

**INVESTIGATING NIGERIAN FOREIGN NATIONALS'
EXPERIENCES OF VIOLENCE, SAFETY AND SECURITY
ON 'POINT ROAD', DURBAN, SOUTH AFRICA**

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JANUARY 2022

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DURBAN, SOUTH AFRICA**

By

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Submitted to the University of KwaZulu-Natal

School of Applied Human Sciences

in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree

Master of Social Science (MSS)

(Criminology)

Durban, South Africa

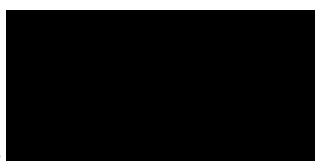
JANUARY 2022

DECLARATION

I, **Tertsea Joseph Ikoyoive**, declare that:

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- (ii) This dissertation has not been submitted for any degree or examination at any other university.
- (iii) This dissertation does not contain other persons' data, pictures, graphs, or other information, unless specifically acknowledged as being sourced from other persons.
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TERTSEA JOSEPH IKYOIVE

SUPERVISOR'S STATEMENT

This dissertation is submitted with my approval.

Signature: _____ Date_19-01-2022_____

Prof Nirmal Gopal

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I began this dissertation when the world was in a precarious condition because of a pandemic. The Covid-19 pandemic devastated the entire sphere of human existence. It was a moment of wonder that made everyone ponder, ‘will the deaths stop?’ Despite the dark times, a glimmer of light still shined through to give birth to this work. I give thanks to my supreme creator that made everything possible.

I particularly acknowledge the efforts of my supervisor Professor Nirmala Gopal without whom this research won’t have been complete. Thanks for the guidance, and the attention you gave to this work until its completion.

I acknowledge my amazing parents Mr. Vincent Ikoye and my late Mum Mrs Monica Ikoye who could not stay long enough (may you continue to find eternal rest. Amen). You have always been very wonderful and supportive parents to me. Thank you. And to my siblings Mrs. Blessing Ikoye Iorunbe, Barrister Mrs. Magdalene Ikoye Ugber, Priscilla Ikoye, and Evelyn, thank you for enduring my absence throughout my academic career.

To my academic mentors of the past few decades, Prof Ayub Sheik, Prof Femi Osofisan, Prof Aondowase Boh, Prof Lanrele Bamidele, Prof Ben Due, Dr Soji Cole, Prof Dennis Teghtegh, and Rev. Fr Michael Dogo thanks for nurturing me. I also acknowledge my friends, Felix Nyikwagh, Ver-Or Kachii, and all those whose names cannot be mentioned for want of space. Thank you.

Dr TJ Ikoye

DEDICATION

To my son Alpha and my loving wife Ursula Ikoyoive,
I dedicate this to you as a product of your endurance and for the future ahead of us.
I love you two dearly.

AND

To my late; Mum-Monica Ikoyoive, my sister Patience Ikoyoive and my auntie Caroline
Fatilen Dogo, you are greatly missed now and always. Continue to rest on with love.

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of the study was to explore the experiences of Nigerian foreign nationals on inter-ethnic violence, safety, and security on Point Road in the Durban area of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. The study intended to understand the nuances of Nigerian foreign nationals in Durban and how it provides a catalyst for violent confrontations subsequently undermining their rights to a safe climate. Added to this, the study intended to understand factors that create conditions for inter-ethnic rivalry and violence between Nigerian foreign nationals. The study was located appropriately within the interpretive paradigm that views reality as subjective and built from an individual's lived experiences. Besides, the case study as a research method was used to understand the experiences of participants for the study. The researcher generated data for the study using semi-structured interviews from 10 participants. The interview process was done through taperecordings and the data analyzed using the thematic method of analysis. Using Pierre Bourdieu's *Theory of Practice* and Merton's *Strain theory*, the generated data show that nuances between Nigerians through ethnicity instigate various forms of violence. Data also showed that Nigerian foreign nationals involved in altercations often take advantage of the economic vulnerability of South African street urchins commonly referred to as "izigebengu" or "Paras" who accept small amounts of money to carry out most of the violent confrontations. The data also showed that, the lack of response and the discriminatory attitudes posed by law enforcement officers in attending to the internal safety and security of Nigerian foreign nationals' act against international humanitarian best practices and lends credence to other prevailing odds such as under-reported violent experiences. The study recommended that further research can be done to explore and understand how Nigerian foreign nationals' victims of violent attacks cope with the situation of insecurity they encounter in their daily lives, including the recovery of their goods or property damaged if not stolen throughout the attacks. Whether they orchestrate these attacks, the government and different stakeholders must come together and implement policies that render security at the primary site of the study and deter potential attackers from committing similar or the same inhuman activities.

CHAPTER ONE

BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY AND PROBLEM STATEMENT

1.1. Introduction

If a society's respect for the basic humanity of its people can best be measured by its treatment of the most vulnerable in its midst, then the treatment of... [foreign nationals] offers a disturbing testament to the great distance South Africa must still travel to build a national culture of human rights. (*South African Human Rights Commission, 1999*)

It is commonly held in South Africa, according to the Citizen Rights Initiative (2009) that the influx of immigrants into the country is widespread. Figures from some data sources (Chioda, 2017, Cassidy, 2015, Vetten, 2014, and others) suggest that South Africa is currently home to almost three million foreign nationals. This number, along with refugees and asylum seekers, includes both registered and undocumented migrants (Landau & Segatti, 2008) and is a comparatively small fraction to South Africa's 57 million citizens. Most foreign nationals, including large numbers of refugees and asylum seekers, come from the African region, totalling more than 940 000 (Langlois, Haines and Tomson, 2019). Immigrants are mainly from Zimbabwe, Mozambique, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Angola, Somalia, Rwanda, Malawi, and Nigeria, many of whom have fled wars, economic crisis, political unrest, and oppression in the region in search of economic opportunities. Nevertheless, the presence and desire for a better life and social stability of foreign nationals in South Africa has consistently felt a backlash in the form of xenophobia.

Xenophobic violence and confrontations in South Africa took a dramatic hold in 2008, targeted at all refugees, regardless of origin and legal status (Kinge, 2013). Aggressive attacks on migrant-owned informal enterprises started to intensify from 2008 onwards. In early 2015, it resulted in the second round of national xenophobic violence when migrant-owned business places were targeted by mobs (Hamber, 2019). Durban, Johannesburg, and Cape Town were among the provinces most affected by xenophobic attacks. As attacks against foreigners increased, several informal migrant entrepreneurs adjusted to hostile market conditions, by adopting a variety of tactics to prevent and defend themselves and their businesses from xenophobia. While the response of the South African government to the presence of foreign nationals or refugees has been restricted to the detention and deportation of illegal migrants, xenophobic confrontations against foreign nationals continues. Hence, the security and safety

of foreign nationals have been compromised owing to the South African government's lack of political will to provide them with law enforcement protection. Consequently, foreign nationals are exposed to increased vulnerability, attacks, and recurrent discrimination.

Thus, the current study aims to contribute to the existing body of research through exploring inter-ethnic nuances among Nigerian foreign nationals living on Point Road in Durban and how it provides a catalyst for violent confrontations, subsequently undermining their rights to a safe and secure climate. Through inter-ethnic violence among Nigerians, the study notes that the colonial division in Nigeria along the lines of ethnicity and economic resources laid foundations for inter-ethnic conflicts and violence. These conflicts have increased both internally (in Nigeria) and externally (in the diaspora) to lay claim to most inter-ethnic diasporic violent confrontations among Nigerians on "Point Road", in Durban. Durban is a coastal city in the KwaZulu-Natal province of eastern South Africa with the isiZulu language as the largest population of inhabitants, including those who settled here in 1860 of Indian descent.

1.2. The rationale of the study

Most research on violence against immigrants in South Africa has revolved around the subject of Xenophobia. Since the year 2008 the intensity of xenophobic attacks on foreign nationals and their businesses have continued to escalate. However, the experiences of violence as it manifests internally among foreign nationals has been under-researched. Consequently, this study was motivated by anecdotal evidence that Nigerian foreign nationals in South Africa report the highest number of deaths among foreign nationals and are often alleged to be involved in drug peddling and other illegal activities. These activities most often result in an altercation which prompts violence consequently. Thus, most Nigerian foreign national deaths are the result of violent confrontations. Therefore, this study is motivated on the premise of violent confrontations and sets to throw a spotlight on the inter-ethnic nuances as it manifests among Nigerians living on Point Road in the Durban Area of KwaZulu-Natal. Moreover, informal conversations with Nigerian foreign nationals with the researcher in 2019 unpacked different stories of violent confrontations thus prompting the investigation of this study. The study resides in the fact that most Nigerian foreign nationals register under a structured "Nigerian Union." The Nigerian Union is a larger umbrella entity with branches in the Nine provinces of South Africa. The union members come from various ethnic groups, dominated by Igbo and Yoruba. The National body of Nigerian Union is in Johannesburg and works together with the

Nigerian Embassy and its Consulate to resolve and fix issues of immigration, deaths, and the general interest of Nigerians brought before its attention. Thus, based on the anecdotal evidence, and the existence of a formal union to provide gatekeeper's permission, this study foregrounds its justification.

1.3 Problem Statement

According to Bernard (2017), almost 33 to 66 million people have been forcibly displaced around the world from 1997 to 2017. These statistics have increased as noted by Coleman (2019) who observed that the number of displaced people around the world surpasses 20 million every year since 2000. The movement of most migrants across international borders has prompted a spike on the need for humanitarian protection and intervention. A number of studies including Vromans, Schweitzer, Knoetze, & Kagee, (2011), Cinini (2019), O'Moore (2006), Norman (2005), and others have conducted research on Xenophobic violence and the safety and security of foreign nationals. These studies demonstrate the extent to which Xenophobia devastates the sense of security of foreign nationals and the threats it always portends on their lives and livelihoods. At the localised level, acts of violent confrontations have always prevailed on foreign nationals. However, the experiences of violence as it manifests among Nigerian foreign nationals and how their security and safety is threatened in the process has been under researched. This researcher beams its search light on the nuances between Nigerian foreign nationals and how the inter-ethnic disparities provide a cortex for violent confrontations consequently undermining their safety and security on Point Road, Durban, South Africa.

1.4 Aim and Objectives

This study investigates the experiences of violence among Nigerian foreign nationals on Point Road, Durban area of KwaZulu-Natal. The following objectives guide the study

1. To ascertain the factors that motivate violence among Nigerian foreign nationals on Point Road in Durban, KwaZulu-Natal.
2. To describe the nature of violence experienced by Nigerians living on Point Road in Durban.
3. To determine what can be done to address the safety and security of Nigerians foreign nationals living on Point Road in Durban.

In addressing the objectives, it is important to look at Nigeria's post-independence and how the ethnic divides and political divisions initiated the ethnic disparities that provide spaces for series of conflicts and violent confrontations to occur.

1.5 Post-independence Nigeria: Ethnic nationalities, violent conflicts, and political history

Nigeria as we have it today has an estimated area of 356,669 square miles, it is approximately as large as Denmark, Iceland, Norway, Sweden, and the Netherlands put together (Okwudi, 2008). According to recent statistics, Nigeria is populated with more than 200 million people making it the most populous nation in Africa and the highest black nation on earth. It has 450 languages and 800 dialects (Rotimi, 2006). However, Hausa, Yoruba Igbo are the three major languages in Nigeria. Post-independent Nigeria has six geo-political zones; North-east, North-west, North central, South-west, South-south and South-east. Nigeria's post-independence history has been occupied by a series of wars, crises, and terror. Nigeria has continued to see sporadic acts of violent conflicts since the 1964 election crisis until the civil war of 1967-1970 followed in recent times with Boko Haram terrorists, Herders/Farmers confrontations etc. A southern man, Chief Moshood Abiola, won Nigeria's presidential election on June 12, 1993, but the military junta nullified his presidency. Southern Nigerians retaliated by forming violent groups to protest unfair treatment and demand a democratically elected government. Southerners became increasingly concerned about political marginalization during the dictatorial administration of General Sani Abacha, a Muslim from the north, and wanted an end to Hausa-Fulani dominance of the political arena. This development revealed the government's weakness and the lack of efficient channels for resolving ethnic strife in Nigeria.(Ray, 2012)

Together with others, scholars such as Danso and McDonald (2011), O'Moore (2006), Donald (2002) views colonial divisions as strengthening ethnic divisions but also that, "it has complicated the task of welding diverse elements into a Nigerian nation" (Coleman, 2008:194: Nnoli, Okwudiba 1980:113). The colonial legislation that barred the mobility of Christian Southerners to the Muslim North (Afigbo, 1989; Okonjo, 1974) added to the segregation of the Nigerian colony. They formed a separate settlement for non-indigenous people in the north and even brought strict restrictions on the acquisition of land outside of one's region. In the regions, ethnicity and hostility became commonplace as various ethnic groups began looking suspiciously at each other in all spheres of interaction. Due to the intense rivalry, unfair and differential treatment of ethnic groups were responsible to further dividing the people. This

divide broadened the differences (political and economic) between Northern and Southern Nigeria. Among the three major ethnic groups in Nigeria, Hausa, Yoruba, and Igbo, this divisional relationship has become even more complex. The northerners took up political positions and have since assumed a central place in the politics of Nigeria. The Yoruba on the other hand took advantage of the Western education and have dominated the educational system of Nigeria. The Igbos on the other hand took advantage of the economic opportunities by establishing businesses and maintaining a competitive interest in the economic affairs of the country. Drawing on these divisions along the lines of ethnicity, Cohen (2019) observed that the national relationships appear to be imported via the diaspora. Transnational relationship of Nigerians in the diaspora is thus largely based on inter-related home divisions.

1.6. Research Questions

Criminology provides the study and research aimed at explaining why crime and its associated actions take place (Cinini, 2019). As an area of investigation in the field of criminology, crime and violence have a symbiotic relationship that aims to challenge human actions and how their interactions provide an investigative agency. Violence is an intrinsic human trait and manifests with varying degrees of physical and psychological effect through individual, ethnic, and group contexts (Cohen, 2019). Experiences of violence among Nigerian foreign nationals can provide details on how disparities in ethnicity among immigrants in their home country have transnational and diasporic repercussions. The study will answer the following research questions.

1. Why does inter-ethnic violence occur among Nigerian foreign nationals living on the Point area in Durban?
2. How does the inter-ethnic violence manifest itself?
3. What are the recommendations (if any) on addressing the safety and security of Nigerian foreign nationals on “Point Road” in the Durban area of KwaZulu-Natal?

1.7 Clarification of key concepts

There are key concepts in this study that are interrelated and function interchangeably. It is therefore important to provide clarification of the concepts for a more situated context of interpretation and application in the study. These concepts are immigration/immigrants, migration/migrants, and foreign nationals.

