outbreak, was the same way the judiciary responded in bringing to book perpetrators of the xenophobic violence, which witnessed 62 deaths of foreign nationals including South Africans (Klaaren, 2010:135). Thus Matsinhe (2011:296-310) and Roemer et al. (2007:244) argued that the culture of violence and ‘politics of exclusion’ is a by-product of the defunct Apartheid regime, which is embedded in the country’s system.

Several studies on xenophobia have been conducted over the years; however, the recurrent sparks of xenophobic attacks in South Africa suggest that much still needs to be done to resolve the underlying triggering factors that lead to these violent attacks on black African foreigners residing in South Africa. This dissertation looks at the nature and the causes of xenophobia in South Africa, the impact of xenophobia on
foreign nationals living in South Africa and most importantly, the diplomatic implications involved. The purpose is to understand the reasons for the attitudes and practices of xenophobia in the country and to highlight the magnitude of negative effects that xenophobia can have on the diplomatic relationship between South Africa and other African States.
CHAPTER THREE

DATA PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

3.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the findings of the study. A total of five out of the 24 participants responded to the research questions provided, and each of these respondents was numbered from one to five for analysis purpose. The themes addressed in the study were the causes of xenophobia in South Africa, the impact of xenophobic attacks on foreign nationals living in South Africa, the reactions of other nations to the xenophobic attacks in South Africa, and the economic implications of xenophobia on the South African economy.

3.2 Data presentation

3.2.1 What are the causes of xenophobia in South Africa?

It was interesting to note the different responses each respondent presented as the cause of xenophobic violence on foreign nationals in South Africa. The following responses were provided as the cause of xenophobia:

Respondent 1: “The central cause of xenophobia is the down turn of the economy and the unemployment rate in South Africa, as well as failure to initiate small medium enterprises that will be beneficial to South Africans. South Africans are lazy to work and come up with sustainable small medium enterprises, and as such scapegoating their failure on foreign nationals that utilize such opportunity to make ends meet”
**Respondent 2:** “Xenophobic attacks are caused by the mere fact that most black communities in South Africa are very insecure. This explains why the Alexandra community in Johannesburg has been a repeated scene of increased xenophobic attacks on foreign nationals in South Africa”

**Respondent 3:** “Xenophobia in South Africa was caused by hate on the part of some South Africans and the statement made by King Goodwill Zwelithini who said: “foreign nationals should pack their bags and leave South Africa”. Foreign nationals are hated because of their hardwork, they are well-dressed, and false claims that they steal South African women. Such claim and statement resulted in the past attacks on foreigners by fellow black South Africans”.

**Respondent 4:** “South Africa culture is one that brings its people together such that they see any other outsider (whether of good or bad faith) as an infiltrator. This causes them to develop extreme attitudes like horrific attacks on strangers as was the case of past xenophobic attacks on foreign nationals living in South Africa”

**Respondent 5:** “The fundamental reason behind xenophobia stems from a number of variables, which included illiteracy, lack of awareness on the part of the perpetrators of the xenophobic attacks, fear of the unknown, frustration as a result of poverty and unemployment, perceived inequality between foreigners and indigenes”.

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3.2.2 What is the impact of xenophobia on foreign nationals living in South Africa?

**Respondent 1:** “Xenophobic attacks are detrimental to the safety and well-being of foreign nationals. People from different African countries will cut ties in trading in South Africa and will itself have a detrimental effect on the economic growth and stability in South Africa. In the course of the xenophobic attacks foreign nationals abandoned their business and household properties for fear of their lives. The xenophobic attacks create a situation in which, foreign nationals will lose the desire to visit South Africa whether being for academic reasons, trade, or employment, and this will impact negatively on South Africa’s diplomatic relations and economic emancipation”.

**Respondent 2:** “One of the prominent impacts of xenophobic attacks on foreign nationals has been the loss of lives of many foreign nationals and many injured. Foreign nationals are hunted for the mere reasons that they are responsible for South Africa’s predicament and South Africans sort to address his issue by killing foreign nationals in what was known as xenophobic attacks”.

**Respondent 3:** “South Africa’s long history of insecurity has caused foreign nationals to live in fear. Insecurities such as public protest, strikes, and political tensions between political parties coupled with the passed xenophobic attacks on foreign nationals living in South Africa, has caused these foreign nationals to live in fear. And this also, pushed the governments of the countries whose citizens were affected by the attacks to make quick attempts to evacuate their citizens from South Africa to their country of origin”.
**Respondent 4:** “Xenophobic attacks had impacted negatively on foreign nationals. It also came with perpetual enmity between some relationships between indigenes and foreign nationals (Nigerians). Lastly, xenophobia destroyed the already established mutual cohabitation between indigenes and foreign nationals particularly the Nigerians”.

**Respondent 5:** “Xenophobic attacks had impacted negatively on foreigners. First, it had left an imprint of rejection in the minds of foreign nationals. Second, those whose businesses were directly attacked suffered severe economic loss culminating from the destruction of their means of livelihood. Thirdly, it created and left the spirit of consistent fear and anxiety on foreign nationals. It also came with perpetual enmity between some relationships between indigenes and foreign nationals. Lastly, the xenophobic attacks destroyed mutual cohabitation between indigenes and foreign nationals”.

### 3.2.3 What are the reactions of other nations to the xenophobic attacks on foreign nationals in South Africa?

**Respondent 1:** “Xenophobia will fuel hatred from other nationals toward South Africans. It will also propel other African investors to cut ties with South Africa as such attacks affects trade and economic growth. South Africans might also receive bad treatment and hostile reception from foreign African countries and might also be subjected to the same harsh treatment as a way of revenge for the xenophobic attacks being fueled on their African brothers”
Respondent 2: “As the whole world watched South Africa being ravaged by xenophobic attacks on foreign nationals, the reactions of other countries were detrimental to the economy of South Africa. One of the reactions was, immediate evacuation of their nationals from South Africa who in one way or the other, contributed immensely to the Gross National Product (GNP) of the country’s economy. Also South Africa’s foreign investments in other foreign countries were shut down following the xenophobic attacks on foreign nationals living in South Africa. More so, citizens of other nations boycotted buying from South African owned giant companies such as Pick n Pay, Shoprite, Multichoice and Mobile Telephone Network (MTN).”

Respondent 3: “The past xenophobic attacks on foreign nationals living South Africa called for public condemnation at all levels (countries, diplomatic mission, and African Union). The African Union (AU) reacted furiously as it called on the government of South Africa to adhere to the principles such as (protection of human rights and right to life) stated in the charter of the organization, and out rightly condemned xenophobic attacks on foreign nationals in South Africa. The AU diplomatic mission condemned the xenophobic attacks on foreign nationals in South Africa and called on the government of South Africa to immediately stop the attacks on foreign nationals”.

Respondent 4: “South Africa received retaliatory threats from citizens of other countries like Nigeria, where South African companies such as Multichoice, MTN and Shoprite are doing big business. And also, the government of other African countries who have citizens in South Africa had no option but to make quick attempts to quickly bring its citizens to their respective countries”.
**Respondent 5:** “The reaction from other African countries particularly those whose nationals were directly touched in the attacks, was negative. They were never in support of the unholy action. Secondly, there were calls for an immediate stop to the destructive act from across African states”.