1.7.1 Immigration/Immigrant

According to the White Paper on International Migration, immigrants are defined by the transient nature of their stay in the country (1999:52). "Foreigners in South Africa who are classified as immigrants share a permanent position," Harris (2001). He claims that "immigrants" are of two categories: "permanent residents" and "naturalized citizens," the latter of which denotes a higher level of permanency because the home country's citizenship is exchanged for South African citizenship. For this study, immigrants and migrants will be used interchangeably to include non-citizens living on Point Road in the Durban area of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa, including refugees, asylum seekers, migrants, and immigrants.

1.7.2 Migration/migrant

Migration involves foreign movements of large numbers of refugees stimulated by conflicts, famine, or political instability, according to Boyle and Keith (2014). Migrants are easy to blame for crime, according to Tomasevski (1994), because they are complicit in numerous means of survival. Nonetheless, migrants' misery in their home countries, along migration routes, and in third countries where they live temporarily or permanently is frequently overlooked, and their protection and support are insufficient (Gieseken, 2017).

A migrant, according to the International Organization for Migration (IOM), is anyone who is moving or has moved across an international border or within a State away from his or her habitual place of residence, regardless of (1) the person's legal status; (2) whether the movement is voluntary or involuntary; (3) the reasons for the movement; or (4) the length of stay. IOM is concerned with migrants and migration difficulties, as well as migrants who require international migration assistance, in collaboration with appropriate States (IOM, 2011). According to Metcalfe-Hough, a migrant is "an individual who has remained in a foreign country for more than one year, regardless of the motives, voluntary or involuntary, and the means, regular or irrational" (2015). Refugees, asylum seekers, and economic migrants are all included in this description. In this study, the term migrant will be used interchangeably with the term immigrant.

1.7.3 Foreign nationals

The concept of "foreign nationals" is colloquially referred to as "kwerekwere" in South Africa among the Zulu-speaking people. However, foreign nationals inevitably derive their origin

from the organization of people whose transnational mobility distinguishes them into groups, mostly those of cities that have developed unique lifestyles, religions and cultures. (Freilich & Addad, 2017). In this study, the usage of foreign nationals is a descriptive term that connotes 'all nationals of a state or country who are temporarily or permanently resident in South Africa under different immigration rules (with or without a permit) (CSRV, 2019). Foreign nationals are often referred to as 'international migrants.' According to CSRV (2019), voluntary migrants typically take the form of migrant workers as opposed to those escaping persecution or natural disasters. The concept “foreigner” represents non-citizen and operates under various categories such as refugees, asylum seekers, strangers, immigrants, migrants, foreigners, and aliens are all subsumed under the overarching label ‘foreign nationals’ regardless of the motives of leaving their country of origins. Three broad categories utilized in South African legislation to categories “foreign nationals” are refugee, migrant, and immigrant.

This section has provided meaning to the different concepts used in this research. It helps readers who are not familiar with the study to understand their usage and how they make sense in this study.

1.8 Conclusion

Investigating the experiences of violence among foreign nationals in the field of criminology is a new inquiry. This study takes a shift from the over-flogged research on Xenophobic violence in South Africa. By understanding inter-ethnic violence, the research demonstrates how ethnic coloration of Nigerian foreign nationals intersects with their experiences of violence.

1.9 Structure of the dissertation

This study is comprised of six (6) chapters and demonstrates through various research aspects. The intellectual and qualitative data of the investigation of violence and the experiences thereof among Nigerian foreign nationals living on Point Road in the Durban area of KwaZulu-Natal. The study is organized in the order of the chapters as presented below

Chapter One: Background orientation and problem formulation

In this chapter, the overall study is introduced with a clear formulation of the research problem under investigation. The chapter proceeds with the rationale that motivated the study as well

as the research questions and the objectives of the study. The chapter also presented the post-independence political history of Nigeria to understand the context of ethnic divisions and how it further informs the diasporic divisions of Nigerian immigrants and motivates violence among them. Furthermore, the chapter provides the key clarification of concepts to guide the reader to the context of the application of the concepts in the study.

Chapter Two: Literature review

This chapter provides a review of related literature on violence as a phenomenon from the global, national, and local perspectives. The chapter begins with an introduction, followed by the concept of violence and how it is understood from the global perspectives. The literature on violence and violent crimes in South Africa is looked at. Next is a review of the migrant crisis and Xenophobic violence in South Africa and then the conclusion.

Chapter Three: Research Design and methodology

Chapter three is the research design and methodology. It presents the instruments of data collection and data analysis. The chapter also presents the ethical issues related to the study.

Chapter Four: Theoretical frameworks

This chapter is the theoretical framework. It presents the two theories selected for this study. The study adopts the Pierre Bourdieu theory of practice and the Merton Strain theory. The marriage of the two theories is to help in addressing some of the objectives of the study.

Chapter Five: Data presentation and analysis

This chapter will present the findings of the data collected. The findings will be transcribed and analyzed into themes. The themes will be generated using the research questions as a guide. The themes will be analyzed with major reference from the transcribed data.

Chapter Six: Conclusion and recommendations

This chapter will present the conclusion of the findings of the study. This will be used to draw conclusions and provide recommendations if any.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

The literature review in this study constructively builds on and critically evaluates, analyses, and synthesizes existing knowledge relevant to the research problems of the study. This research beams its searchlight on the inter-ethnic disparities among Nigerian foreign nationals and how that provides a cortex for violent confrontations consequently undermining their rights to a safe climate. The current study takes a shift from xenophobic violence; hence, the literature review here will discursively discuss xenophobic violence but not as a central theme. The literature review will discuss the following headings: (i) Towards the understanding of violence: a global perspective (ii) violence and violent crimes in South Africa (iii) Migrant crisis and Xenophobic violence in South Africa (iv) Anti-immigrant attitudes in South Africa and (v) immigration, social exclusion, and victimization (vi) Foreign Nationals and the concept of Human and Economic security and safety in South Africa. The researcher discussed these subheadings to offer scholarly perspectives on violence in South Africa and the conditions of foreign nationals as it relates to their inter-ethnic disparities, safety, and security. The literature review will contextualize the research within the existing relevant knowledge while identifying the gaps in the literature where the study can contribute. Violence is part of human nature and has probably always been part of the human experience (Innes, 2016). The impact of violence is far-reaching and manifests in different forms in all parts of the world (Dahlberg, Toal & Behrens, 2018). Violence begins from the self before spreading into a collective action motivated by the inherent tendencies of (wo) man as a violent being. According to the World Health Organization (WHO, 2019), millions of people die each year because of self-inflicted, interpersonal, or communal violence, and many more suffer non-fatal injuries. While satellite technology has made certain types of violence more visible to television audiences, such as terrorism, wars, riots, and civil unrest, much more violence occurs behind closed doors, such as in homes, workplaces, and social institutions [including inter-ethnic violence between foreign nationals] (Cook & Parrot, 2009).

While biological and other individual variables may explain part of the predisposition to aggression, Vetten (2015) contends that these factors frequently interact with familial, community, cultural, and other external influences to produce a context in which violence is likely to occur. The implication is that when one or two people are gathered, the tendency of

violence to manifest is ever present. Therefore, the body of literature especially in South Africa on violence such as WHO (2019), Hamber (2019), Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation (CSVR) (2019), Bentley (2018), Brogden (2017), Lancaster (2017), Duncan (2015), Landau (2008), Vetten (2015), Kynoch (2005), and others have demonstrated understandings of violence and how it manifests in the South African society. These studies interrogate types and cases of violence that have become commonplace in South African society such as political violence, gender-based violence, domestic violence, violent crimes, xenophobic violence, and others. However, none of the studies have looked at inter-ethnic nuances among Nigerians and how it provides a catalyst for violent confrontations on Point Road, Durban, South Africa. This study, therefore, proposes to add to research on inter-ethnic violence through a qualitative approach of inquiry.

2.2. Towards understanding violence: A Global perspective

The transnational relationship of Nigerians in the diaspora is identified partly through acts of violence. According to the World Health Organization (WHO), “violence is an intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person, or against a group or community that results in, or is likely to result in, injury, death, psychological harm, mal-development or deprivation” (WHO, 2019:6). The WHO definition of violence encompasses various acts of aggression, physical attacks, or any form of human attack to cause harm. Violence among Nigerian foreign national’s fall within the WHO definition of violence; hence, it is an appropriate definition for the current investigation. The WHO definition of violence is central to the idea that intentionality is a motivating factor for violence, regardless of the outcome of violence. However, apparent unintentional accidents such as road traffic injuries, burns, and other "unintended" effects that are still violent even when staged are excluded from the criteria. As a result of the foregoing, the WHO definition of violence contains the terms "power" and "use of physical force." The apparent use of "power" and "physical force" broadens the definition of violence and the traditional understanding of violence to include threats and intimidation, as well as other acts stemming from power dynamics. Apart from the more obvious violent acts of commission, the term "use of power" sometimes refers to neglect or actions of omission.

In the preface to a WHO World Report on Violence and Health: A Summary (2002), Nelson Mandela made telling remarks about the nature and conditions of violence and its importance. According to Mandela “the twentieth century will be remembered as a century marked by

violence. It burdens us with its legacy of mass destruction, of violence inflicted on a scale never seen and never possible before in human history. Less visible, but even more widespread, is the legacy of day-to-day, individual suffering.” ‘Violence by’ and ‘violence against’ are necessary in Mandela’s attempt to depict both the intense sensitivity of violence and the far-reaching repercussions of violence. Individual violence, group violence, institutional violence, class violence, state violence, and international system violence are all examples of today’s violence (Hopkins, 2010). However, contemporary studies (Igglesden, Monson, and Polzer (2015) still treat violence as something new, and this is due to the ever-changing nature of human complexity and the apparent shift in the way the world is continually being reshaped. According to the World Health Organization (WHO), more than 1.6 million people are killed each year because of violence around the world. Because of violence, many more people are hurt and suffer from a variety of physical, sexual, reproductive, and mental health problems. Violence is one of the leading causes of death among people aged 15 to 44 worldwide, accounting for roughly 14% of male deaths and 7% of female deaths. (Hamber, 2019)

Chioda (2017) in his study on violence classified violence into three categories, personal, collective, and institutional. These classifications embody different violence both threatened and actual. According to Chioda, personal violence functions at the micro-level, which prompts individuals to perform violent acts directed at objects, animals, or people. Some forms of violence are frequently tolerated and unpunished by legislation. Violence that is more extreme, such as aggravated assault, rape, or killing, is usually criminalized. Criminal psychologists and criminologists have researched personality types, family history, and possibly physiological anomalies to better understand the causes of individual violence.

When a group of people engages in violent behaviour, such as riots, revolutions, or gang warfare, it is referred to as collective violence. According to psychologists like Banks (2009) and Brooks (2009), this sort of violence might have more catastrophic implications than personal violence. Collective violence is divided into three categories: social, political, and economic violence. Unlike the other two primary categories, the subcategories of collective violence provide legitimate reasons for violence perpetrated by larger groups of people or by states. Hate crimes committed by organized groups, terrorist actions, and mob violence are all examples of collective violence used to achieve a specific social goal. Political violence includes wars and other violent confrontations, political violence, and other crimes done by larger groups. Economic violence refers to attacks carried out by bigger organizations for monetary benefit,

such as attacks aimed at disrupting economic activity, limiting access to key services, or dividing and fragmenting the economy. Acts performed by larger groups might be motivated by a variety of factors. (World Health Organization, 2020) Cross border and transnational movements have caused social, economic, and racial tensions that have put pressure on the struggle for individual survival. The resultant effect of the social and economic tensions is the aggressive behaviour posed by individuals and how it ignites the patterns and behaviours of violence that continue to prevail in the global community (Caprioli & Tumbore, 2013)

According to Mann (2005), globalization has provided agencies that make violence prevalent. To Mann, globalization is multiple and integrates, exploits, and disintegrates; and it generates peace, regulated conflict, and war alike. This view connotes the Southern, Northern, Eastern, and Western regions of the world engaging in regional divides perpetuated using violence and its related acts. The history of colonialism and the consequent conditions that came with it provided underlying triggers that ushered tendencies of violence as measures of elite control to advance certain political agendas (Keana, 2004). As a result, in many communities, violence is an everyday occurrence. Across societies and time eras, the scale, trend, and patterns of violence vary (Anifowose, 2014). Violence's pervasiveness, both globally and locally, has wreaked havoc on human society. Acts of violence have stymied progress in underdeveloped countries to a large extent. Even in the most advanced countries, such as the United States, France, and the United Kingdom, the phenomena of violence have continued to be a recurrent saga, necessitating coordinated efforts in countering its threat, hazards, and continuous prevalence (Johansen, 2017). The fluidity of violence and its ever-presence validates its potential existence among immigrant communities at all levels and Nigerian foreign nationals as a point of reference.

Trends in modern history have seen a significant rise in the cases of violence because of economic inequalities, political tensions, social deprivation, and religious extremism. These types of violence are often orchestrated from an uptick of conflicts that degenerates at a level of violent confrontations (Keane, 2004). According to The Hague Centre of Strategic Studies (THCSS, 2017), a report on, *The many faces of political violence* expunged how regional curiosity and territorial security have led to intense conflicts requiring strategic responses from state powers. In Asia, for example, they reported China to be increasingly flexing its military muscle in the Pacific region to the dismay of its smaller neighbouring states. According to the report, China's regional interest and territorial expansion in recent years have provoked a prolonged constitutional protest from Hong Kong in 2019-2020, which has led to violent

backlash between protesters and the security officials. Japan's leadership has called for a revision of its pacifist constitution and has strengthened its military forces (The Hague Centre for Strategic Studies, 2017).

Meanwhile, sources indicate that the US is beefing up its military presence in the region to restrict China and dissuade it from expanding regionally. A series of clashes between Russia and the West have resurrected an old rivalry in Europe, which rapidly resembles the start of the Second Cold War (THCSS, 2017). The Covid-19 pandemic that emerged in December 2019 brought hardship and threw the world into more pandemics of poverty, protests, and violence. In South Africa, the national xenophobic violence has not only caused devastation on foreign nationals but has further contributed to the problem of safety and continuous vulnerability. In fact, the recent marriage of the Covid-19 pandemic and the spate of violence and looting that erupted in July 2021 due to the jailing of former president Jacob Zuma further put the lives and livelihoods of foreign nationals into contemplation. Inter-ethnic violence among Nigerian foreign nationals has prevailed at the localized level and has often gone unattended to with no government intervention.

2.3. Violence and violent crimes in South Africa

In South Africa, violence manifests in different ways, the most common been political violence as a collective form of violence. The nature of political violence in South Africa is rooted in the racial tensions and armed violence between the White minority and most of the Black population (apartheid). According to the World Health Organisation (WHO), the collective form of violence which is peculiar to patterns of violence in South Africa can be defined as "the instrumental use of violence by people who identify themselves as members of a group, whether this group is transitory or has a more permanent identity against another group or set of individuals, to achieve political, economic or social objectives". For decades, apartheid policy gave the White minority power and privilege. As a result, one of the most destructive current political violence systems was born. According to Duncan (2005), apartheid divided the South African people into four broad groups: Whites, Coloureds, Indians, and Africans.

Studies such as Bentley (2008), Brogden (2003), and Burchart and Brown (2001) have discussed political violence and gender-based violence to be increasingly commonplace in South Africa. Early manifestations of violence in South Africa developed in the mines of

Johannesburg in the 1920s, much before 1948. (Duncan, 2005). According to Dahlberge (2018), the 1976 Soweto uprising signalled a shift in both African and White perceptions of African powerlessness. This perception gained strength, and in 1983, the tri-cameral legislative system was established, further excluding African representation, resulting in a spike of violence known as the "African revolt of 1984." (Bentley, 2008). The conditions that underpin such revolts stretched into the political tensions that have intermittently triggered violence in different forms and at different times. According to Duncan (2005), by 1983, nearly 3.5 million people had been displaced from their homes because of the revolution, making life much more difficult for immigrants. Most of the immigrants, mostly from Africa, face widespread starvation, poor health, and inadequate educational systems, particularly overcrowded schools. From the accounts of Duncan (2005), Bentley (2008), Dahlberge (2018) and others, apartheid is regarded as the largest contributory factor to the history and prevalence of the politically motivated type of violence in South Africa. This is due to perceived normative attitudes, which frequently inform an individual's or a group's ethical and religious perspectives on violence (Benjamin, 2006). Apartheid beliefs are not used to justify other forms of violence, such as those that occur on a local level. Furthermore, outside of the legal definition of violence as a "crime," such as murder or assault, we can split violence into two sorts. Physical violence, which includes attack, infliction of pain, and death, is the first. Another perspective on violence is as a process having social, cultural, and political components that are sometimes disregarded. As a result of media reporting, rumours, gossip, and social panic, the public's mind is more likely to be flooded with knowledge about murder and assault (Siegel, 1998).

Consequently, violence that happens behind closed doors and among the social environment of foreign nationals tends to be out of sight from the public eyes. Violence in South Africa has therefore derived motivation due to distrust between the masses and the government and have led to such cases of violence between gangs and drug violence, domestic violence, and taxi violence (Johansen, 2017). Some of this violence according to Landau (2010) has become ingrained in the socialization process of South Africans. Scheper-Hughes (2015) goes on to define the idea of 'everyday violence,' which he uses to explain kinds of violence that become part of citizens' daily lives and hence garner less attention. According to Langlois (2016), everyday violence such as infant mortality, starvation, sickness, despair, and humiliation, which kills socially marginalized people more frequently, goes unreported by the general public. Every day, routine or normalized violence does not often appear within the ambit of research on violence (such as violence among foreign nationals) because it does not fall within

categories of law that we consider illegal (Landau & Jacobsen, 2018). In South Africa, inter-ethnic violence among foreign nationals is invincible to the statistics of violence because it often occurs and are underreported. Furthermore, given that South Africa's official unemployment rate is above 30%, and significantly higher in metropolitan Black communities, where most of the violence occurs, this has significant consequences (Bentley & Habib, 2008). Poor South Africans are exposed to a high degree of vulnerability due to a lack of regular income and job insecurity, which might be called structural violence.

Criminologists have observed violence and crime to occur together. While the overwhelming focus of criminology remains on people and why they commit crimes, Clarke (2018) claims that they are increasingly recognizing the need of considering the impact of places and spaces on individual behaviour. In the eighteenth century, Emile Durkheim claimed that crime was just proof of the natural functioning of civilizations at some levels, rather than a sign of disease or disorder in culture (Clarke, 2018). The concept of a normal crime was important to Durkheim because it supported his theoretical position that crime helped to develop and solidify social norms. In the same way, a certain amount of crime is common in every culture, according to Durkheim: "crime is present not only in most societies of a particular species but in all societies of all kinds." (p.70) However, Johansen (2017) describes South Africa as the most hostile country in the world to refugees and migrants, but we should understand such attitudes within the narrow conception of the country's national affiliation, endemic xenophobia, and past apartheid. (Newburn, 2007) Local accounts of crime, abuse, and injury are consistently loaded with the South African media. Internationally, South Africa has an increasingly dubious reputation as a highly dangerous place (Crush et al., 2013).

Despite its growing international appeal, South Africa has earned a reputation for being a dangerous location to visit, according to Kaminer and Eagle (2017). This is unsurprising given South Africa's exceptionally high violent crime rates. South Africa is undoubtedly one of the few countries in the world to have experienced prolonged political violence as well as high rates of criminal violence, domestic abuse, and unintentional injuries (George, 2003) Many trauma survivors exist in our culture, according to Kaminer and Eagle (2017), with one nationally representative survey finding that 75% of respondents had experienced a traumatic occurrence in their lifetime, with more than half having undergone several traumas. Similarly, Kaminer and Eagle (2017) acknowledge that the consequences of crime and violence are multifaceted. Aside from physical harm and death, victims of crime and violence experience

long-term psychological trauma and live-in constant fear of being victimized again.

Criminal Violence

In a 2007 review of violent crime in South Africa concluded that 'South Africa ranks at the very top of the world's league tables for violent crime' (Kaminer & Eagle, 2017). Crime statistics have seen an increase in crime rates with a 1.4 percent increase in 2019/20, to 21, 325 reported cases. The statistics by implication mean that they murdered 58 people every day in the country (South African Police Service, 2020). From the statistics, the rate of crime and criminal violence in South Africa has worsened, making it one of the most insecure countries on earth. A complicated interplay of elements peculiar to South Africa, such as unemployment, racial prejudice, insecurity, and corruption, is most likely to blame for the same predicament. Since the late 1990s, according to Altbeker (2007), South Africa has one of the world's highest homicide and armed robbery rates. According to a study of the global burden of illness, South Africa's homicide rate was more than five times the global average and 30 percent higher than comparable countries in Sub-Saharan Africa (Altbeker, 2007). Murder rates are less than two per 100,000 people in Canada, Australia, and several Western European countries. There are around five homicides per 100,000 individuals in the United States, which is widely condemned for its "gun culture." In South Africa, however, the murder rate was 41 per 100 000 in 2006, equating to about fifty murders per day (Matzopoulos et al., 2004). This shows that each day, hundreds of South Africans are deeply traumatized by learning of the violent death of a loved one.

In South Africa, mortality surveys have revealed that young men are by far the most common victims of violent assault (Altbeker, 2007). This is similar with findings from research in other nations, such as the United States, Canada, and Mexico, noted that men are the most likely targets for violence outside the home, particularly firearm attacks. (Norman et al, 2007). However, in South Africa, beyond the context of typical criminal activities such as committing robbery, a large proportion of violence between men continues to occur. (Kessler et al., 1995).

Inter-gang violence is likely to be the cause of many violent attacks and murders in South Africa. Mortality studies also show that violence among South African males frequently happens in the context of entertainment and is linked to high levels of alcohol intake during leisure time, such as weekends and holidays (Standing, 2005). South African robberies are far more common than robberies in other nations to entail the use of weapons. According to some

surveys, up to 80% of serious robberies in South Africa involve the use of weapons, compared to less than 20% in developed countries.

Other weapons, such as knives, are frequently used in robberies (Ratele et al., 2009). Armed car hijackings and cash-in-transit robberies, as well as armed robberies that occur in the victim's house, on the street, or on public transportation, are common kinds of victimization in South Africa. Participants in the South African Stress and Health (SASH) research who lived in cities were more likely than those who lived in less urbanized areas to have suffered a violent crime (Masuku, 2006). People of minority ethnic groups are more vulnerable to criminal violence, according to research in the United States. In the SASH survey, there were no significant variations in the percentage of South African adults who had experienced a violent crime outside the home based on race or language (Williams et al., 2007).

2.4. Migrant crisis and Xenophobic violence in South Africa

According to Dahlberge (2018), Zimbabwe's long-running economic and political challenges, which began in 2000, have resulted in an increase in mixed migrant flows to South Africa. Migrants came from a variety of backgrounds, with diverse levels of education and skill, as well as men and women of various ages (including unaccompanied child migration). Many migrants in South Africa applied for asylum, which allowed them to work while they awaited a refugee hearing. (Raftopoulos, 2006) Migrants who couldn't find work in the formal sector turned to the informal market for work. In many urban areas, these migrant entrepreneurs started small and micro businesses using personal savings. The companies specialized in retail, manufacturing, and services, and they contributed to the South African economy in a variety of ways, notably by employing South Africans. However, the relationship between foreign migrants and the locals began to wane triggering what would later be tagged “xenophobic violence”.

Xenophobia is characterized as beliefs, prejudices, and behaviours that reject, exclude, and often dehumanize a person because they are perceived as outsiders or foreigners in a community or civilization (Adjai & Lazaridis, 2013). Xenophobic attacks have existed since early human history. They were fuelled by the notion of difference, typified by “the other” – strangers and settlers of different skin pigmentation, customs, and faith, who appear unwilling to dissolve into their host community. The “strangers” were perceived to be “arrogant” if they maintained their customs, “exploitative”, if they were seen to be more successful than their

hosts, and “bigoted, “if they adhered to their religious beliefs” (Olukoju, 2011).

Olukoju relates to Jewish culture, claiming that Jews have faced discrimination in foreign lands for their “difference” throughout documented history (and still do in some places). Later, xenophobic Anti-Semitism, a vicious kind of race hatred that has spread throughout Europe, the Middle East, and beyond, has targeted Jews. As a result, Jewish communities throughout Central and Eastern Europe, particularly Russia, endured different forms of institutionalized discrimination, rising to outright persecution (where the term was invented in the context of Jewish xenophobic massacres) and Germany Olukoju (2011).

Although the Jewish experience is an extreme example of xenophobic attacks, considering the glaring contrasts between them and the host communities, Africa cannot be said to be in the same boat. It is important to note that xenophobic attacks may not even include direct physical violence, as seen by the deportation of aliens, their state-sanctioned exclusion from specific economic activities, or the legal takeover of their businesses under various indigenization plans. The examples of Nigerians in Ghana and Guineans in Sierra Leone underscore this possibility. Nell (2009), states that during the seventies the Ghanaians, for instance, removed Nigerians from their country under the “aliens’ compliance order” In the eighties, the Nigerians retaliated by chasing hundreds of thousands of Ghanaians out of their country.

The tragedy of the South African massacre was made even more tragic by the fact that many of the victims had fled conflict and persecution in their own countries. The new South Africa stood out as a beacon of democracy and human dignity throughout recent horrific violations of human rights in various countries in Sub-Saharan Africa. Many immigrants to South Africa sought safety and sanctuary from the conflicts in their native countries because of this openness. South Africa today has around 43,500 refugees and 227,000 asylum seekers. Burundi, the Democratic Republic of Congo, and Somalia were among the countries that received refugee status. South Africa also hosts thousands of other migrants who remain undocumented. One of the unique but poignant features of xenophobic violence in South Africa was that the perpetrators were similarly disadvantaged. The post-apartheid expectations of many people had not been realized. At the time, several reasons for the anger emerged: inadequate public services, the frequency of illegal immigration, competition for resources (including housing and health care), competition for business and employment opportunities, perceived threats to relationships with local women; bribery and other crime attributed to foreign nationals.

(Schweitzer & Kagee, 2011)

According to Dodson (2010), Crush and Ramachandra (2014), politicians' statements blaming foreigners for the country's high crime rates and competition for resources with locals have been accompanied by police brutality and harassment; the Lindela Repatriation Centre is notorious for violating immigrants' rights. Xenophobic views and violence are also prevalent among ordinary folks. According to Crush (2000), post-apartheid South Africa has shown little tolerance for foreigners, mainly in response to the threat they pose to South African jobs. This mentality, according to Crush, is reflected in the reduction of legal immigration and the challenges immigrants experience in acquiring temporary residency permits. In their study of the conflict between South Africans and foreigners in Mizamoyethu, Dodson and Oelofse (2000) argue that, while sociocultural differences between the groups are important, economic survival is the primary cause, as evidenced by competition for jobs, housing, social services, and amenities. Despite this, many South Africans consider that the country has an excessive number of foreigners. Foreigners are stereotyped as illegal migrants, job takers, criminals, and disease agents. As a result, it is unsurprising that there is fear and hate of foreigners, and that they have been targeted as a result.

Even though the number of Nigerian and Congolese foreign nationals in South Africa is relatively small and that they are mostly employed in the informal sector, Morris (1998) claims that they are easily identifiable as foreigners due to their physical appearance, dress, and inability to understand local South African languages. As a result, they are singled out and criticized by the public. In a similar position, Steenkamp (2009) claims that immigrants may be distinguished because of their language, clothing, and darker skin colour. The author adds that citizens of other African countries are not treated similarly in South Africa, which is echoed by Crush and Ramachandra (2014). People from Botswana, Lesotho, and Swaziland are treated a little better than people from Zimbabwe and Mozambique. Crush and Ramachandra (2014) go on to say that nationalities from beyond the SADC (Southern African Development Community) region, such as Nigerians, Congolese, and Somalis, face even harsher punishment. Reilly (2001) notes that the South African Police rely on distinctive attributes such as vaccination marks to identify foreigners.

2.5. South Africa and Anti-Immigrant Attitudes

International migration has always been an important part of South Africa's modernization and industrialization. The colonial state established broad migration systems to promote Gordon's mining and agricultural sectors in the mid-nineteenth century. To put it another way, Gordon believes that anti-immigrant rhetoric should be treated as a political issue rather than a reaction to economic situations. In South Africa, however, a persistent undercurrent of xenophobia, both attitudinal and behavioural, defined the post-apartheid period. According to Classen (2017), African migrants are the immigrant group most likely to encounter the behavioural effects of xenophobia. Popular attitudes toward immigrants and the government's response to anti-immigrant sentiment must be understood as part of a political debate that values indigenism and fosters South African exceptionalism. Following the end of the apartheid regime, the country's new democratic administration discouraged the hiring of foreign labor (Kinge & Tiobo, 2016). The state made this decision to shield 'indigenous' South African labour from international competition. As a result, some lawmakers seem to have promoted an anti-immigration message in the years following the democratic transition. According to Neocosmos, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the Minister of Home Affairs in the late 1990s, made a series of remarks claiming that African foreigners were a danger to local economic growth and that a significant number were involved in illegal activities (Neocosmos, 2010).