**3.2.4 What are the economic implications of xenophobia to South Africa?**

**Respondent 1:** “Serious economic consequences were incurred during and aftermath of the attacks. With the days of the attacks, business activities were at a standstill because some shops belonging to foreign nationals, particularly in areas directly affected were destroyed. As a result, the economies of these areas were paralyzed and consequently, both business owners and government alike lost a lot of money. Schools were also closed in these areas, which crumbled academic activities subjecting learners to untold hardship and avoidable delay and unnecessary distortion in the academic calendar”.

**Respondent 2:** “The growth of South Africa’s GNP is depended on the amount of foreign investors and trades in the country by foreign nationals from different countries in and around the world. Therefore xenophobic attacks of nationals from these countries South Africa is benefiting from its overseas investments, will only mean a complete withdrawal of their foreign investments from South Africa, thus lowering South Africa’s GNP. The same way these foreign investors will withdraw their investments from South Africa, is the same way they will also shut down South Africa’s investments in their home country”.

**Respondent 3:** “South Africa has had a long history of instability. A country’s stable nature is an added advantage to attracting foreign investors, and business tycoons. Coupled with the country’s long history of instability, and xenophobic attacks on foreign nationals, the country is at the brink of losing future foreign investors who contribute immensely to the GNP of South Africa’s economy. This is to say such xenophobic attacks on foreign nationals living in
South Africa will go a long way to scare foreign investors and trades thereby, impacting the economy of South Africa negatively”.

**Respondent 4:** “Dreams of a united Africa, and one Africa for all, were dashed down the drain following the past xenophobic attacks on foreign nationals living in South Africa. The long standing diplomatic ties of South Africa with other nations, came to standstill as the country received calls from different nations either condemning or putting an immediate stop to the inhuman and horrific acts of xenophobia. The anti-African sentiments as was the case with the past xenophobic attacks on foreign nationals living in South Africa, has had far reaching effects to the continent coming together as one. The past xenophobic attack has made nationals from other countries in and around the world to look at South Africans with such hate”.

**Respondent 5:** “South Africa’s long history of instability coupled with the past xenophobic attacks against foreign nationals has put the country on a spot light of losing future foreign tourists and foreign investors. During the period of the xenophobia in South Africa, many tourists had to cancel their flights and foreign investors had to withdraw from investing in South Africa as they stand the risk of not only losing their businesses but also their lives. The tourism industry serve as the back bone in every economy as it brings in foreign investors and foreign currencies and the result will be a flourishing economy as was the case before the outburst of xenophobic attacks. This is to say such xenophobic attacks on foreign nationals living in South Africa will go a long way to scare foreign investors and trades thereby, impacting the economy of South Africa negatively”.
3.3 Discussion of findings

3.3.1 Causes of xenophobia in South Africa

Respondents’ feedback with regard to the causes of xenophobia in South Africa strongly identify with previously reported findings of other researchers. Since the removal of the apartheid regime in South Africa, the country has portrayed its image on the international stage as a “Rainbow Nation” because of its diverse cultures. However, according to Citizen’s Rights of Africans Initiative (CRAI) (2009: 28), South Africa’s only true culture is one of violence, which has been part of the country’s long history of apartheid where in the struggle for liberation, violence was used as tool of repression. In their study, the Centre for the Study of Violence and reconciliation (CSRV) (2008) noted that, “the use of violence to address issues societal challenges is linked to the fact that we (South Africans) come from a history whereby violence was used systematically. Yet, we have not done enough to address this history and the subsequent unresolved trauma. In agreement with the above findings, Gumede (2015) noted that the only unique culture South Africa has is one of violence and not one that brings people together. The culture of violence according to Gumede, is embedded in the country’s history dated back from the apartheid era where both the whites and blacks lived in suspicion of each other. This culture of violence scares people away as was the case of the past xenophobic attacks on foreign nationals living in South Africa and it is evident in the high levels of crime and violence in South Africa.

According to Agence France-Presse (AFP) (2012), xenophobia in South Africa is caused by the government’s inability to tackle unemployment problems and inequality. As the Democratic Alliance (DA) parliamentary leader, Mmusi Maimane mentioned, “the root of this problem lies in our inability to bring about economic growth and decrease the inequality that plagues our nation”. Similarly in their study, Landau, 2011:3, 1-12
and Michela, 2008:28 identified that the 1994 democratic dispensation in South Africa was greeted with much euphoria amid the promises of an “Eldorado” by some black South African politicians to their fellow black South Africans. Faced with the reality of unrealistic promises made to them, some poor black South Africans became frustrated and remained onlookers rather than participants to the rich lifestyles of some black South Africans elites (Pillay, 2008:97-100, Landau, 2011:12, Michela, 2008:23, Sinwell, 2011:143-147). The end result was the violent attacks towards foreign nationals and blaming them for being responsible for the poor black South Africans predicaments (Bearak and Dugger, 2008:1-2). Influenced by the affluent lifestyles of some black South African elites, the violent attacks of the poor black South Africa manifested in the killing and stealing of properties belonging to foreign nationals (Pillay, 2008:97-100, Michela, 2008:23).

Though the democratic dispensation of 1994 in South Africa was greeted with much hope and happiness, the situation on ground was far more different from the expectations. Contrary to their expectations was increased level of crime, HIV/AIDS, inequality and abject poverty (Petros et al., 2006:67-77, Michela, 2008:23). The issues of unemployment has been a contending problem in contemporary South Africa and to make matters worse, foreign nationals provide cheap labor to their employers therefore out-competing the poor black South Africans. As a result a handful of some poor black South Africans remain unemployed (Everatt, 2011:3). Coupled with their frustrations from the fact that some black South Africans were living an affluent lifestyle, some poor black South Africans were more than frustrated by the fact that some foreign nationals who resides with them were far better off than them. With their qualification, these foreign nationals stand a better chance and excel in whatever job or business they are doing than their fellow poor black South Africans who have been disadvantaged economically by the former oppressive regime in their own country (Bearak and Dugger, 2008:1-2, Nkomo et al., 1995:263-265). The worst-case scenario was the fact that these foreign nationals were
ready to offer their employers with cheaper labor than what some poor black South Africans were willing and ready to offer (Solomon, 2003:102-103).