The 2006 South African Migration Project (SAMP) survey on attitudes toward immigration asked questions about immigrants from countries to better understand the xenophobic sentiments expressed in South Africa. The majority of South Africans believe that immigrants produce jobs while draining the country's economic resources, according to SAMP's public opinion data on the country (Crush & Chikanda, 2012). Similarly, South Africans feel that immigrants are mostly to blame for the country's post-1994 crime increase (Crush & Peberdy, 2018). In 2012, more than half (55%) of the adult population of the country saw African immigrants as the most undesirable foreign nationals (Gordon, 2015). Besides, crime reports routinely announce the capture of "illegal immigrants" in the same breath as convictions for armed robbery, carjacking, and rape in police operations. All parties' officials and politicians adhere to a discourse in which Crush and Peberdy are perceived to be closely associated with foreigners and violence (2018). In 2015, the BizNews investment conference reported the role that the now late Zulu king, King Zwelithini played in further escalating xenophobic attacks in 2015. According to the report "Zwelithini had made an angry speech last month blaming immigrants for rising crime and saying they must leave the country, in an outburst seen as

encouraging the spate of attacks on Zimbabweans, Somalians, Malawians and other foreigners” (BizNews 20th April 2015). Immigrants are often the focus for anger among locals hit by a chronic job shortage and the limited progress made by many poor blacks since white-minority rule ended in 1994. Traditional and political leaders and their utterances on the conditions of immigrants has kept them under perpetual discrimination and attacks. In the study, *The Gendered Nature of Xenophobia in South Africa* (2008), migrant women were discovered to be subtly hit every day by xenophobia. According to the study “although the term ‘xenophobia’ may conjure up images of the violent attacks against foreigners in May 2008, migrant women in South Africa have been experiencing subtler and insidious forms of xenophobia daily for as long as they have been in the country. These forms include not only physical violence, but verbal and psychological abuse, structural and institutional violence, as well as cultural and ethnic discrimination.” To that end, (Wacquant, 2009), concludes that the battle for scarce resources has led to the “criminalization of immigrants” where immigrants become the “symbol of and target for all social anxieties”. Hence subject to victimization affecting the safety and security of foreign nationals living on the South African land.

While crises affecting migrants are becoming increasingly complex and multifaceted, inadequate attention has been given to the intersection of crises in the countries of origin and destination by Crush et al (2018). In fact, low-skilled immigration and asylum seekers from poorer countries are increasingly being recognized as a problem that must be handled in wealthier countries. According to popular belief, immigration regulations have gotten more restricted, while overseas migration has increased (Castles, de Haas & Miller 2014; Massey et al. 1998). These two assumptions support the assertion that migration policies have failed or are ineffective (Castles 2004). As a result, dual or multiple crises spanning origin and destination pose additional, difficult-to-solve difficulties for crisis management and displaced migrant safety. The intersection of crises, according to (Crush et al., 2018), influences the types of aid that can be provided to migrants by both sending and receiving governments, as well as humanitarian agencies and other entities.

Migration is seen as a challenge to the natural order of relationships between the state and its people, while crisis circumstances are occurring beyond the sphere of regular, normal development and transition. However, large-scale flows to another jurisdiction precipitated by crisis conditions are inevitably viewed in a negative light and place a significant strain on the host population (Crush et al., 2018). Far from recognizing the crisis-driven nature of these

migrations, host societies frequently react to the physical presence of migrants who have been forced to leave unbearable conditions in their home countries with a mix of worry, resentment, and intolerance (Crush et al. 2018). For one thing, (Crush et al., 2018), argue that migration from Zimbabwe to South Africa tends to be an atypical, exceptional, and temporary phenomenon, characterized almost entirely in negative or abnormal terms. Migration is seen solely as a speedy response to the crisis in Zimbabwe, overlooking the many reasons people leave and the fact that more people stay put than migrate. On the South African side, migrants from Zimbabwe are viewed as an unwanted burden, usurping what is regularly characterized as limited or scarce resources meant exclusively for citizens (Johansen, 2017).

Nonetheless, everyday xenophobia reveals itself in negative stereotyping, exclusionary language, verbal denigration, denial of access to services such as health and education, and citizens' insistence that the government remove foreigners from their towns and country (Crush et al., 2018). Furthermore, a recent SAMP poll of Zimbabwean migrants indicated that nearly half had been robbed in South Africa, and a third had been physically abused (Crush et al., 2012). Violent acts are only the outward manifestation of a deep reservoir of animosity and hostility in South Africa. In recent years, skinhead riots and street raids by chain-and-rod wielding thugs, as well as torchlight marches and attacks on mosques and synagogues, as well as murders and beatings of foreign residents and diplomats, desecration of Jewish cemeteries, and intimidation of Chinese traders by whip-cracking Cossack gangs, have all occurred in Russia (Alexseev, 2011). The growth of such severe xenophobic attitudes and behaviour in Russia raises important theoretical and empirical challenges in understanding anti-migrant hostility. The latter may be attributed to the social traumas of Russia's post-communist transitions, such as the country's transformation from one of the world's most migrant-restrictive governments before 1991 to the world's second-largest migrant stock by 2005 (United Nations, 2006,2011)

According to Alexseev (2011), Russian academics and human rights activists who have been tracking and analyzing xenophobia and anti-immigrant hostility in recent years have emphasized political, socioeconomic, and cultural explanations that have been well-established in comparative research on interethnic hostility. Rapid social change, socioeconomic grievances, frustration, and competition, as well as intergroup prejudice, have all prompted defensive reactions. Studies in which anti-migrant behaviour, particularly communal violence and hate crime – is the primary outcome variable fall into the first category. Studies in the

second category define xenophobia as anti-immigrant attitudes, sentiments, perceptions, valuations, and similar concepts, but not as unconditional support for coercive exclusionist policies like deportation of all migrants (Dahlberge, 2018). Furthermore, Alexseev (2011) cites a variety of studies that look at public support for increasing or decreasing the number of migrants in a state by changing the law or in general, but does not name specific policy measures. In the study of international relations and inter- group conflict, the security dilemma is a well-known issue. It emphasizes the role of uncertainty about the intentions of other individuals, groups, or states in creating perceptions that attack is preferable to defense and hostility is safer than cooperation under weak central authority, explaining why violent conflicts erupt despite shared preferences for peace.

To take a historical course, xenophobia did not originate from South Africa. Nor is it peculiar to the country. Xenophobia has a lengthy history in Australia, North America, Europe, the United Kingdom, Japan, and other countries. However, prior to the major xenophobic attacks by Black South Africans on fellow Africans in May 2008, xenophobia had been practiced on South Africans for a long time. It is on record that apart from hating its Black majority South African population, the White apartheid government of South Africa was also belligerent to neighbouring African countries and their Black citizens (Oloyede, 2011). The daily hostility and intolerance to which migrants are subjected define South Africa's xenophobia crisis. The informal sector, which is managed by migrants and refugees, is a primary target of the country's severe xenophobia - described as a heightened type of xenophobia in which hate and antagonism to those viewed as outsiders and foreigners is manifested through violent acts. (Crush & Tawodzera, 2017).

Xenophobic violence erupted in South Africa in May 2008, beginning in Johannesburg and spreading to other regions. Sixty-two people died, and 100,000 people were displaced (20,000 in the Western Cape alone) (Vromans et al., 2011). Thousands of refugees sought safety in police stations and churches as the attacks spread across the country. Mobs stormed from shack to shack, assaulting migrants, locking them in their dwellings, and setting fire on them (Vromans et al., 2011).

In October 2012, Amnesty International reported that 600 small businesses run by asylum-seekers and refugees in South Africa's Limpopo province have been forcibly closed across the province by the police conducting an operation known as "Hard Stick". This operation involved

seizing trading stock and forcibly closing the premises. Amnesty International (2010.1) reports that in February 2010, more than 130 adults and children, most of the Ethiopian refugees, were affected by violence in Siyathemba Township, 80km south of Johannesburg. They lost their livelihoods when an armed crowd of several hundred people looted and destroyed their shops. Some also lost their homes as they were living in the shops. Nearly 60 people required emergency shelter and humanitarian assistance (Singh, 2011).

Hatred of the "Amakwerekwere" erupted in the streets of Johannesburg in 1997, according to Ilesanmi (2011), when local street traders clashed with rival foreign vendors. Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the Minister of Home Affairs at the time, called the influx of millions of unlawful tourists his "biggest headache." The regular ill-treatment that both legitimate asylum seekers and legal or illegal migrant workers face at the hands of police and DHA officials has been compounded by the mistreatment of Amakwerekwere on the streets by South African locals, according to this report (Ilesanmi, 2011). Such abuse includes arrest and re-arrest as well as extortion of rands by the Zulus and policemen, from the migrants. For instance, a Zimbabwean named Sibanda who like millions of others fleeing the economic and political disintegration in their country came looking for work in SA in 1986. He took advantage of a government amnesty in 1996 which allowed him to legalize his status. He reported that "when he had no papers, the Zulus and policemen treated him very badly". Some of the migrants also suffer forceful ejection from the rented apartment by their South African landlords. All these attacks negate the dictates of Articles five, and nine of the Human Rights Laws (Banning, Sepúlveda, Gudmundsdottir, & Chamoun, 2004). Article 5: "No one shall be subjected to torture or cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment". Article 9: "No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile".

Over the past years, the law controlling immigrants has been changed, but its critics describe it as not much better than its predecessor, the Aliens Control Act. Consequently, xenophobic attacks and other offenses are the recent and continuing acts of violence and human rights abuses being perpetrated in South Africa against migrants' workers, foreign nationals, asylum seekers, and other refugees from other African states. These attacks deny or destroy the human dignity of others as put forward in the human rights act Banning et al. (2004). Article 6 of the Act state that "Everyone has the right to recognition everywhere as a person before the law" while Article 23: (1) accords everyone the "right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favourable conditions of work and to protection against unemployment". Hall (2015)

reported that between 2008 and the anti-foreigner riots of April 2015, 350 foreigners were killed in South Africa in what could be described as ‘xenophobic attacks’, separate from murders motivated by other reasons. Hall (2015) argues that “South Africa’s flare-up of anti-foreigner rioting and killings in April 2015 is a repeat of a murderous spree that occurred in 2008, and indeed is a repeat of black-on-black violence in the country’s transition from apartheid to democracy”. The stabbings, burnings, and murders that typified the frequently lawless townships where the progressive country’s impoverished live-in slum-like circumstances became an international scandal in April 2015. The attacks on mostly African nationals, who their assailants believed were robbing them of scarce job and commercial opportunities, shattered the relative peace of the South African region, which has been free of armed conflict for more than a decade; a peace that Central, Eastern, Northern, and Western Africa cannot claim. (Hall, 2015). Nonetheless, even though foreigners are accused of job-stealing, still, some South Africans think that the rise in drugs in the country is due to many foreigners who enter the country illegally and initiate their children (local citizens) in dealing with drugs.

Furthermore, the attacks do not reflect the values of the South African Constitution, which is firm and unequivocal in its acceptance of those who find themselves inside South African borders (South Africa, constitution Bill of Rights sections 10 & 11). The right to life, the right to personal security, the right not to be unfairly discriminated against, and, of course, the right to human dignity, equality, freedom from violence – whether from public or private sources – freedom of movement, the right not to be deprived arbitrarily of property, bodily and psychological integrity, access to health care, food, and water, and social security are among these rights.

In line with the above, a survey conducted by (Charman & Piper, 2012), over 100 spaza shopkeepers in the city of Cape Town in Delft seeking to find out about their personal experience of crime and violence, has reported the experience of one Somali shopkeeper saying that “five days before this interview, a group of mixed Coloured and Black locals robbed the shop of cash, airtime, and cigarettes. Four had knives and one held a gun to my head. They got away with R3000 (\$447) of cash, R900 (\$134) airtime, and three cartons of cigarettes(Charman & Piper, 2012). The report says that the victim did not bother to report the incident to the police because he believes that “the police won’t investigate and doesn’t want to be disappointed”. The same finding quotes another informant reporting that “I had experienced three robberies

in the past nine months: first in October 2010, when ‘three black guys took R4000 in cash; a second time in February 2011, when two Black men and one Coloured man attacked the cashier, beat him and took his asylum papers as well as R8000 (\$1194) in cash; airtime and products; and the third in April 2011, when three Black men and one Coloured man stole R7 600 (\$1134) in cash and products” (Charman & Piper, 2012). The study says the victim reported to the police, but no arrests were made. Another study conducted in Western Cape among foreign nationals from Burundi, Rwanda, Somalia, Sudan, Uganda, and Zimbabwe, demonstrates that one participant’s workshop was destroyed, and the contents, including tools, were looted. Such vandalism and thefts resulted in a loss of livelihood: “Whatever I worked for... went in the xenophobic violence. Because they looted everything, I had to calm myself. I lost a lot of things because of living in ... the camp” reported the participant (Vromans et al., 2011). In the same study, another participant described his sense of survivorship: “The loss of this amount of money is not the first thing I have seen in my life. I have seen greater losses than this. I’ve seen much ... bodily harm ... I had that kind of thing; it’s not new. That has trained me to be strong in my ways of handling things” (Vromans et al., 2011).

In South Africa, the culture of impunity is particularly pronounced regarding xenophobic violence. Landau and Misago, (2009), have reported that foreign nationals have been repeatedly attacked in South Africa since 1994 but few perpetrators have been charged and fewer convicted. As a result, the causes of the attacks vary, with some blaming competition for scarce resources, while others blame insufficient service delivery and the influence of micropolitics in townships, involvement, and complicity of local authority members in contractor conflicts for economic and political reasons, and failure of early warning and prevention mechanisms. Foreigners are also blamed for their businesses that take away customers from residents and the spread of diseases such as HIV/AIDS. Other South African locals do not particularly like the presence of refugees, asylum-seekers, or foreigners in their communities (Landau & Misago 2009).

Furthermore, (Masuku, 2006) claim that State agents have deliberately protected persons accused of anti-foreigner violence in several cases. For example, prior to the May 2008 unrest, some arrests were made at various areas of violence, but owing to community protests and mobilization, most of them were released without charge. The actual and apparent impunity with which xenophobic violence perpetrators operate can only inspire the ill-intentioned to harm outsiders. (Standing, 2005). A study conducted by Dodson in 2010, reports that “the

attacks of May 2008 were indeed xenophobic, that their causes lie in a complex economic, political, social, and cultural factor, it went on stating that both contemporary and historical ordinary experiences of xenophobia were part of the everyday lives of African immigrants in South Africa” (Dodson 2010). In May 2008, graphic images of violent attacks on foreign Africans living in South Africa – scenes of the knife – and stick-wielding aggressors, wounded victims, burning houses, and even, in the most horrific photographs, a burning man – were seen around the world Dodson (2010). According to Igglesden et al. (2009), citizens murdered over 60 people, raped hundreds, injured close to 700, and displaced over a hundred thousand people over the course of two dreadful weeks. Furthermore, Landau (2010) has shown that the criminals destroyed or ‘redistributed’ millions of Rands worth of items, as well as hundreds of foreign-owned homes, along the way. “The majority of casualties were from outside of South Africa’s borders, but a third was South Africans who had married foreigners and refused to engage in the violent orgy,” according to Landau (2010).

Nonetheless, many South Africans’ unrest with foreign nationals is based on an assumed link between the presence of foreigners and threats to their property and physical security. However, a study conducted by Crush and Williams (2003), has demonstrated that nationally, 41% of South Africans feel that foreigners are a criminal threat. In Johannesburg, the country crime capital,’ Leggett (2003: 45), reports that 63% of inner-city Johannesburg residents mentioned ‘foreigners’ as the group committing most of the crime in their area. Similarly, Landau and Jacobsen (2004), argue that “among 70% of Johannesburg residents who thought the crime had increased in recent years, almost three-quarters identified immigrants as a primary reason”. The tragedy of the South African bloodshed was compounded by the reality that many of the victims had escaped violence and persecution in their own countries. During recent genocidal violations of human rights in several nations in Sub-Saharan Africa, the new South Africa stood out as a beacon of democracy and human decency. Many immigrants to South Africa sought safety and shelter from the conflicts in their native countries because of this openness. South Africa today has around 43,500 refugees and 227,000 asylum seekers. (Vromans et al., 2011).

The post-apartheid expectations of many people have not been realized. At the time, several reasons for the anger are apparent: inadequate public services, the frequency of illegal immigration, competition for resources (including housing and health care). Competition for business and employment opportunities, perceived threats to relationships with local women, and bribery and other crime attributed to foreign nationals. Although many people fled to South

Africa in expectation of a safe and secure future, migrants from other African countries became the targets of blame for many South African's poverty.

Vromans et al. (2011), report that “the men whom we interviewed described the May (2008) attacks as reflections of a long-standing, ongoing pattern of assaults occurring in a menacing context of chaos and rumor”. The interviewees recounted rapes of foreign women, attempted murder, fights, stabbings, and strong-arm robberies. One participant reported the following “we are disconnected. We are abused, verbally and physically, in trains and buses and taxis”. According to Hall (2015), the abuse happens in trains and buses as well as in taxis. Often occurring in multiple contexts, the material loss was a consequence for all victims interviewed in this study. Some participants described being robbed of money and possessions. Others described the destruction of their businesses. One participant's workshop was destroyed, and the contents, including tools, were looted. Such vandalism and thefts resulted in a loss of livelihood. Discrimination resulted in the loss of jobs and other economic opportunities. For example, Banning, et al. (2014), report that one man talked about an employer's unwillingness to make accommodations to meet the traveling needs of displaced workers who were relocated to distant sites for their safety.

In the same vein, a study conducted by (Crush & Tawodzera, 2017), in Cape Town and Johannesburg, among over 1000 migrant – owned informal sector enterprises by Zimbabwean informal business owners found out that most migrants did not start an informal business immediately on arrival in South Africa but first raised start-up capital through regular and casual employment. The selection of the location is the suggestion that Johannesburg is seen as a place where it is easier to obtain formal sector employment and Cape Town is a more amenable location for starting an informal business (Crush & Tawodzera, 2017).

In the same study, most respondents recounted incidents of violence that had personally affected them. To migrants, much of the violence occurs without warning and appears spontaneous. The study reports that the perpetrators of xenophobic violence are often from the same community and are even personally known to their victims. Nonetheless, the findings of the study confirm that community leaders are ineffective in dealing with the violence and, in some cases, they actively foment hostility and initiate attacks. The looting of stock on the premises is a constant feature of the attacks for which purpose was not simply to steal certain desirable goods but to destroy their business premises and operations so that they could not continue to operate and would go back to Zimbabwe (Crush and Tawodzera (2017). According

to Crush and Tawodzera (2017), attacks often involve brutal physical assaults against the person, accompanied by insulting xenophobic language. The same study has reported housing to be a serious issue leading to housing insecurity among a group of Zimbabweans. According to Crush and Tawodzera (2017), many Zimbabwean migrants to South Africa do not have the financial means to afford accommodation outside informal settlements and do not have the resources to run a business elsewhere. (Crush & Tawodzera, 2017), argues that xenophobic violence failed in its two main aims: to drive migrant entrepreneurs out of business and to drive them out of the country. Many respondents referred to the fact that the crisis in Zimbabwe meant that there was nothing for them to return to, even if they wanted to return. However, the crisis of xenophobia in South Africa is defined by the daily discrimination and intolerance to which migrants are exposed.

Xenophobia manifests itself in “a broad spectrum of behavioural patterns, including discriminatory, stereotyping, and dehumanizing remarks; discriminatory policies and practices by government and private officials, such as exclusion from public services to which target groups are entitled; selective enforcement of by-laws by local authorities; assault and harassment by state agents, particularly the police and immigrant agents; and discriminatory policies and practices by government and private officials, such as exclusion from public services to which target groups are entitled.” (Amit & Kriger, 2014). South African Migration Project’s national surveys have consistently found that a significant minority of South African citizens are willing to resort to violence to rid their communities of migrants (Betts, 2013). The deadliest examples of extreme xenophobia in South Africa were high-profile and widespread violence against migrants and refugees in May 2008 and March 2015. Analyses of May 2008 tend to treat the victims of xenophobic violence in an undifferentiated fashion, leading to the assumption that all migrants – irrespective of national origin, legal status, length of time in the country, and livelihood activity were equally at risk. In the 2015 xenophobic attacks, informal businesses run by migrants and refugees were explicitly targeted. Extreme xenophobia increasingly manifests in the form of collective violence targeting migrant and refugee-owned ~~business~~ (Crush & Tawodzera, 2017).

The dominant rationale of xenophobia is that immigrant workers – mainly from the rest of Africa, but also some shop-owners from Pakistan, India, Bangladesh, and China – are “stealing” jobs from South Africans. Nonetheless, young Black men, who represent the majority of the unemployed are the major perpetrators of xenophobic violence. Partly this is

because of inadequate grounding in school and constrained opportunities. (Hall 2015)

2.6 Migrant Entrepreneurship in South African Cities.

Many unauthorized immigrants seek informal employment because of limited prospects in the mainstream economy, despite the hardships they may face as a result of the low earnings and job insecurity that define this sector of the economy. Ormsby (2017). Simply put, Doussard (2013) reports that the socioeconomic analysis of informality suggests that less-skilled immigrants, particularly unauthorized immigrants, frequently resort to employment in casualized segments of the economy where labour standards are routinely violated because routes into the “mainstream” economy are closed. By extension, (Ormsby, 2017), concurs that unauthorized immigrants are often drawn into informal employment because the barriers to entry are low or non-existent. After all, government enforcement of labour ~~and~~ does not meaningfully extend into these employment arrangements.

When law enforcement does target venues of informal employment, it usually does so through policing methods targeted at reducing illegal activity. Government officials may, for example, undertake periodic sweeps of places where street trading is widespread, or they may arrest or otherwise punish day laborers who stand in public locations, although these enforcement operations are typically episodic and counterproductive. As in 2012, the police in Limpopo launched an aggressive military-style campaign to apprehend criminals and tackle illicit activities in the province. In practice, this crusade, dubbed “Operation Hard stick”, targeted small informal businesses run by migrants and refugees. The police closed over 600 businesses, detained owners, confiscated their stocks, imposed fines for trading without permits, and showered them with verbal abuse (Supreme Court 2014). The business owners were informed that “foreigners” were not allowed to operate in South Africa, that their asylum-seeker and refugee permits did not entitle them to run a business, and that they should leave the area. Thirty displaced migrants from Ethiopia were forced to flee when the house they had taken refuge in was fire-bombed. (Charman & Piper, 2012)

Despite its label as a crime-fighting initiative, Operation Hard stick was selectively enforced, affecting only migrant entrepreneurs and not South African businesses in the same locations (Crush & Chikanda, 2015). To that end, such initiatives merely heighten the economic insecurity of these workers while also criminalizing their employment activities and leaving

the root causes of the spread of these income generation strategies entirely unchanged Ormsby (2017) affecting their earning resulting in economic hardship. Crush and Chikanda (2015), reports that international migrants have lauded for their enterprise, hard work, and business acumen in successfully establishing and growing small enterprises in countries of settlement. Although these “unsung heroes face considerable economic and social challenges, they make a vital contribution to economic growth, job creation, and social cohesion”.

According to Crush and Chikanda (2015), since the advent of democracy in South Africa in 1994, migrant entrepreneurs have been consistently portrayed by the government and the media as unwanted parasites, as driving South African small businesses to the wall, as taking jobs from citizens and as engaged in nefarious business practices. This perspective on migrants affected their economy leading to economic insecurity since they cannot be either employed by government institutions or by private institutions just because there are foreigners. The denial for migrants to conduct small businesses affect their human security as it hinders foreigners to improve their living conditions such as accessing decent food, accessing good health treatment, access to decent housing, etc.

Maqanda (2012), points out that Asylum seekers and refugees from various countries are largely excluded from the formal labour market and show high levels of enterprise and innovation in the informal economy. Attacks and looting of migrant-owned small businesses have become a daily occurrence up and down the country, most recently in Durban in March 2019. Organized police operations to try to eradicate informal enterprise are also commonplace. Also, Police extortion has been on the report of migrant's oppression Gastrow (2013). Crush and Chikanda (2015), noted the recent press reports that police were coordinating the orderly looting of migrant-owned businesses in Soweto (City Press, 2025). In terms of economic challenges confronting informal-sector entrepreneurs, a major issue is the lack of access to financial services including start-up capital and ongoing credit. Crush and Chikanda, (2015), report that formal financial institutions are extremely reluctant to do business with migrant informal entrepreneurs. These entrepreneurs “have limited access to debt finance from commercial banks as they have problems in opening bank accounts and acquiring visas and permits. Besides, most of the foreigners have never applied, despite that need for credit and may thus be classified as discouraged borrowers” (Fatoki 2013).

The study conducted in inner-city Johannesburg, (Crush & Chikanda, 2015), reported the finding of Fatoki (2014) arguing that less than a third of migrants had applied for credit and only a third of these were successful. They also report that many migrant entrepreneurs face constant belligerence and abuse, including written or verbal threats and insults, extortion for protection by local leaders, police, and residents, public intimidation through protests or marches, and damage to the physical structure of shops, especially through arson. What is striking is the numerous cases of looting, the direct physical violence towards migrant store owners or their employees, and the temporary or permanent forced displacement of migrant entrepreneurs and their families. According to Crush and Chikanda (2015), a recurrent theme throughout the volume is the extent to which migrant entrepreneurs experience violence and live in constant fear. South African business competitors, both individuals but increasingly organized in groups are identified by some authors as playing a role in animating or inciting collective violence against migrant entrepreneurs. In the same study, when asked to identify the factors that influenced day-to-day business operations, police corruption was the most cited factor making cross borders to be particularly vulnerable to extortion.

All in all, there is evidence that perceptions of direct competition between South African citizens and foreigners for jobs and housing may have been a catalyst of the periodic outbreaks of xenophobic violence that have occurred in South African cities (HSRC, 2008). Research by (Crush & Ramachandran, 2015b), found heightened levels of xenophobia among self-employed South Africans working in the informal economy. This suggests that South Africans who are informally employed perceive foreigners to be “stealing” their jobs or driving down wages, immigrants and faced dramatically increased risks to their lives and livelihoods from these tensions and the outbreaks of collective violence they seem to have engendered (Ormsby, 2017).

2.7. Immigration, social Exclusion and Victimisation

Social exclusion is a complex and multi-dimensional process. It involves the lack of denial of resources, rights, goods, and services, and the inability to participate in the normal relationship and activities, available to the majority of people in a society, whether in economic, social, cultural, or political arenas. It affects both the quality of life of individuals and the equity and cohesion of society Levitas et al. (2007). Studying the political effects of xenophobic rhetoric

on foreigners and their co-ethnics, Hopkins (2010), concurs that the influx of immigrants has unsettled communities across the United States, leading many Americans to adopt exclusionary attitudes toward foreigners. In the same way, examining homeless youth in Canada, (Gaetz, 2004), argues that their social exclusion is manifested in several domains: restricted public policies that reduce their capabilities to find suitable employment and then develop a healthy lifestyle, denial of entry to safe urban spaces, and limited social capital (Zhong et al., 2017).

Under the influence of such multi-dimensional social exclusion, these youths are closer to more motivated offenders, become more available as vulnerable targets, and have less capable guardians, consequently increasing their risk of victimization as routine activity theory predicts (Cohen & Felson 2016). Similar explanations can be applied to international immigration. Prior research finds that international immigrants, who often face systematic exclusion from social development (Gore et al., 1995), are also more likely to be victimized. Following the segmented assimilation framework, scholars in the immigration field have identified several mechanisms contributing to the social exclusion of immigration that may lead to their high risk of criminal victimization (Zhong et al. 2017). Indeed, (Zhong et al., 2017), report that over 90 years, Sutherland observed in 1924 that immigrants often underwent a slow process of acculturation and integration into mainstream local communities. However, the agency of immigrants and the interplay among individuals, cultures, and structures may all affect the process of acculturation and integration, and there are different forms of adaptation among immigrants (Zhong et al. 2017).

Zhong et al., (2017) reported that in the United States, some disadvantaged immigrants have very limited access to decent employment, sufficient social support networks, and secure communities. As a result, they may experience long-time exclusion, affecting their economic security, health, and food security directly, since they are hindered to get access to employment and a decent job. Some scholars emphasize discrimination against immigration or minority groups, making many of them unable to find satisfactory employment (Wacquant et al., 2008; Barranco & Shihadeh, 2015). Hence this type of exclusion from decent employment may increase immigrants' attraction to likely offenders and hence increase their likelihood of being victimized. For instance, previous studies have found that Latino immigrant in the United States often takes low-skilled jobs due to their illegal status and insufficient knowledge; such jobs are likely to pay in cash and make these immigrants look like "walking ATM (Automated Teller Machine)," so that they are more likely to experience robbery and wage theft Fussell

(2011). Again, exclusion from sufficient social support networks in the receiving societies also contributes to the high level of victimization among immigrants affecting their human security.

This experience of exclusion by the social majority can push immigrants into risky routines and lifestyles affecting their safety and security within the host community. On this score, a recent study by (Sulkowski et al., 2014), found that immigrant youth in the United States were more likely to be victimized by physical aggression because of the prevalent anti-immigrant sentiment among their local peers. The study has reported that due to such nativism, many bystanders may not go out of their way to help immigrant victims. Thus, to some extent, the shortage of social support networks in a hostile society demonstrates the insufficient informal guardianship in the face of crime so that such immigrants are more likely to be victimized. Regarding housing security, certain groups of immigrants are more likely to reside in poor ethnic enclaves with a concentrated disadvantage due to lack of financial resources and exclusive housing market or policies Andersson (2012). However, following the classic work emerging from the Chicago School, people living in criminogenic communities may experience high levels of offending and victimization. (Dutton, 2015), reported that in the United States, many immigrants come from less-developed nations, and they have historically been concentrated in ethnic enclaves with high turnover rates, much like immigrants in South Africa, they normally live in expensive big centers of the country costing them high priced rental housing for the fear that they cannot leave in townships overwhelmed by the majority of poor local citizens, fearing to be victimized as it has been the case during the xenophobic attack of 2008 and 2015 (Cinini, 2015).