The phobia by local black South Africans towards foreign nationals has created an unsafe environment for foreigners living in South Africa. The situation was aggravated to the extent that these foreign nationals find themselves underpaid compared to the type and hours of work done. Local employers on their part are taking advantage of black foreign immigrants, exploiting labor and therefore making the environment insecure for some foreign immigrants to go through the asylum process without being captured and detained under police custody. Because of their status in the country, local employers continuously took advantage of the situation and not paying the foreign immigrant workers because they could not go to the police to report without them being arrested and detained for no documentation. Foreign nationals are targeted in such a way that even going to the police is no longer a viable option. Employers now work in cahoots with the police in identifying foreign nationals. A community organization known as “Community Policing” was formed to monitor the activities of these foreign immigrants living in the country. This ‘Community Policing’ expect South Africans to spy on foreign nationals and report suspicions to the authorities. The South African Police Service (SAPS), with the help of the South African population, has targeted foreign nationals, who are undocumented but living in South Africa and therefore making their stay miserable (Hicks, 1999:402-403). To condemn the justification of attacks on foreigners on the basis of unemployment, the South African Police Minister, Nathi Nhleko, said: “poverty and unemployment are not justification for attacking foreign nationals”. We all are human beings and as a result we only have one heritage that we share, and that’s humanity. That is the starting point” eNCA (2015).
The violence and racial tensions have been complexly connected to South African history. The push of the whites to pick up control of the domain of South Africa fueled savagery from the blacks that opposed them. At the point when this control was changed into Apartheid (racial segregation), much more savagery came about because of the inevitable black battles for concessions and majority rule. Majority rule was in the long run accomplished in 1994 with high premiums set in material and economic prospects for every citizen of South Africa. South Africa, since then, has remained racially imbalanced and the inequitable legacy of 350 years of colonial command has taunted the current political dispensation. The laws of the ‘New South Africa’ have banned racial separation, however; the country has remained, in the words of President Thabo Mbeki, “a nation of two countries, one rich and white, the other poor and black” (Onah, 2008:263). The former President’s statement, though made in 1998, remains true today on the part of the black, the economically disadvantaged population.

More so, the economic disempowerment of blacks in South Africa has made everyday survival progressively troublesome for the individuals with entrenched existential insecurity among blacks in South Africa. During the reign of former President Thabo Mbeki, efforts to transform the South African economy through black empowerment, equal access to health care and educational facilities did not succeed. Rather, it created a wider unequal gap between and amongst black South Africans. As a result, the unequal distribution of resources between and amongst black South Africans has created a hostile environment not conducive for cohabitation for both the black locals and foreign immigrants living in the country. Local black South Africans from the economically disadvantaged communities had it that foreign nationals compete with them for employment opportunities and to make matters worse accept cheaper pay packages far more than what a local black South African would take ( Warner and Finchelescu, 2003:36-44). Xenophobic attacks on foreign nationals became the only way to vent frustrations emerging from this issue. As Inglehart et al., (2006:495-505) argues,
resources are alarmingly disproportionately accessed such that one group enjoys privileged access at the peril of the other and assaults against foreign nationals get escalated as the marginalized target ‘the other’ consequently, xenophobia gets to be ordinary when threats to the survival of the indigenous are perceived to be consequent upon the foreigner’s presence. These dangers generally "constrain individuals to concentrate on the prosperity of ones in-group (local black South Africans), and perceiving the out-group (black foreign nationals) with suspicion and distrust". From the above, it gets to be conceivable to clarify xenophobic assaults in South Africa.

Furthermore, Citizens’ Rights in Africa Initiative (CRAI, 2009:1) identified that the repressive, separative and long years of isolation of South African from the rest of the world under the apartheid era, only created a breathing ground for xenophobia to surface in different forms. First, it created the issue of identity where black South Africans were encouraged to see themselves as separate people from the entire continent and the result was the fear of the unknown. Second, it encouraged separation and compartmentalization of various populations as a means of governance and discouraged integration or contact between groups. Finally, it institutionalized violence as a means of communicating grievances and achieving political ends. Apartheid thus served as an originator to contemporary socio-political configurations and approaches to mobility and outsiders. As a Mozambican respondent in Atteridgeville acknowledged in Misago et al. (2009:15):

“This thing is something we inherited from the Boers because when we came to South Africa we arrived into their hands. They encouraged the hatred of outsiders and people would point out to them that at such a place there is a Shangani [Tsonga speaker from South Africa or Mozambique] person and they would come and deport you. So even the children grew up in that culture of discrimination where they could distinguish that this person is from this area and they are of a certain tribe.”
Statements made by some political officials in the past have also contributed to violent attacks met to foreigners. In his statement made in 1997, Former Minister of Home Affairs Dr. Mangosuthu Buthelezi, accused foreign nationals living in country for being behind black local South Africans’ predicament in the following statement:

“With an illegal population estimated at between 2.5 million 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...[citizens should] aid the Department and the South African Police Services in the detection, prosecution and removal of illegal aliens from the country...the cooperation of the community is required in the proper execution of the Department’s functions” (Crush 2008 cited in Bond et al. 2010)

This has been interrogated as finding a scapegoat for the challenges in SA. Similar derogatory statements have been made in recent years. Last year at the moral regeneration event in Pongola, Kwa-Zulu Natal Province, Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini made the following statement in Khoza (2016):

“African migrants should take their things and go because they are changing the nature of South African society with their goods and enjoying wealth meant for the locals”

Furthermore, President Jacob Zuma said that South African blacks should not behave as if they were “typical” blacks from “Africa”. The ANC secretary general Gwede Mantashe on the other hand, also blamed foreigners for stoking unrest in South Africa’s platinum belt. Whether such statements were said out of good faith or not, such derogatory and racist statements made by South African elites and government officials were catalyst factors to the wave of xenophobic violence toward foreign black nationals (Wilkison 2015). Such statement also caused other departments to see foreign nationals living in South Africa as responsible for the country’s predicament. The police for example, took advantage of the speech in abusing and accusing foreign nationals,
especially Nigerians seeking asylum, for being responsible for drug trafficking and petty crimes orchestrated by the local South Africans themselves (Hicks, 1999:400-402). Rather than grapple with the issue as distinct from high levels of “ordinary” crime, government and police officials have resisted pressure to approach xenophobic violence as anything rooted in attitudes, political instrumentalism, or economic ambition. Instead, they argue, the language of xenophobia is merely a cover for criminality or even a conscious effort to bring South Africa’s reputation into disrepute. According to a police spokesperson quoted in a May 2013 issue of *The Mail & Guardian*:

> “Holistically speaking, South Africans are not xenophobic and many cases are merely crime. [...] We cannot conflate this issue and we commonly see this as Afro-phobia that is underpinned by criminality. When we see children looting shops and people robbing people of their goods it is to us a blatant sign of crime that is being excused as xenophobia.” (in Misago et al. 2015)

The Consortium for Refugees and Migrants in South Africa (CoRMSA) argues that because the “police are very quick to dismiss attacks on foreign nationals as simply ‘criminal’ rather than xenophobic,” they have limited ability to detect prejudice motives in criminal incidents (CoRMSA, 2010). This has severe repercussions for their ability to counter violence: when the police arrest or bring perpetrators to justice, which they rarely do, the focus is almost exclusively on those caught in the act rather than on instigators behind the scenes. Although the troublemakers are often well known to the community, they have *de facto* impunity and may – as they have in many cases – act again. Certainly, by eliminating economic competition, seizing housing, or winning political favor through their actions, their incentives are further strengthened (Misago et al. 2015:28).
The media was also listed as a contributing factor to xenophobia as portrays foreigners in a bad light thereby adding more fuel to the fire per se. Labeling foreigners and other outsiders assists in their victimization, and uninformed opinions are often reproduced unexamined by the media. Press references to overwhelming ‘floods’ of foreigners entering the country heighten existing fears and defensive attitudes in the absence of reliable statistics or any credible basis upon which to measure the true scale of immigration (Crush and Williams, 2001). The insensitive use of the word ‘illegal’ in allusion to immigrants lends credibility to the marginalization of foreigners who in many cases are undocumented due to administrative delays rather than criminal intent. This is a particularly dangerous form of stereotyping, as the label ‘illegal’ legitimizes police maltreatments and community ‘justice’ by positioning the migrant as a criminal deserving of punishment.