A study conducted by Zhong et al. (2017), has revealed the elevated victimization risks among nationwide rural-to-urban migrants. The findings have demonstrated that the discriminative institutional arrangements in China are a major force of the universal disadvantages of Chinese migrants. That is, it is not the migrant status itself, but the social exclusion suffered by individuals that increase the likelihood of being criminally victimized affecting their human security and human rights. However, there is abundant literature examining the vulnerability of international immigrants in Western societies in terms of their high risk of criminal victimization. According to Vetten (2018), the high victimization rate experienced by immigrants is believed to be one of the consequences of multidimensional social exclusion. Furthermore, in China, it has been found that Chinese rural – to urban migrants are one of the most disadvantaged social groups in contemporary China; these migrants have been regarded

as foreigners and second-class citizens in their own country due to institutional discrimination and multidimensional social exclusion (Hambe 2019). So too here, the South African constitution and the South African Refugees Act 2003 present ambitious standards for realizing human rights and the dignity of all, including all migrants' groups. That said, in many cases, the government fails to provide services that live up to these standards for the general population. While recognizing that both migrants and South Africans face a complex slew of challenges in accessing health services (e.g., long wait times, medication shortages), Hunter-Adams and Rother (2017), state that language is a key obstacle to adequate medical care and health literacy. In a study conducted by Cinini (2015), on the experience of victimization vulnerability of African foreign nationals in Durban, the findings demonstrated that the majority (13/20) of respondents reported having been victimized because they cannot speak IsiZulu, the findings show that victimization linked to language limitation has been the cause factor of social disconnection as foreign nationals feel uncomfortable socializing and interacting with local citizens because they cannot speak their language and they are afraid of insults and being called names just because they cannot speak IsiZulu. Cinini (2015), concurs that victimization due to language barrier happens in taxis, hospitals, and at the Department of Home Affairs (DHA). Many of these barriers have proceeded to endanger foreign nationals disrupting the rights to a safe and secure environment.

2.8 Foreign Nationals and the concept of Human and Economic security and safety in South Africa

In 1994, the Human Development report made its first major statement concerning human security in the annual publication of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). According to the report, the concept of security “has for too long been interpreted narrowly: as security of territory from external aggression, or as protection of national interests in foreign policy or as global security from the threat of nuclear holocaust...forgotten were the legitimate concerns of ordinary people who sought security in their daily lives” (Paris, 2001, p.89). Human security is defined according to Adger et al (2014) as a condition that exists when the vital core of human lives is protected, and when people have the freedom and capacity to live with dignity. However, poverty, discrimination, and many kinds of extreme natural and technological disasters undermine human security.

Human security and insecurity are fundamentally global issues. According to Pietsch and McAllister (2010), “in every country, there are individuals and groups who are vulnerable.”

The direct material aspects of livelihood security, on the other hand, include access to food, housing, clean water, employment, and the avoidance of direct health risks (Adger et al., 2014). As a result, according to Liotta and Owen (2006, p. 39), “human security takes the most dramatic step by making the referent object, not the state, society, or community, but the individual,” which is why this study will explore Nigerian foreign national’s experiences of violence and how it threatens their safety and security on Point Road in Durban, South Africa. According to Liotta and Owen (2006), the United Nations Commission on Human Security attempted to broaden the 1994 UNDP definition to include protection for people suffering from violent war, those on the move (whether as migrants or refugees), those in post-conflict circumstances, and for protecting and improving poverty, health, and knowledge conditions. However, some human security research focuses on the individual level to present explanatory claims about the existence of security, deprivation, and conflict. Furthermore, most human security academics and practitioners stress its policy relevance; they agree that the idea of human security can and should result in policy changes that enhance the welfare of people. (Newman, 2016) Whilst human security has been taken up most actively within international studies, the broader debates around the concept are very much relevant to criminological discussions of security, and these discussions make a valuable contribution to human security debates (Newman, 2016). The UNDP’s Human Development Report of 1994 is regarded as a seminal work in the field of human security (United Nations Development Program 1994). According to Lee and Kim (2011), the UNDP not only defined the term but also advocated for an expanded understanding of global security to include seven areas of security: economic, food, health, environmental, personal, community, and political.

Economic protection refers to a person’s ability to earn a minimum income, which is normally derived from meaningful and remunerative employment or, at the very least, from a public safety net. The rights to a minimum income, social security, job, rest, and trade union involvement (Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) Articles 22-4; International Convention on Civil and Political Rights (ICCPR) Articles 12 (Song, 2015). This concept allows us to understand the South African economy which is characterized by high rates of unemployment, widespread underemployment, and deepening inequality (Theodore et al., 2017). Weaknesses in South Africa’s labour markets have catalyzed a large-scale rural-to-urban migration among unemployed South Africans, with origins in structural changes within key economic sectors such as agriculture and mining, as well as insufficient absorption of jobseekers by the services and manufacturing sectors (Posel & Marx, 2013). These internal

migrants have flocked to Cape Town, Johannesburg, Tshwane (formerly known as Pretoria), and other cities where job opportunities are expected to be plentiful. The cities, on the other hand, are beset by high unemployment rates, and population growth in South Africa's major cities has far outpaced job growth, exacerbating the problem. Many internal migrants have turned to informal employment, such as day labour because they have little options for stable work. Day labour is a type of casualized work that is only loosely linked to the formal sector by unsecured, regular agreements with employers (Theodore et al., 2017). They compete with long-term city dwellers as well as increasing numbers of foreign-born migrants who, like internal migrants, have been attracted to South African cities by the prospect of economic opportunities (Charman & Petersen, 2015).

The negative economic integration of unauthorized immigrants results in their concentration in low-wage industries where opportunities of stable jobs are severely limited. Many unauthorized immigrants seek informal employment in response to limited opportunities in the mainstream economy, despite the hardships they may face as a result of low wages and job insecurity. (Theodore et al., 2017). Since pathways into the "mainstream" economy are blocked, socioeconomic studies of informality indicate that less-skilled immigrants, especially unauthorized immigrants, often turn to jobs in casualized segments of the economy where labour standards are routinely violated (Doussard, 2013). Furthermore, Doussard (2013) contends that not only does degraded work contribute to inequality, but that it also provides a better explanation for urban economic and social inequality than the traditional lament of manufacturing job loss. Degraded work is most common in location-specific industries such as ~~rents~~ cleaning services, laundries, residential construction, retail, and childcare.

The economic dimensions of mobility, in terms of access to jobs and sustainable livelihoods, are therefore central to the integration of foreign nationals and displaced populations. Yet, both groups are often confronted with structural, legal, and other barriers. These include legislation restricting access to certain professions and restrictive sponsorship schemes that do not comply with basic labour and human rights standards that restrict the length of employment or do not recognize certain qualifications (Innes, 2016). However, outside the legal structure of the right to work, research (Kinge & Tiabo, 2019; Landau, 2010) indicates that foreign nationals, who frequently lack knowledge of the local language, are often met with other social, political, and cultural barriers to employment. Practically speaking, because of linguistic, social, and cultural barriers, many foreign nationals who theoretically have a right to work are unable to integrate

into the local economy (Innes, 2016). This somewhat inaccessibility to integrate often render foreign nationals vulnerable and complicit in a variety of crimes and illegal engagements as a survival strategy including tendencies of violent confrontations as the product of crime. A study conducted by Parutis (2014) found that "it is difficult to categorize foreign nationals as highly skilled or low-skilled because, despite their relatively high qualifications, they often occupy low-skilled positions in the United Kingdom." The same scenario finds voice in the way South Africans view and treat foreign nationals, Hagen-Zanker et al. (2017) concede that there are legal, social, and political barriers to employment on the ground, despite the existence of legal migration pathways. It also shows that limitations on mobility, as well as high costs involved in the various stages of the migration process, undermine possible payoffs, and discourage those who would benefit most from migrating from doing so on a frequent and orderly basis.

Kynoch (2005) reports the existence of several case studies of foreign nationals showing that a university degree obtained in the country of origin does not guarantee a skilled post-migration position for migrants. This can be seen in the case of foreign nationals living in South Africa, most of whom hold university degrees but still work in informal sectors such as guarding or washing cars or security industry, street vending, domestic work, and the construction sector to survive against all odds (Cinini, 2019). Similarly, Kynoch (2014), comments on Filipino domestic workers with tertiary qualifications work in household care occupations or low-skilled jobs.

Migration is not only motivated by economic gains, or to earn money, according to Parutis (2014), but people also migrate to try living abroad. Foreign nationals' cultural capital originates in their home country and is subsequently transformed by their experience of migration. Their cultural capital is also devalued in the migration process because their qualifications gained in their home country are not accepted in the host country or their linguistic abilities preclude them from obtaining a role that matches their qualifications (Parutis, 2014). These conditions provide parameters for hostile and aggressive tendencies to manifest internally among foreign nationals as well as externally to their host communities.

Similarly, South Africa has drawn a substantial influx of Black Africans from other African countries seeking economic opportunities and/or security of human rights (Adjai & Lazaridis, 2013). According to Crush and Ramachandran (2014), many unskilled or semi-trained immigrants generally live in informal settlements near major cities such as Pretoria,

Johannesburg, Cape Town, and Durban. The informal economy in South Africa relies on cheap and easily exploitable labour of undocumented immigrants, mostly from Mozambique and other African countries. The willingness of migrants to work for low wages and enter this informal economy is perceived as taking advantage of the opportunities for South Africans, resulting in animosity between the two groups (Kinge & Tiobo, 2016).

Conclusion

So far, the literature review has explored the issue of violence from a global standpoint. The study of the literature was also limited to national and local viewpoints on violence, such as xenophobic violence, violent crimes, criminal violence, and the migrant crisis. The research method and methodology of the study will be discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHOD AND METHODOLOGY

3.1. Introduction

In the previous chapter, the literature on violence and its related acts were discussed. Our current knowledge of foreign national's violence come from different sources that include xenophobic confrontations and recurrent attacks. Some of these sources; Vetten (2018), Hamber (2019) have observed the apparent shifts in the levels of these violence. However, this chapter is about the research method that was used to conduct this research. The research addresses four questions: (i) Why does inter-ethnic violence occur among Nigerians living on the Point area in Durban? (ii) How does the inter-ethnic violence manifest itself? (iii) How does this violence affect the morale of Nigerian foreign nationals? (iv) What are the recommendations (if any) on addressing the safety and security of Nigerian foreign nationals on "Point Road" in the Durban area of KwaZulu-Natal?

The aim is to understand the inter-ethnic nuances among Nigerian foreign nationals and their experiences of violence on Point Road in Durban. The chapter presents the outline of the study's research methodology with discussions on the following areas: (i) Research design, (ii) project primary site, (iii) Sample size, (iv) research method (v) interview process, (vi) data analysis, (vii) ethical considerations and (viii) conclusion/summary of the study.

3.2 Research Design

This research employed a qualitative approach. According to Given (2008), qualitative research is designed to explore the human elements of a given topic, where specific methods are used to examine how individuals, see and experience the world. To justify clearly the choice of the qualitative approach in reference to the objectives of this research, the researcher considered the view that qualitative approaches are typically used to explore new phenomena and to capture individuals' thoughts, feelings, or interpretations of meaning and process. In this study, the experiences of Nigerian foreign nationals living on Point Road in the Durban area of KwaZulu-Natal are captured to understand their ethnic disparities and how that provides a catalyst for violent confrontations subsequently undermining their rights to a safe and secure climate. According to Padgett(2016), qualitative studies seek to represent the complex worldsof respondents in a holistic, on-the-ground manner. It emphasizes subjective meanings and

questions the existence of a single objective reality. Furthermore, it posits dynamism, a condition of flux that Padgett claims can only be captured by intensive engagement (2016). According to Baumgartner et al. (1995), using a qualitative method allows for a more in-depth understanding of aspects that would be impossible to obtain using only a quantitative survey. Subjective factors such as opinion, attitude, personality, emotion, motivation, interest, personal problems, mood, drive, and frustration are relatively more complex, and hence more difficult to capture quantitatively than variables that can be empirically verified. The choice of the qualitative approach in reference to the objectives of this research, the researcher considered the view that qualitative approaches are typically used to explore new phenomena and to capture individuals' thoughts, feelings, or interpretations of meaning and process.

3.3. Project Primary Site

The data collection for this research was collected on Point Road in the city of Durban, province of KwaZulu-Natal (KZN). Point road is officially called "Mahatma Gandhi" road in Durban. However, Point Road is adopted for this study because of its popularity among commuters, local business operators and taxi service operators. The census of 2011 demonstrates that "Durban is the largest city in the South African province of KZN. It is also the second most important manufacturing hub in South Africa after Johannesburg". It forms part of the eThekweni metropolitan municipality. The city of Durban has a total population of five hundred and ninety-five thousand sixty-one according to the 2011 census. However, the presence of foreign nationals in Durban can be explained by the economic activities that take place in the metropolitan city of the eThekweni municipality including the informal settlement opportunities from previous generations. Unfortunately, the number of foreign nationals living in Durban is unknown. Crush and Williams (2005, p.20), argued that "the exact number of non-citizens in South Africa is unknown. This is primarily because the country is host to a large, unremunerated undocumented population". McDonald et al. (1999), state that this is also attributed to the continuous flow of undocumented immigrants into the country and the lack of reliable methodology to verify the numbers.

3.4. Selection of Participants

For this study, the snowball sampling is used to select the participants. The snowball sampling method is described as a chain or referral sampling technique in which samples have traits that are rare to find. The researcher utilised this sample technique to be able to get referrals of participants with the knowledge and experience of violence among Nigerians living at the

primary site of this study (Christiansen, 2014).

3.5. Research Method

Research methodology according to Babbie and Mouton (2001) is described as the methods, techniques, and procedures that one uses in the process of implementing the research design. In this research the researcher decided to adopt semi-structured interviews as a method.

3.5.1 Semi-structured Interview

In this study, the semi structured interview was adopted. The semi-structured interview is a type of interview with pre-determined questions, but the order and wording of the questions can be changed as the interviewer may decide to add, rephrase or explain questions during an interview session (De Vos, 1998; Robson, 2002). Although the semi-structured interviews have pre-determined questions, the order can be adapted based upon the interviewer's perception of what is the most appropriate (Robson, 2002).

The interview usually follows a certain sequence; Robson (2002) describes the sequence as “warm-up” questions that consist of non-threatening questions to set both at ease; the main body of the interview, followed by the closure. Sometimes participants can come up with interesting contributions once the tape is switched off. Robson (2002) indicates that there are various possible ways of dealing with this like switching the recorder on again, making notes or forgetting about it. The key here is to be consistent in your approach and indicate how you dealt with the situation. It is therefore the responsibility of the interviewer to motivate interviewees to talk freely and openly. The attitude or behavioural conduct of the interviewer has a major influence on the willingness of the interviewee to commit to the interview. Robson (2002) identified some skills that the interviewer needs to have: listen more than you speak; be straightforward and clear when questioning, without being threatening, and eliminate cues which lead interviewees to respond in a particular manner; and enjoy the interview. Robson (2002) advises that you should always make sure that you take a full recording of the interview which can be done by audio taping and taking notes.

Bogdan and Biklen (1982) aver that some researchers rely on their recollection rather than on a tape to record the interview. This involves intensive field notes during and after the interview. This can be extremely difficult and valuable data can be lost, especially during lengthy interviews. Tape recorders can, however, create the illusion that research is effortless. The

transcribing of the data, however, takes a long time and this should be taken into consideration when interviews are recorded. Bogdan and Biklen state that good recording equipment is invaluable. The equipment should be easy to operate, and capable of making clear tapes.