Neocosmos (2008:590) and Nyamnjoh (2006:46) purported that the negative publicity of foreign nationals by the media were being promoted by the white bourgeoisies in an effort to sway the focus of the government on the rising expectations of the relationship between the ordinary black and white South African citizens. To justify their allegations in an effort to counteract the common saying that foreign nationals are responsible for the high crime wave in the country, studies were conducted, which revealed that foreign nationals accounts for only less than one % arrest while 98% of criminal arrest in were black South Africans. Nyamnjoh (2006:63-64) explained that the South Africa media was largely controlled and owned by white South African bourgeoisies. Chossudovsky (1997:397) argues that white South African bourgeoisies in general dominate the South African economy. Therefore, Nyamnjoh (2006:63-64) concluded that because these two sectors (media and economy) are controlled and owned by white South African bourgeoisies, media bias in the promotion of the former oppressive racist and discriminatory politics takes center stage. In addition, dissemination of information via the media stands a probability to running high the country’s democracy but instead it runs it
down by way of promoting the politics of exclusion and criminalization practices which belonged to the former repressive regime (Danso and McDonald, 2001:118-131 and Sonneborn, 2010:58-87).

Petros et al. (2006:67-77) emphasizes that the reasons behind the stringent migration laws limiting the influx of foreign nationals into South Africa was the fears of spread of diseases such as HIV/AIDS and also competition over limited resources. Even before the major outbreak of the 2008 xenophobic violence targeted at foreign nationals, the same concerns and anti-African sentiments were the major information disseminated over media in the new South Africa (Danso and McDonald, 2001:115-137). Unexpectedly, the day-to-day readers of these “white owned” newspapers are black South African elites and politicians who see some of the newspapers stereotypical as political propaganda. Since the poor black South African citizenry take what comes from the various media outlets as true, a situation like this explains more as to why many of them develop such hatred and dislikes against foreign nationals whom they have not met (Danso and McDonald, 2001:116). Because the actions and believes of black South Africans are based on the misinformation from the media, this explains their lack of exposure to other Africans and African cultures. This situation was not a good ideal for some black South Africans because with this lack of ignorance it therefore means that rather than been exposed to the rest of the world, they prefer South African orientation. It is against this back drop that Matsinhe (2011:297-300) concluded to say that South Africa amongst other African countries is the only country in African where the white man’s supremacy had been properly embedded in the system so much so that some black South Africans has develop anti-African orientation.

The manner, in which some media houses in South Africa continue to promote certain stereotypes about foreign nationals, has caused foreign nationals to be labeled derogatory names. For instance the Zimbabwean
and Mozambican women were perceived as prostitutes, Nigerians and Moroccans were labeled drug dealers, Congolese, Zairians and Lesotho, were involved in passport fraud, diamond, gold and copper wire smuggling respectively (Danso and McDonald, 2001:126-127). Based on these (media) stereotypes Human Rights Watch (1998:49-136) argues that some government department such as the Home Affairs and SAPs and some black South Africans were bent on inciting violence on foreign nationals.

Connotations such as; “illegals”, “illegal aliens”, “illegal foreigners”, were more or less amongst others the most commonly used connotations to describe all foreign nationals. Some of the newspapers carried headings such as; “illegals in South Africa add to decay of cities”, “Francophone invasion”, which depicted foreign nationals as unacceptable and unwelcomed before South African readers thereby, “Africanizing” migration into South Africa (Nyamnjoh, 2006:63-68). Worst case scenario was during the outbreak of the 2008 xenophobic violence where some newspapers such as the Daily Sun, were perceived as inflaming the violence with inglorious headlines such as: “War against aliens: Thousands forced to flee Alex”. These undignified headlines served the platform for black South Africans inciting violence against these foreign nationals as a sort of patriotism in defending their country against aliens deluge (Harber, 2008:161-163). The founder of the Daily Sun, Deon du Plessis, however, argued that the targeted audience was the poor black South Africans who were against the global notion of sharing their limited resources with their fellow foreign nationals and because they (black South Africans) themselves could barely survive with the limited resources available. Another problem to contend with was the fact that most media houses were out to make profit irrespective of the news content and therefore saw the 2008 xenophobic outburst as an opportunity to achieve their selfish aims. Du Plessis was quoted: “it may not be a very worldly view, but it served the papers audience” (Harber, 2008:168). The implication of Du Plessis statement was that since the media was used by who wield
enormous influence on the media, the media might have been used again to publicize such negative and stereotypes to black South Africans against their fellow foreign nationals.

The timing of the South African media and politicians making reckless statements against foreign nationals, blaming them for poor black South Africans hardship and been responsible for the related health prevalent issues, was no coincidence with the xenophobic assaults that broke out in 2008 targeting foreign nationals (Steenkamp, 2009:441-443, Petros et al., 2006:74-75). The timing was no coincidence in the sense that the period from 1994-2008 was bedeviled with frustrations stemming from increased HIV/AIDS prevalence, abject poverty and politically motivated violence. Thanks to the media and some South African politicians some poor black South Africans believed that the only way forward was to get rid of these intruders (foreign nationals) through violent means as was the case of the 2008 xenophobic assaults targeted on the these foreign nationals living in South Africa (Steenkamp, 2009:442-444).

Above all, the issue of migration was also listed as a causative factor to the rise in violent attacks against foreign nationals. Nyamnjoh (2006:1-4,230-236) and McGowan and Ahwireng-Oben (1998:165-195) affirmed that in the contemporary global economy today with its complexities centered on the concept of globalization, which is characterized by the movement of people, South Africa being a capitalist economy is no exception to this contemporary economic system. In the face of globalization, nation states or countries are said to lose their territorial boundaries so much so that the whole world becomes a ‘global village’ characterized by borderless states, which are interdependent on each other. Despite the advantages that follow globalization, many African countries do not to benefit from this positive development because of increasing levels of underdevelopment and rising poverty. This unpredictable situation of economic development are just
a characteristics of many African countries who are far from benefiting from the positive development of globalization as a result of corruption, embezzlement and mismanagement (Muzumbukilwa, 2007:3-7, Boutros-Ghali, 1996:87-89 and Human Rights Watch, 1998:22-30).

Of the many African countries in the continent who are still battling to reap the benefit of globalization because of their precarious economic development, South Africa has been a benefactor thanks to the country’s economic strength and political calmness. It is from this backdrop that Chossudovsky (1997:397 and McGowan and Ahwireng-Oben, 1998:165-195) concluded that South Africa has been a ‘home away from home’ for many foreign nationals who are either skilled or unskilled economic and refugee immigrants (Boutros-Ghali, 1996:87-89). The ingress of foreign nationals into South Africa was as a result of a number of factors such as the relative peace that ensued following the democratic dispensation. South Africa in Africa during this time experienced an economic boom whilst other African countries like Zimbabwe, Malawi and Mozambique, experienced regression. It is against this backdrop that South Africa experienced the deluge of these foreign nationals from countries such as Mozambique, Malawi, Nigeria, Ghana and other Sub-Saharan countries. The relative peace that ensued following democratic dispensation in 1994 however, did not last long because some of the ANC led government promises of black empowerment met with little success. The result was the accusation levied on these foreign nationals for stealing jobs meant for poor black South Africans. The black South Africans, who were very hospitable at the very beginning, changed and developed an anti-African phobia and the end was the xenophobic violence against these foreign nationals (Onah, 2008:265-266).
The absence of an early warning system exposed certain weaknesses in South Africa’s democratic structure amid the inability on the part of the government to respond on time. The xenophobic violence outbreak also exposed the SAPS inability to take control of the whole situation even though the department was restructured in 2006 before the 2008 xenophobic outbreak. Though the violence went viral but with the assistance of the military (South African National Defense Force), the violence was contained with casualties ranging from 21 and 62 deaths.

3.3.2 The impact of xenophobic attacks on foreign nationals living in South Africa

In line with the responses of all 5 respondents in this study, several cases of xenophobic attacks on foreign nationals reported over the years beginning from the transition to apartheid-free democracy in 1994, has brought with it negative effects on the lives of foreigners in South Africa. Some of the cases of xenophobia experienced and reported in the past are highlighted below:

In September 1998, two Senegalese and a Mozambican were thrown from a moving train in Johannesburg by a group of individuals returning from a rally organized by a group blaming foreigners for the levels of unemployment, crime, and even the spread of AIDS. In 2000, seven xenophobic killings were reported in the Cape Flats district of Cape Town. Kenyan Kingori Siguri Joseph died in Tambo Close, Khanya Park in Gugulethu after being attacked and shot. In separate incidents, two Nigerians were shot dead in NY 99 in Gugulethu. Prince Anya, 36, who owned a restaurant in Sea Point, was hijacked with his wife Tjidi and their toddler in Adam Tas Road, Bothasig. In Mdolomda Street in Langa, two Angolan brothers were trapped inside their house and burnt to death. On May 11 2008, an outburst of xenophobic violence in the
Johannesburg Township Alexandra triggered more xenophobic violence in other townships. The victims were physically and verbally abused called “foreigners”. Many houses were burnt, 342 shops were looted and 213 burnt down by local residents worth millions of Rands (CoRMSA 2008). Hundreds of people were injured, thousands chased away and the death toll after the attacks stood at 56. A 35-year old Mozambican Ernesto Alfabeto Nhamuave, was beaten, stabbed and set alight in Ramaphosa informal settlement on the East Rand. Nobody had been arrested for his horrible murder (Carien, 2009).

On 24 May 2008, shops owned by Pakistan, Somalis, and Ethiopians were attacked, their stocks were looted and the doors ripped down. The looting was widespread in Sebokeng, Orange Farm, and Evaton areas South of Johannesburg. From 14 to 17 November 2009, 3 000 Zimbabwean citizens living in the rural community of De Doorns, an informal settlement near Breede Valley Municipality, in the Western Cape were displaced as a result of xenophobic violence. It selectively targeted Zimbabweans despite the presence of other foreign nationals (e.g. Lesotho nationals) living and working in the same area (Misago, 2009). In every single year since 2008, violence has claimed more lives than it did during the May 2008 attacks and between mid-2009 and late 2010, there were at least 20 deaths, over 40 serious injuries, at least 200 foreign-run shops looted and more than 4,000 persons displaced due to violence targeting foreign nationals (CoRMSA, 2011).

In 2011, at least 120 foreign nationals were killed, five of them burnt alive, 100 were seriously injured, at least 1 000 displaced, and 120 shops and businesses permanently or temporarily closed through violence or selective enforcement of laws. In 2012, the number of violent incidents increased with at least 250 incidents recorded, which resulted in the loss of 140 lives and 250 serious injuries. (Misago et al. 2015:21). In 2013, an average of three major violence incidents were recorded per week with attacks regularly reported in many
areas across the country during 2014. According to UNHCR Regional Office of Southern Africa (ROSA), up to March 2014, an estimated 300 incidents of violence against asylum seekers and refugees had been reported, an estimated 200 shops had been looted and 900 persons had been displaced. The South African Police Services (SAPS) were overwhelmed by the increase in violence against foreigners and required support and assistance from all relevant government departments (UNHCR ROSA 2014)

On 27 February 2013, eight South African police officers tied a 27-year old Mozambican man, Mido Macia, to the back of a police van and dragged him down the road. Subsequently, the man died in a police cell from head injuries. The incident happened in Daveyton, East of Johannesburg, South Africa. On 26 May 2013, two Zimbabwean men were killed by South Africans mob in xenophobic violence in Diepsloot, South Africa. On 10 April 2015, two Ethiopian brothers were critically injured when their shop, in a shipping container, was set on fire while they were trapped inside. One of the men died while in hospital. Tromp, Olifant, and Savides (2015) alluded that the 2015 xenophobic attacks in South Africa targeting foreign nationals living in South Africa, left six foreign nationals dead. Amongst the six deaths, was a Mozambican named Emmanuel Sithole a street vendor in Alexandra Township in Johannesburg who was stabbed to death as onlookers watched as though they were watching a movie. The Daily Guide (2015) also reported that amongst the death toll were four Ghanaians. The death of these four Ghanaians shocked the Ghanaian community in South Africa as they sort to return to their country of origin than stay in South Africa and be killed. The local black South Africans were hunting for foreign nationals who the locals perceived as stealing their jobs. Therefore, to escape this inhuman act by local black South Africans on their fellow foreign nationals, the Ghanaians community in South Africa had to disguise themselves (Daily Guide, 2015).
Amongst the foreign nationals that were negatively affected in past xenophobic attacks that ravaged the country were nationals from Nigeria, Ghana, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Malawi, Pakistan, Somalia, Congo etc. Following the outburst of the attacks, nationals from these countries lived in fear particularly Nigerians because they were depicted as drug lords. According to Wicks (2015), 12 April 2015 saw another scene of violent attacks on foreigner in KwaZulu-Natal where shops in Umlazi and KwaMashu, outside Durban, were torched. A shop owned by a foreign national was set on fire by a mob of suspects. Almost 2 000 foreign nationals from Malawi, Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Burundi were displaced as a result of the violence. On the 14th of April 2015, looting of foreign shops spread to other parts of the province and a car was set alight at Durban's Central Business District (CBD). Because of the horrific and inhuman repeated acts of violence on the part of local South Africans toward foreign nationals, the governments of Ghana, Nigeria, Zimbabwe and Mozambique made quick attempts to evacuate their citizens back to their country of origin following the 2015 wave of attacks. Foreign nationals from other nations like Kenya, reacted to the violence not because its citizens were caught in the cross fire but reacted to the early warning signs and evacuated its citizens before ever they were attacked or killed (Ndimele, 2015).