3.5.2. Interview Process

The interviews for this study were done between December 2020 and January of 2021, depending on the availability of the participant. The interview was scheduled with strict adherence to the Covid-19 protective protocols. Facemask, hand sanitizer and social distance were observed. Interview appointments were set up either face-to-face or over the phone. During the interview process, a face-to-face semi-structured interview was used to find out about participant's experiences in context and the meanings these hold. (Davies and Francis, 2018). Interviews were conducted using a few open-ended questions that allowed interviewees to dictate how the interview progresses. Often, the interviewer throughout the interview process probes to encourage further information from the interviewee. Davies and Francis (2018), state that the purpose of the interview is to gain in-depth data, placing the interviewee at the heart of the research and inductively glean information in a natural setting.

However, on the arranged date, the researcher always started by explaining the rationale of the study to participants. Then, verbal consent for participating in the study and allowing the use of the recorder was sought. The duration of the interview was between 25 and 30 minutes per participant. The researcher used interview schedule to conduct semi-structured interviews and followed questions in their order. Questions were open-ended and time was given to participants to gather their thoughts.

3.6. Method of Data Analysis

In this study the thematic approach of data analysis is used. This method includes the process of systematically identifying, organising and offering insight into patterns of meaning (themes) across a dataset where the data collected will be categorised into themes and then analysed according to the identified themes and how they help answer the research questions. Thematic analysis allows the researcher to see and make sense of collective or shared meanings and experiences. Thematic analysis is a flexible method because it allows the researcher to focus on the interpretation of my data in different ways. In the thematic analysis, the researcher will construct meanings from the data set as well as assumptions and ideas that lie behind what is explicitly stated by my participants. Thematic analysis provides the researcher with many

forms that suits a variety of research questions.

3.7. Trustworthiness

The trustworthiness of a study is aimed at pursuing the qualitative approach to support the argument that the findings of the study are very crucial to pay attention to (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). In the study four issues of trustworthiness were attended to: that is the credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). According to Lincoln and Guba (1985, p.296), “credibility is an evaluation of whether or not the research findings represent a credible conceptual interpretation of the data drawn from the participant’s original data.” Transferability is the degree to which the findings can be transferred and be applied to other situations (Shenton, 2004). Dependability is about the quality of data collection, data analysis and theory the data collected (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p.34).

Trustworthiness and credibility are very essential aspects of any research study (Brantlinger et al., 2005). Utilization of such a wide variety of research methods has ensured rigour and generation of massive data. Other trustworthiness strategies I will use will include credibility, confirmability, transferability, and dependability, as formulated, and popularised by Guba and Lincoln (1985).

Credibility

According to Lincoln and Guba (1985) credibility establishes whether the research findings can represent accurate information drawn from participants’ original data is a correct interpretation of the participants’ original views. Explaining further, Lincoln and Guba propound that credibility can be ensured through putting into practice strategies such as interview techniques, member checking and triangulation (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Fifteen participants were sampled and 10 participants were interviewed. In this inquiry, the researcher uses an audio-recording device to record interviews of ten (10) participants drawn from the Nigerian Union. After recording the interviews, data is transcribed verbatim to ensure accuracy of transcripts. The interviews would then be shared with participants (member checking) to verify that they are represented correctly. To ensure credibility, the data is shared with selected critical friends to ensure that the analysis reflect on the collected data.

Confirmability

According to Lincoln and Guba (1985), confirmability is explained as being objective and as a way of addressing concerns about the researcher’s influences and biases in a study. Betram and Christiansen (2014) suggest that the findings of the study must be confirmed by another person

to maintain objectivity and eliminate bias. To ensure that biases are eliminated in this study, the participants in this research would be involved at the first level of the analysis. Involving them will help me to re-story their stories to ensure that my biases as a researcher are eliminated.

Dependability

Lincoln and Guba (1985) explain dependability to involve evaluating the findings, interpretations, and recommendations of the study to make sure that they are all supported by the data generated from participants. Explaining further, Bloomberg and Vope (2008) says dependability refers to whether one can track the process and procedures used to generate and interpret data.

Transferability

The degree to which qualitative research results may be translated to another setting is referred to as transferability. Transferability, according to Lincoln and Guba, isn't just about whether the study has a representative sample; it's also about how well the study has enabled the reader to determine whether similar processes will be at work in their own settings and communities by understanding how they occur on the research site.

3.8. Ethical consideration

Ethical consideration is imperative for research which must be followed. According to Kent (2000) there is a set of principles and rules developed that guide the ethical conduct of a research. Burton (2000) went further to identify these principles as autonomy, beneficence, non-maleficence, and justice which can be used to guide ethical analysis.

In my research, all participants would have to complete an informed consent letter under the assurance of confidentiality. According to Berg (2001) informed consent means the knowing consent of individuals to participate in an exercise of their choice, unrestricted from any element of fraud, deceit, duress, or similar unfair inducement or manipulation. In this study the consent was obtained and ensured in writing. Ethical clearance was issued by the University of KwaZulu-Natal.

3.9. Summary of chapter

This chapter has so far presented the research approaches used in the study. It sets off with an introduction that provides the reader with the outline of the chapter. It proceeds with the research design, selection of participants, research methodology, research process, as well as the ethical considerations for the study. The next chapter will provide the theoretical frameworks of the study.

CHAPTER FOUR

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

4.1. Introduction

The previous chapter discussed the research design and method that informed the research process of this study. The method used was the semi-structured interview. In this chapter, the researcher discussed the theoretical frameworks of the study. For the current study to contribute to the existing body of research through exploring inter-ethnic nuances between Nigerian foreign nationals living on Point Road in Durban, this study will draw on two theories, Pierre Boudoir's theory of Practice (1977) and Robert Merton's Strain theory (1938).

First, Pierre Boudoir's theory of practice is used to understand the social, economic, and cultural practices that define the experiences of a group of people living in a community, organization, or institution. Bourdieu's theory of practice offers an ideal theoretical framing for this study. The theory's key concept of habitus allows us to investigate and address the dispositions/experiences that Nigerian foreign nationals 'bring with them' to a new country, as well as how these experiences shape and characterize their social behaviour. Landau (2004), Langlois, Haines, Tomson (2016), and others have used the theory to better comprehend the experiences of migratory populations such as refugees and asylum seekers in South Africa and other nations, and how such experiences affect their reality.

Second, Merton's Strain theory is used to explore and examine factors that threaten the safety and security of Nigerian foreign nationals in Durban. A study by Cinini (2019) conducted a "criminological analysis on safety and security of African foreign nationals in Durban, south Africa." The study showed the strains (lack of opportunities, underemployment, accommodation, and others) faced by African foreign nationals in Durban and how such strains provide indices for their involvement in desperate survival measures. The Pierre Boudoir's theory of practice and Merton's Strain theory is discussed below.

4.2. Pierre Boudoir's *Theory of Practice*.

Habitus, practice, fields, and various forms of capital were the key theoretical tools Boudoir utilized to examine issues in his theory (especially cultural capital). According to Bourdieu, practice is the outcome of relationships between one's disposition (habitus) and one's place in a field (capital) within the current condition of the field's "play" (Bourdieu 1986, p. 101). Habitus is a property of social actors, according to Bourdieu. It is shaped by one's current and historical circumstances (such as family upbringing, educational experiences, and migration experiences) and serves to shape one's current and future practice. Individuals' subjective dispositions and ways of behaviour result from the internalization of social and cultural norms, social institutions, and material relations, which are referred to as habitus (Browitt, 2004). Habitus also defines what is proper or inappropriate, available or unavailable, and possible or impossible in each social circumstance for individuals. Habitus is thus a result and a cause for an individual's way of being, acting and thinking. The experiences of Nigerian foreign nationals when explored using the same theory would provide an understanding of their inter-ethnic nuances. Webb, Schirato, and Danaher (2002:21), in their observation explain that Bourdieu's theory of practice concerns with how to understand and explain the interaction between "people's practices (in this context inter-ethnic practices of Nigerian foreign nationals as a point of reference) and the contexts in which those practices take place." Bourdieu states that subjects act as agents in the construction, adjustment, and transformation of society, social practices, and institutions. He further argues that people are constituted within and by the practices in which they take part (Webb et al., 2002). The practices of Nigerian foreign nationals define their identities in the way they act and the activities they engage in. The context of this study is through exploring inter-ethnic nuances between Nigerian foreign nationals living on Point Road, in Durban, and how it provides a catalyst for violent confrontations, subsequently undermining their rights to a safe climate.

As foreign nationals integrate into a host society without losing their ties to the society and culture of origin, studies such as Alba and Nee (2003), Berry (1980), and Gordon (1999) recognize that adaptation processes are non-linear and involve personal stress, ambivalences, rejections, and contradictory outcomes (Tabar et al. 2010). Gordon Allport proposed the "contact hypothesis" in 1954, which is concerned with the prerequisites for convivial meetings in urban environments (Amin, 2008). This new 'geography of encounters' (Valentine, 2008) aims to investigate the complicated and intersecting ways in which nuances amongst Nigerian foreign nationals are manifested. According to Swartz (2002, p.655) the beliefs, norms, and

values of a society do not function in a social vacuum but in structured social contexts, which Bourdieu calls fields. The field as Rafanell (2003, p.4) points out are the arenas, or social environments, where given conditions are in place and at play. These social environments (field) embrace the social relationships and cultural milieus within which defined groups of people function and interact (Barnet & Casper, 2001, p.465). By field, Bourdieu (in Powell, 2008, p.172) means “irremissible conventions, values, discourse or the ‘rules of the game’ that are the contexts for social interactions.”

According to Nascimento and Marteleto (2008) fields are micro cosmos or social spaces structured by the set of actions, representations, interactions and social forces, power relationships, attractions or repulsions that subjects experience. Bourdieu (in Webb, et al., 2002) refers to contexts as ‘cultural fields’, which include discourses, rules, rituals, conventions, values, institutions, and regulations. Baxen (2010) further states that the cultural field, according to Bourdieu, is within power relations; a dynamic discursive space that is not only made up of rules and institutions but also of the interrelationships between institutions, rules, and practices. Bourdieu (in Baxen, 2010) argues that it is in the cultural field where attitudes and practices are produced and transformed, since subjects actively take part to produce them just as they are produced by them. Rafanell (2003) posits that being in each field expose individuals to such practices and attitudes which results in the development of a ‘habitus’.

People embody the shared beliefs, values, customs, behaviours, and artefacts that are practiced in a particular structure (field) to interact with unique members of their society. Bourdieu maintains that society shapes individuals through socialization but that the very continuity and existence of society depends on the ongoing actions of the individuals (Swartz, 2002) through what he calls the habitus. This theory is relevant in this study because it draws upon the fact that human interaction especially among Nigerian foreign nationals on Point Road is affected for so many reasons that inhibit or provoke a production of violent behaviour in what Bourdieu calls the field. The multiple effects produced over time by foreign nationals on Point Road becomes habitus in effect. Bourdieu's habitus, according to Hine (2010), is a set of dispositions that predispose agents to act in certain ways in the field. These dispositions produce ‘regular’ or ‘expected’ activities, perceptions, and attitudes that are not consciously coordinated or regulated by any conscious ‘rule.’ The most significant flaws and criticisms of Bourdieu's theory are thought to be his failure to predict change and his lack of rationality. Bourdieu’s

theory allows the researcher to explore the dispositions, attitudes, worldviews and practices that Nigerian foreign nationals display as processes rather than individual qualities. Moreover, the theoretical positions are relevant as a lens to understanding the experiences of violence among Nigerian foreign nationals in South Africa, Point Road in particular.

4.3. Robert Merton's *Strain theory*

The problem of safety and security enables the theoretical appropriateness of Merton's Strain theory (1938) as a corroborating theory to that of Pierre Bourdieu. According to Merton, all people, particularly migrants [foreign nationals], are encouraged to strive for the cultural objective of financial success. Lower-class people, on the other hand, are frequently stopped from obtaining this goal through legal measures. Merton claims that there are a variety of ways to cope with this stress, some of which include criminal activity. Individuals may seek financial success by illegal means such as stealing, drug trafficking, and prostitution. In their frustration, they may lash out at others. They may engage in drug use to alleviate their frustration. And they may reject the goal of monetary success and focus on the achievement of other goals, certain of which involve crime. The Strain theory is used to explore and examine factors that threaten the safety and security of Nigerian foreign nationals in Durban.

In 1930, Merton created the first major crime-related strain theory during the Great Depression to analyse the strain of failure to achieve monetary success. Strain theory of deviant behaviour argues that people are more likely to pursue illegitimate means of achieving culturally prescribed goals when they are blocked from accessing institutionalized means to those goals (Merton, 1938). The rationale for this theory is the statement by Merton that the social structure restricts access to the goal of success by legitimate means (Lilly et al., 2010). The theory supports the lack of opportunities for Nigerian foreign nationals resulting in desperate means of survival, thus lending credence to the manifestation of illegal dealings and violent confrontations.

For a variety of reasons, strains are considered to enhance the chance of crime, particularly unpleasant emotions like anger, greed, envy, jealousy, frustration, despair, and fear. People who are strained feel bad and take urgent steps to improve their living conditions as a result of these emotions, which puts pressure on them to take remedial action. In addition to Merton's Strain Theory, Agnew (2015) proposed the General Strain Theory (GST), which claims that people commit crimes as a result of stressors or strains. Negative emotions such as anger,

frustration, and depression are triggered by strains. These feelings put pressure on people to act, and one option is to commit a crime (Hewstone, 2009). Strain, according to Agnew(1992), refers to events and conditions that people dislike. These events and circumstances may result in incapacity to achieve one's objectives. Agnew assumed that the more the dose of stress a person receives, the more likely he or she is to commit a crime or participate in some other sort of deviance (Lilly et al., 2010).

According to research undertaken mostly in the United States and a few other Western countries, certain strains increase the risk of criminality, with parental rejection and victimization among the most common causes of crime (Agnew, 2006). The above parts of strain theory clearly explain why some local inhabitants' resort to violence towards African foreign nationals when they want the government to pay attention to their suffering, which is compounded by the country's high unemployment rate. The consequence of this is that African foreign nationals are mostly blamed and attacked because they seem to be easy targets. The explanations of xenophobia have been linked to the economic conditions of South African communities and labour market competition (Gordon, 2015). This suggests a simple linear relationship between anti-immigrant prejudice and economic status (Strain Theory). In effect, Crush and Chikanda (2012), reveal that in the international migrant receiving countries in the Global South, public debate on immigration is characterised by concerns that immigrants cause crime, take jobs from locals and are a burden on already pressured social welfare nets. The marriage of Pierre Bourdieu's Theory of Practice and Merton's Strain theory reinforces and re-emphasizes the context of inter-ethnic nuance between Nigerian foreign nationals and how that provides a cortex for safety and security intervention and protection.

4.4. Conclusion

So far, this chapter has identified the two theories (Pierre Bourdieu Theory of Practice and Robert Merton's Strain theories) that inform the theoretical orientation of the study. The marriage of the two theories were discussed and how they function in the context of the study and how they address some of the research questions.