The already established mutual relations between South Africa vis-à-vis Nigeria, Zimbabwe and Mozambicans, was dashed down the drained at the dawn of the 2008 xenophobic attacks on foreign nationals. The track records of xenophobic attacks on Nigerian nationals living in South Africa, has left the Nigerian community both at home and abroad in a state of dilemma. There were instances where Nigerians in particular were being searched upon arrival at the Oliver Tambo International Airport. A glaring example was Prof. Wole Soyinka who in 2005 was denied entry into South Africa (Olupohunda, 2013).
3.3.3 The reactions of other nations to the xenophobic attacks on foreign nationals in South Africa

All five respondents affirmed that there were eyebrows raised during the last incidents of xenophobic attacks on foreign nationals, which is in line with previously published literature. True to the findings, the last wave of xenophobic attacks in South Africa left the entire world in a state of dilemma as they were watching from different media outlet. There were urgent calls from home countries particularly Malawi, Kenya and Nigeria, to evacuate their own from amongst South Africans in South Africa. A number of African states in the wake of the xenophobic attacks expressed displeasure on violence perpetrated against their citizens.

Also, during the wake of the 2015 xenophobic attacks eNCA (2015) alluded that the All Progressive Congress (APC) of Nigeria handed a memorandum demanding from the South African government to stop the xenophobic attacks on foreign nationals immediately or South African owned companies operating in Nigerian such as MTN and Shoprite, will be shut down till further notice. According to Tornyi (2015) the Islamic terrorist group “Boko Haram” operating in Nigeria, warned the South African Government of an imminent attack should the xenophobic attacks not stops within 24 hours. It should be recalled that this Islamic sect was responsible for the many deaths in Nigerian. When the xenophobic violence broke out, the Islamic sect sent a YouTube video message warning the South African government and giving them 24 hours or they will start executing South African citizens in Nigerian and other African countries of Chad and Niger (Tornyi, 2015).

Furthermore, in line with a report from Agence France-Presse (AFP), the Malawian government threatened to evacuate its citizens from South Africa following the outbreak of the xenophobic attacks which left many Malawian wandering the streets of Johannesburg in fear of their lives. In another report issued by Kondwani Nankhumwa, Malawi’s information minister; a total of 360 Malawians were stranded as they fled their homes
therefore, Malawi’s government reaction to evacuate its citizens from South Africa (Winsor, 2015). The
government of Zimbabwe didn’t hesitate to protect its citizens. Liou (2015) reported that despite Zimbabwe’s
long-standing relationship with South Africa, the outbreak of the xenophobic attacks did not treat
Zimbabwean citizens with any sense of specialty. Many foreign nationals were targeted alongside
Zimbabweans following the outburst of xenophobic attacks. The last wave of xenophobic attacks in South
Africa forced the hands of Zimbabweans at home to boycott all South African businesses particularly the
giant supermarket chain called ‘Pick n Pay’ and also the call from the Zimbabwean government for its citizens
to return home.

Zambia’s reaction following the last wave of xenophobia attacks in South Africa was outright condemnation
of the violent attacks by local black South Africans against their fellow foreign nationals. Before the outbreak
of the last wave of xenophobic attacks in South Africa, Zambia used to fly South Africa’s flag through
playing of South Africa’s artist local songs on the Zambian QFM Radio. But as soon as the violence broke
out, that stopped following a statement released by the Mr Asan Nyama through Punch Nigeria saying that in
order for Zambia to show her solidarity to the foreign nationals affected by xenophobia in South Africa, QFM
Radio has to stop playing South African songs through their radio station. Anti-South African sentiment was
developed across Africa following the inhuman acts of xenophobia (Winsor, 2015).

The last spate of xenophobic violence in South Africa has tarnished the country’s image at the international
level especially within the Southern African Development Corporation (SADC) zone, as South Africa has
been involved in the fight for regional integration. Peter Mutharika, Malawian President called on the SADC
President, Robert Gabriel Mugabe as the Chairperson of the regional block (AU), to make sure that the
inhuman act of xenophobia in South Africa is contained. Malawian citizens protested right in front of the South African High Commission in Malawi asking the South Africa government to curb the situation (Ebrahim, 2015).

As previously mentioned, the past xenophobic violence in South Africa forced thousands of Mozambicans including children to flee the country following the death of seven people including a Mozambican national (Lambert, 2015). The government of Mozambique noticing such acts of xenophobic violence against its nationals in South Africa started registering its national’s victims of such violence and also reopened its transitory unit support in Beluluane (Centro Transitório de Beluluane) and other units in South Africa. The government used its means in the operation to help about 4 363 victims return home. It sent buses to South Africa and also made available trains in order to carry the victims willing to go back to Mozambique. In addition, the government arranged for the body of one deceased Mozambican to be brought back home for burial (Lambert, 2015).

### 3.3.4 The economic implications of xenophobia to South Africa

All the five respondents attested to the fact that there were economic implications incurred during the past incidences of xenophobic violence. As broadcasted by the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC) the last spate of xenophobic violence has had other African countries speaking out in protest condemning xenophobia in their country. The future of South African businesses both home and overseas is not as bright as it was before after the xenophobic violence broke out in the country. Schools in areas affected by xenophobia were closed and so was economic activities and these caused the South African government millions of Rands. An independent online Cable News Network (CNN), also reported South African
companies operating in Mozambique was shot down and most of its workers (South Africans) were repatriated back to their country following the outbreak of the xenophobic violence (Sanchez, 2015).

A clear picture of how South Africa has been greatly affected by these violent attacks on foreign nationals is seen in Statistic South Africa release reports. The Quarterly Labor Force Survey, Quarter 1, 2006 release report shows that since 2010 the first quarter of each year consistently recorded increases in unemployment. The number of unemployed people had increased by more than half a million in both quarter one 2015 and quarter one 2016 (Stats SA, P0211, 2016). The tourism sector also saw fluctuations in the number of foreign visitors, particularly foreigners from the other African countries. As reported by Stats SA, P0351 (2015:5), Algeria, Cameroon and Egypt recorded an increase in the number of tourists who visited in 2015. On the contrary, a significant decrease of foreign tourists was observed for seven countries namely Nigeria, Gabon, Ghana, Uganda, Ethiopia, Kenya and Congo with Nigeria reporting the highest decrease of 26.4%. Furthermore, the mining- production and sales department saw a decrease in mineral sales by 5.3% (Stats SA, P2041, 2015). Moreover, the manufacturing production and sales sector also saw a decrease in manufacturing production by 2.1% in October 2015 (Stats SA, P3041.2, 2015).

South Africa is the only African country with 11 official languages and because of its vast cultural diversity, has served as a home for many foreign nationals coming from Africa in particular and the world in general. South Africa, with a leading economy in the continent, has directed more of her attention in the fight for intra-Africa’s economic integration. Regrettably, the recent spate of xenophobic violence against foreign nationals living in South Africa has negatively affected the country’s economy and also halted the country’s effort to expand its tentacles in other African countries. The end of the apartheid regime, which paved a way for a new
democratic South Africa, was thanks to the collective support of other African countries. A handful of African countries such as Nigeria, Namibia, Malawi, Zimbabwe, Zambia and Mozambique, served as a home for some of the ANC members on exile. These countries because of the manner in which their citizens were treated in the past xenophobic violence, resorted to repatriating South African citizens and boycotting South African businesses in their respective home countries (Chen, 2015).

According to News24Wire (2015), one of the factors worth considering when investing in another country is the state of stability of the said country. Stability of any country is an added advantage in attracting foreign investors. Dr Herold Ngalawa, a macro-economist, alluded that foreign investors take into account the stability of any given country before embarking on any business adventure. “An economy characterized by violence and lawlessness (like South Africa) is not good for investment,” said the University of KwaZulu-Natal academic (News24Wire, 2015). Moreover, Le Cordeur (2015) supports the argument to the say; the economy of South Africa has for many years benefited from foreign investments. Therefore the outbreak of xenophobic violence seems to work against the economy of South Africa, which has attracted many foreign investors and a home away for many foreign nationals from Africa in particular and the world in general.

Young Professional Economist Network (YPEN) and Excellent Leadership Awards Group (ExLA Group) (YPEN and ExLA Group, 2015) alluded that with the last wave of xenophobic attacks targeted at foreign nationals, the chances of inter-Africa economic integration between and amongst African states remain very slim. South Africa with a giant economy in Africa has more influence to forge this integration. One of the dreams of the founding fathers of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in 1963 and now African Union (AU), was a United State of Africa (USA), supported by people of high caliber, willing to ensure quality
peace and security and high mobility of financial capital. Regrettably the xenophobic attacks that took place in May 2008 and April 2015 ruined the chances of the 54 African countries in the continent coming together to form a robust and diversified United States of Africa (USA). The inhuman act on the part of some local black South Africans has caused the country’s economy so much and therefore, has a negative economic impact on Africa as a whole.

Looking at the above statistics, this leaves no doubt that the decreases observed in the different sectors and increase in unemployment are as a result of the past xenophobic crises that resulted in the efflux, displacement of foreign nationals together with burning down of the shops own by these victims. Some of these foreign nationals owned shops and other small businesses that offered employment to South African citizens. Majority of them with no skills or legal status in the country offered cheap labor to their employers in the country, as was the case in the mining and manufacturing sectors. As indicated by the South African Trade and Industry Deputy Minister, Mzwandile Masina, South Africa has lost billions of Rands following an embargo on South African products as a result of the last wave of xenophobic attacks that ravaged the country. Nigeria recalled its envoys to South Africa. The tourism industry was negatively affected following the outbreak of the last wave of xenophobic attacks targeted at foreign nationals as many tourist visitors’ trips to the country were cancelled and many foreign representatives on their part updated their travel advisories regarding the xenophobic attacks in South Africa. All these therefore worked against the economy of South Africa (Iruobe, 2015).
3.4 Conclusion

This study has shown that foreign nationals living in South Africa are blamed for South Africans predicament. Truth be, told foreign nationals are faced with difficulties regarding securing job opportunities, adapting to the lifestyle of the locals, crimes and brutality. The past and recent spate of xenophobic attacks on foreign nationals living in South Africa have changed the perception the whole world has about South Africans in general. Post 1994, following the democratic transition from the apartheid regime to the new dawn of democracy, South Africa was regarded as rainbow nation with diverse cultures and a home away for thousands of foreign nationals from around the world. Just 20 years into democracy, that rainbow nation has turned into a nation of hate of their fellow black brothers. The ANC led government has done little or nothing to address the situation but rather it was partly responsible for the cause of some local black South Africans xenophobic inclination towards foreign nationals. Foreign nationals are been resented for mere fact that they dress well and spend more on the local women. Top officials were seen on national television making reckless and derogatory statements regarding foreign nationals and the ANC government did nothing to stop them. The last wave of the xenophobic attacks has caused the country millions of Rands. African countries reacted differently to the last xenophobic attacks by either evacuating their citizens from South Africa or boycotting South African owned businesses operating in their country.
CHAPTER FOUR

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

4.1 Conclusion

This study sought to look at the international dimensions of xenophobic attacks on foreign nationals living in South Africa. The aim of the study was to survey the phenomenon of xenophobia and some perceived causes of xenophobia in South Africa. Recognizing that xenophobia is an international phenomenon makes the degree to which it is entrenched in South Africa less surprising, but no less problematic. Foreigners regularly face forms of xenophobia ranging from street-level abuse to discrimination and harassment by government officials and recurring bouts of popular xenophobic violence in varying intensity and measure. While there has been reports of xenophobic violence occurring in different parts of the country for over two decades now since South Africa gained independence, the two most symbolic incidents of xenophobia took place in May 2008 and April 2015. While these attacks were not universal – and we need to understand more about those communities that practice peaceful coexistence and tolerance – many townships and informal settlements in the country have become scenes of repeated incidents of violent attacks on foreign nationals. The Alexandra community in Johannesburg as an example, has experience repeated scenes of increased xenophobic attacks on foreign nationals.

In relation to the causes of xenophobic violence against foreigners residing in South Africa, the respondents affirmed that the down turn of the economy, unemployment, insecurity, derogatory statements made by government officials, frustrations and the generally violent culture of some black South Africans, were some of the causative factors that triggered attacks on foreign nationals. In addition, proclamations from politicians...
coupled with media reporting on drug syndicates, prostitution and crime, all feed and in turn feed off a popular perception that migrants are bad for the South African society and its economy. It is all too easy for the media and the government to place blame on black foreign nationals for crime, unemployment and housing problems but it is not a long-term solution and, eventually, can only be damaging for the economy, culture, society and international image of South Africa. One can therefore argue that the roots of xenophobia in South Africa stem from both social and institutional matters. The responses and interventions on the part of the government to address these issues have fallen short mainly due to the lack of sustained government political will to address the roots of xenophobia and the lack of political space and power needed by civil society to hold government accountable for the failure to fulfill its promises to the locals as well as protecting the rights of foreigners.

Because immigrants particularly those from African countries, are considered as outsiders, criminals and illegal, many have suffered greatly in the hands of dissatisfied South Africans. The respondents expressed strongly that the impacts of the xenophobic attacks on foreign nationals living in South Africa were detrimental to the safety and well-being of foreign nationals. The lack of knowledge or ignorance of laws governing foreigners and inefficient conflict resolution mechanisms within leaderships in townships constituted a weakness, which might have contributed negatively for the spate of violence experienced over the years. In every outbreak of xenophobic violence, there has been bloodshed, loss and damage to property worth of millions of Rands, and the loss of lives of both foreigners and local South Africans.

More so, foreign nationals abandoned their businesses and household properties for fear of their lives and these foreign-owned shops were looted and millions of people displaced. Foreign nationals are hunted for the
mere reason that they are responsible for South Africa’s predicament and South Africans sort to address this issue by killing foreign nationals in what was known as xenophobic attacks. Furthermore, South Africa’s long history of insecurity has caused foreign nationals to live in fear. And this also, pushed the governments of the countries whose citizens were affected by the attacks to make quick attempts to evacuate their citizens from South Africa to their country of origin. It also came with perpetual enmity between some relationships between indigenes and foreign nationals (Nigerians). Lastly, xenophobia destroyed the already established mutual cohabitation between indigenes and foreign nationals particularly the Nigerians. Those whose businesses were directly attacked suffered severe economic loss culminating from the destruction of their means of livelihood.

In agreement with all five respondents, the 2015 spate of xenophobic violence was a cause for concern as many nations of the affected victims reacted with immediate effect to the maltreatment of their citizens. Because the South African government failed to promptly respond during the outbreak of attacks, and has failed over the years to address the underlying causes as well as frustrations of its citizens, countries whose citizens were attacked in the April 2015 wave of xenophobic violence saw the need to protect its citizens with the utmost urgency. Some called for the immediate evacuation of their nationals from South Africa. Also South Africa’s foreign investments in other foreign countries were shut down. More so, citizens of other nations boycotted buying from South African owned giant companies such as Pick n Pay, Shoprite, Multichoice and MTN. The past xenophobic attacks on foreign nationals living South Africa called for public condemnation at all levels (countries, diplomatic mission, and African Union). The Chairperson of the African Union (AU) Commission, Dr. Nkosazana Dlamini Zuma, described the attacks as “unacceptable” and called for an immediate halt. She called on the government of South Africa to adhere to the principles such as
(protection of human rights and right to life) stated in the charter of the organization, and outrightly condemned xenophobic attacks on foreign nationals in South Africa lamenting:

“Whatever the challenges we may be facing, no circumstances justify attacks on people, whether foreigners or locals. It is unacceptable.”

South Africa received retaliatory threats from citizens of other countries like Nigeria, where South African companies such as Multichoice, MTN and Shoprite are operating. The reaction from other African countries particularly those whose nationals were directly touched in the attacks, was negative. They were never in support of the unholy action.

Following the violent attacks on foreigners, majority of whom are in the mining sector, it was obvious that there would be economic loss incurred. The respondents attested that serious economic consequences were incurred during and aftermath of the attacks. Business activities were at a standstill because some shops belonging to foreign nationals, particularly in areas directly affected were destroyed. As a result, the economies of these areas were paralyzed and consequently, both business owners and government alike lost a lot of money. Schools were also closed in these areas which crumble academic activities subjecting learners to untold hardship and avoidable delay and unnecessary distortion in the academic calendar. The growth of South Africa’s GNP is dependent on the amount of foreign investors and trades in the country. Therefore xenophobic attacks on foreign nationals from these countries South Africa is benefiting from, will only mean a complete withdrawal of their foreign investments from South Africa, thus lowering South Africa’s GNP. Report release of Statististics South Africa, showed a decrease in the mining, production and manufacturing sectors, decrease in tourism, and above all an increase in unemployment. The long standing diplomatic ties of
South Africa vis-à-vis other nations, came to standstill as the country received calls from different nations either condemning or putting an immediate stop to the inhuman and horrific acts of xenophobia.

In conclusion, historical and current institutional factors have combined with the country’s socio-economic configurations to promote and sustain xenophobia and hostility towards foreign nationals as they continue to construct the South African citizen as ‘exceptional’ while rendering the migrant, particularly the poor African migrant, the ‘violable other’. Systemic and deeply entrenched xenophobic attitudes and behavior in South Africa are clear evidence that responses and interventions designed to address the problem have been largely ineffective. National government and relevant local authorities have thus far either tended to ignore the problem or to categorize violence against foreign nationals and other forms of xenophobic behavior as part of ‘normal’ crime with no need for additional targeted interventions. Civil society efforts to foster peaceful coexistence and tolerance through social dialogues and awareness campaigns have also largely proven unsuccessful in changing attitudes and reducing violence and other forms of outsider exclusion.

Together with many other initiatives organized by interested parties and organizations, these interventions may have increased awareness of xenophobia as a social problem. They have, however, done little to address social and institutional xenophobia and its various manifestations. Indeed, as mentioned earlier, official and public xenophobic pronouncements and attitudes are as pervasive as ever and violence against foreign nationals is on the rise. South Africa has made great strides in the past decade in addressing the racially based devastation of the apartheid regime and the centuries of colonialism, which preceded it. However if the new democracy is to consolidate a culture of human rights and democratic values new forms of prejudice and intolerance must also be addressed. Xenophobia must be recognized as a form of racism and be granted the
same priority and given the same efforts at eradication as the new government has thus far accorded to addressing inherited racial divisions.

4.2 Policy recommendations

South Africa needs the energy, the capital, the knowledge, the experience and the diversity that foreign citizens bring, particularly those who are determined to contribute, work and live in the country. We would urge government in particular and the civil society in general to consider the following 12-point recommendations to the recent outbreak of violence commonly described as xenophobic:

- The government, police and the judiciary need to be educated properly regarding matters concerning xenophobia. The making of reckless statements and usage of words that depicts racism such as “makwerekwere” should be removed.

- Political and media agenda rather than focusing on politics of exclusion by criminalizing African immigrants should pay more attention to national ‘politics of inclusion’.

- To encourage or promote peaceful co-existence between locals and foreign nationals, community leaders alongside religious leaders should be encouraged in organizing regular community meetings. This will help bring people together rather than live separately based on race. The government should in all capacity discouraged political propaganda that instill fear but rather encouraged the politics of inclusion at all levels.

- Most importantly, the government needs to adopt strategic measures to encourage education of all black South Africans in their respective black communities and ensure that they all learn and put into practice peace education. A practical way of realizing this is making sure education becomes
compulsory to all South Africans and also encouraging all South Africans who are financially viable and stable to provide scholarships for the few poor black South Africans.

- The government of South Africa should encourage integration of foreign nationals into activities of black communities so much so that the locals will see the worth of these black African nationals in the local communities of black South Africans.

- The government of South Africa should also encourage their citizens to travel out of the country and learn the life style of other countries. The last wave of xenophobia was an indication that local black South Africans don’t travel hence their dislike to these foreign nationals, which resulted to xenophobic attacks.

- The media is also encouraged to carry out regular symposium involving foreign nationals in the various black communities as a means of establishing a peaceful cohabitation between the two and as a result create a hate free environment.

- Protection campaigns against xenophobia need to understand and address xenophobic sentiments and practices starting from government institutions together with social campaigns and legislative reform.

- Again there is a need for a quick judicial response to stop the culture of impunity that enables perpetrators and related parties to profit from xenophobic violence, scapegoating, and other forms of exclusion. The response should be geared towards promoting the rule of law by not only establishing but encouraging community-based conflict resolution mechanisms that uphold constitutional principles of universal rights and due process.

- Strategies to provide effective guidelines on how to address racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance, should be revised. Critically, the revised strategy should go beyond addressing
attitude change and focus more on the core issues, that is root causes, reasons for discriminatory behavior and violent exclusion of persons of concern

- A more trusted, prompt and effective conflict resolution mechanism need to be put in place as to avoid vigilantism and mob justice. The fact remains that as all societies are faced with conflicts in one way or another, the manner in which these conflicts are better managed and resolved without escalation will determine whether there’s peace or not.

- Civil society needs to be encouraged as to making efforts to foster peaceful coexistence and tolerance through social dialogues and awareness campaigns in a bit to successfully changing attitudes and reducing violence and other forms of politics of exclusion.

4.3 Further research

Recognizing xenophobia is an issue that affects not only foreign nationals but also the people and government of South Africa a further research including more participants would provide a broader picture of the international dimensions of xenophobia and its impact to every sector of the government.
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