CHAPTER FIVE

DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS:

INTER-ETHNIC VIOLENCE, SAFETY AND SECURITY OF NIGERIAN FOREIGN NATIONALS IN DURBAN

5.1. Introduction

The previous chapter provided a discussion on the research design and methodology that informed the research process of this study. Among other things, the chapter discussed the method used to generate data; the method is semi-structured interviews. The analysis here uses the interpretive paradigm to thematically analyse the extent to which Nigerian foreign nationals experience inter-ethnic violence and threats on their safety and security on Point Road in Durban, South Africa. Secondly the analysis will describe the factors which threaten the safety and security of Nigerian foreign nationals on Point Road in the city of Durban and finally, draw recommendations (if any) on what should be done to ensure their safety and security. The analysis will be done with the view to addressing the research questions. For a reminder to the reader, the research questions are presented below,

1. Why does inter-ethnic violence occur among Nigerian foreign nationals living on the Point area in Durban?
2. How does the inter-ethnic violence manifest itself?
3. What are the recommendations (if any) on addressing the safety and security of Nigerian foreign nationals on “Point Road” in the Durban area of KwaZulu-Natal?

Data shows that, all participants were in retail businesses such as car dealerships, computer and mobile phone repairs and restaurants. The number of years that the participants spent in South Africa ranged between 8 and 20. The youngest participant is thirty-five years old and the oldest is 52 years old. For clarity, the researcher presents the tabular and narrative profile of the participants.

5.2. Demographic and narrative profile of participants

The table below (Table 1) summarizes the demographic information of participants. The data is recorded according to gender, industry, ethnic group, age, and number of years spent in South Africa. The narrative profile of the participants will follow subsequently.

Participants	Gender	Industry	Ethnic group	Age	Number of years in SA
Participant 1	Male	Retail business	Igbo	35	8
Participant 2	Male	Retail business	Igbo	43	12
Participant 3	Male	Retail business	Igbo	40	10
Participant 4	Male	Retail business	Igbo	38	8
Participant 5	Male	Retail business	Igbo	45	12
Participant 6	Male	Retail business	Igbo	46	9
Participant 7	Male	Retail business	Igbo	50	18
Participant 8	Male	Retail business	Igbo	47	15
Participant 9	Male	Retail business	Igbo	48	13
Participant 10	Male	Retail business	Igbo	52	20

Table 1: Demographic profile of research participants (RP)

5.2.1. Participant 1

Participant one is a 35-year old male of the Igbo ethnic group. He was born in Imo state of Eastern Nigeria. He had his primary and secondary education in Imo state, Nigeria before moving to Lagos in search for better opportunities. After spending ten years in Lagos and trying hands on different business opportunities, he decided to travel to South Africa in 2013. He first lived in Johannesburg South Africa before finally moving to stay in Durban. He owns a beauty salon on Point Road in Durban where he sells hair attachments and other beauty products. He has lived eight years in South Africa and has been doing the salon business since 2015. He is not married and has not travelled back to Nigeria since 2013 when he first arrived.

5.2.2. Participant 2

Participant two is 43 years old and of Igbo descent from Anambra state of Eastern Nigeria. He was born in Lagos and grew up in Ajegunle, one of the slums in Lagos state. He was invited to South Africa in 2009 by his elder brother who had travelled many years before him. He stayed with his elder brother in Cape town where he learnt the business of car dealership. After serving his brother for three years (this is unique among the Igbos to bring up young entrepreneurs by serving their masters free for a maximum of ten years and minimum of 3 years depending on the nature of trade). After completing his apprenticeship, he moved to Durban where he runs a

motor mechanic shop and sells automobile spare parts. He has three employees on his payroll and has spent a total of 12 years in South Africa.

5.2.3 Participant 3

Participant three is 40 years old from Imo state of Eastern Nigeria. He had his university education in Nigeria with a Bachelor of Science degree in Physics. He was invited by a relative to come to Durban, South Africa for better opportunities. He enrolled for a postgraduate degree but was unable to complete due to funds. He opened a computer centre where he provides typing, photocopying, and salon services. He has employed four South African nationals, married to a South African and has lived for 10 years.

5.2.4 Participant 4

Participant four is 38 years old and hails from Abia state of Eastern Nigeria. He was born in Kaduna where his parents lived and worked. He had his high school education in Kaduna state and later moved to join his elder brother who had relocated to South Africa in 2009. In 2013, he was sent to Durban to set up a branch to sell Nigerian home foods by his brother. During the xenophobic attacks in 2015, his shop was attacked, and properties destroyed. He lost his shop and now operates as a cobbler on a roadside kiosk. His elder brother also lost his shop in Johannesburg to attacks.

5.2.5. Participant 5

Participant five is 45 years old from the Igbo ethnic group of eastern Nigeria. He is from Enugu state where he did his primary and secondary education. His parents were deeply affected by the Nigerian civil war where much of their fortunes were lost. He attempted serving one of his uncles for two years before he was invited to South Africa by his friend. In 2009 he travelled to South Africa to meet his friend in Cape Town for better opportunities. However, things did not work very well in Cape Town and he decided to move to Durban in 2011. He runs a bar on Point Road where he sells drinks and Nigerian food items. He has employed two South Africans. He has had several break-ins at his shop in Durban. He has lived 12 years in South Africa and is married to a South African.

5.2.6. Participant 6

Participant six is from Abia state of Eastern Nigeria. He is 46 years old and speaks Igbo and Yoruba. He was born in Lagos where he began to build a music career. However, he was not

able to break through in the industry. His friend invited him to come and try his talents in South Africa. He arrived Johannesburg in 2013 and lived in Johannesburg for two years where he performed at local bars and other public spaces. However, he was unable to make ends meet and decided in 2015 to relocate to Durban and start a beauty Salon business. He has been doing the salon business since 2016. He is married to a South African woman who they work together.

5.2.7. Participant 7

Participant seven is 50 years old and has spent 18 years in South Africa. He is of the Igbo ethnic group from Anambra state of eastern Nigeria. He arrived Durban in 2003 where he started his Nigerian home food retail business. After operating the food business for three years, he delved into automobile and trades in cars and motor parts. He also operates and owns a lodge in Durban. Two of his shops were attacked several times by some of his Nigerian brothers because of envy and jealousy. He is a permanent resident and is married to a South African with kids.

5.2.8. Participant 8

Participant 8 is 47 years old and hails from Mbaise in Imo state of eastern Nigeria. He speaks Igbo, Yoruba, and Ibibio. He was born in Edo state where he had his primary and secondary education. His father was a civil servant and a trader in clothing and textiles where he also learnt the business. He travelled to South Africa through the invitation of his cousin to come and set up an African clothing business in Durban. He arrived Durban in 2007 and opened a fashion business where he deals in African fabrics. He also tailors most of the designs for customers. He has been staying in Durban for 15 years and is married to a South African.

5.2.9 Participant 9

Participant 9 is a 49-year old male from Enugu state in Eastern Nigeria. He was born in Owerri the Imo state capital. He had his primary and secondary education in Owerri where he served his father in the tyre trading business. His elder brother had travelled to South Africa earlier and invited him over for better opportunities. In 2008, he came to Johannesburg to join his brother who was into car dealership and automobile repairs. In 2010, he left Johannesburg to Durban after his brother lost properties to the 2008 xenophobic violence. He owns a tyre trading business and sales motor parts and other accessories. He has been living in South Africa for 13 years and lived in Durban for 9 years. He is married to a South African.

5.2.10 Participant 10

Participant 10 is a 52-year old male from Abia state and has lived in South Africa for 20 years. He came to South Africa in 2000 and obtained his permanent residency in 2010. After living 10 years in Johannesburg, he relocated to Durban South Africa where he owns a Guest House and is also into car dealership. He once served as the chairman of the Nigerian Union in 2009. His younger brother was killed by a fellow Nigerian on Point road due to disagreements.

From the demographic and narrative profile of the participants, data clearly indicates that the participants all hail from the Eastern part of Nigeria and are entrepreneurs. In Nigeria, the Eastern part of Nigeria is renowned for their entrepreneurial skills and business relationship. They also experience inter-business rivalry which frequently prompts violence consequently. The narrative profile from the data also provides a background of the participants and their individual decisions to migrate to South Africa. Their decisions to leave Nigeria included search for better business opportunities, studies, and skills development. All the participants were either invited by family relatives, friends, and/or former school mates.

5.3. Themes and Discussions

From the data generated for this study, two major themes emerged in line with the objectives which will form the basis of analysis. The themes are Inter-ethnic nuances of participants that contribute to violence between them and factors that threaten the safety and security of the participants. The analysis will draw recommendations regarding the safety and security of Nigerian foreign nationals living in Durban. Each of the themes will be discussed systematically using diagrams where appropriate.

5.3.1 Inter-ethnic nuances of Nigerian foreign nationals living in Durban

This section will adopt the term Igbo Nigerian Foreign Nationals. This is because the Igbos constitute the highest population of participants in the study. Data from the study shows that, the preoccupation of the Igbos along the lines of business activities provides agency for violence to occur in their communal spaces. In this study, themes of Envy, Greediness, Jealousy, and violence emerged as the character traits that affects the social conditions of Nigerian foreign nationals in Durban. These character traits of envy (a feeling of discontented or resentful longing aroused by someone else's possessions, qualities, or luck.), greediness (the quality of wanting more than you already have), jealousy (a feeling of unhappiness and anger

because someone has something or someone that you want) and violence (extremely forceful actions that are intended to hurt people or are likely to cause damage) preoccupy the socialisation process of Nigerian foreign nationals in Durban and lends credence to the manifestation of violence.

The figure below highlights these character traits. This is then supported by evidence drawn from data generated.

Figure 1: Character traits of Igbo Nigerian Foreign Nationals (INFN) (Source: Researcher)



5.3.2 Envy and Igbo Nigerian foreign nationals.

Firstly, data from the study shows that, envy (envy is referred here as a feeling of discontent or resentful longing aroused by someone else's possessions and success) is one of the main character traits identified that affects most of the Igbo Nigerian Foreign Nationals living in Durban. According to Participant 1:

The Igbo don't like each other. They envy each other. Most causes of envy are because of money due to the type of business they do like selling of drugs. I have witnessed my fellow Igbo brothers been shot and dragged around because of money...it is happening all the time; the envy is too much.

The participant further justified envy to be because of the businesses they engage in especially drug related dealings. Participants 2,3,4 and 5 also concur with envy as a dominant trait that affects the inter-ethnic relationship of the Igbos in Durban. For example, Participant 5 said

The envy of a thing...when a brother and a brother do business together, before you know it envy develops because maybe the other person made

more money than another, before you know it grudge develops and they start threatening each other.

However, Participant 7 reinforces more explicitly

We are saying we are Nigerians; we are saying we are Biafra's, but there is no love here in South Africa. Only envy. Most especially my brothers the Igbos. If you are doing anything here, you must be careful with them...all they want is your downfall.

This position is supported by participant 7,8,9 and 10. However, two interrelated points emerge from Participant 7 which are envy and the mention of Biafra. "Biafra" is suggestive of the agitation of a regional divide in Nigeria's post-colonial temper and how it provoked the need for secession and further resulted in Nigeria's civil war of 1967-1970 (Coleman, 2008 and Nnoli, 1980). While this should not be a critique of the Igbos, their transnational relationship is economically driven thus igniting envy. This point is concomitant of the economic interest of the Igbos as observed by Okonjo (1974) and Afigbo (1989). It also illustrates that, success among Igbo Nigerian Foreign Nationals living in Durban is economically driven thus, it negates brotherliness and prompts envy consequently (through constant altercations, shopbreak-ins, destruction of properties or physical attacks with the aim of causing setback on the more fortunate and prosperous ones).

5.3.3 Jealousy

Secondly, jealousy (jealousy generally refers to the thoughts or feelings of insecurity, fear, and concern over a relative lack of possessions or safety) emerged from the data as a byproduct of envy and a precursor for violent confrontations. Data from Participant 1, 2 and 3 agree that jealousy is a recipe for conflict among the Igbos living in Durban. According to Participant 3

The jealousy come when a brother and a brother do business together. This one will be looking for the lion's share...they can stab one another for money, they can shoot you for money. It's happening here always

It is clear from the response of Participant 3 that jealousy not only affects Igbo Nigerian foreign nationals in the way they relate with each other but also creates a vulnerable tendency for violence to occur. Adding to this, Participant 4 says that

When you see your mate who came to this country together is living fine, driving a nice car, living in a nice house, and you, you stand on the street, since then you never even have a good house to stay, or you can't even afford to eat nicely. When you see your fellow guy, you will start

murmuring, or blackmailing among that person just because you are jealous.

Different reasons emerged from the data to suggest why jealousy exists among Igbo Nigerian foreign nationals. These reasons include financial success, lavish display of exotic life etc. which do not go down well with those less fortunate. Participant 5 also weighed in to say “... *he can even try to hurt him in anyway just to bring him down. Jealousy is too much.*” Participant 6 and 7 are of the same opinion. However, Participant 8,9 and 10 are of the opinion that, the type of jealousy experienced among Igbo Nigerian foreign nationals in Durban is found among informal traders who are constantly aware of the next person’s progress.

According to Participant 10

The people in the education side, the doctors, they are not experiencing what we are experiencing. But those of us on the streets, meeting each other every day, discussing, and doing business make us put an eye on the next person’s progress. Before you know, jealousy starts to develop, emotions begin to get high and then suddenly, something bad happens. It is terrible the life we live here as brothers.

Drawing on this, it is evident from the data that the level of education of Nigerian foreign nationals also plays a role in the way they socialize and the type of experience that exists among them as stated by the participant.

5.3.4 Greed and violence

Next is they are Greedy (greed is an uncontrolled longing for increase in the acquisition or use: of material gain; or social value, such as status, or power) and violent. Data shows that Igbo Nigerian Foreign Nationals are greedy. According to Participant 4

What is killing us here is our greediness. The brothers here are greedy too much. All of us here, we are greedy, even me also, we are greedy. Most times we want more than we need because everyone wants to show that he has arrived and is doing better than the other. When they see you driving a big car and living in a good accommodation, all eyes are on you and before you know it someone will attack you and maybe you will be killed. They don’t want to see you too comfortable when they are still trying to survive.

Data from the participants shows that greed leads to violence. Participant 5, 8 and 10 mentioned money as the major cause of greed and the pathway to violence among Igbo Nigerian foreign nationals. According to participant 8

They can either stab you or shoot you for money. It's happening here always. If that money is big money, they will shoot you. Most times they don't do it themselves; they can pay any of the "Paras" or "izigebengu" tokill. (Paras or izigebengu is a name for South Africa street urchins)

The response from Participant 8 brings out two points. The method used to inflict violent acts through stabbing and the strategies used to carryout violent confrontations. From the data it can be deduced that Igbo Nigerian foreign nationals use South African street urchins called "Paras" or "izigebengu" who they hire to kill their fellow brothers. This demonstrates the extent to which Igbo Nigerian Foreign Nationals go to inflict acts of violence due to (a) envy (b) greed and (c) jealousy as discussed in the previous pages of the analysis. Often, money is at the centre of controversy.

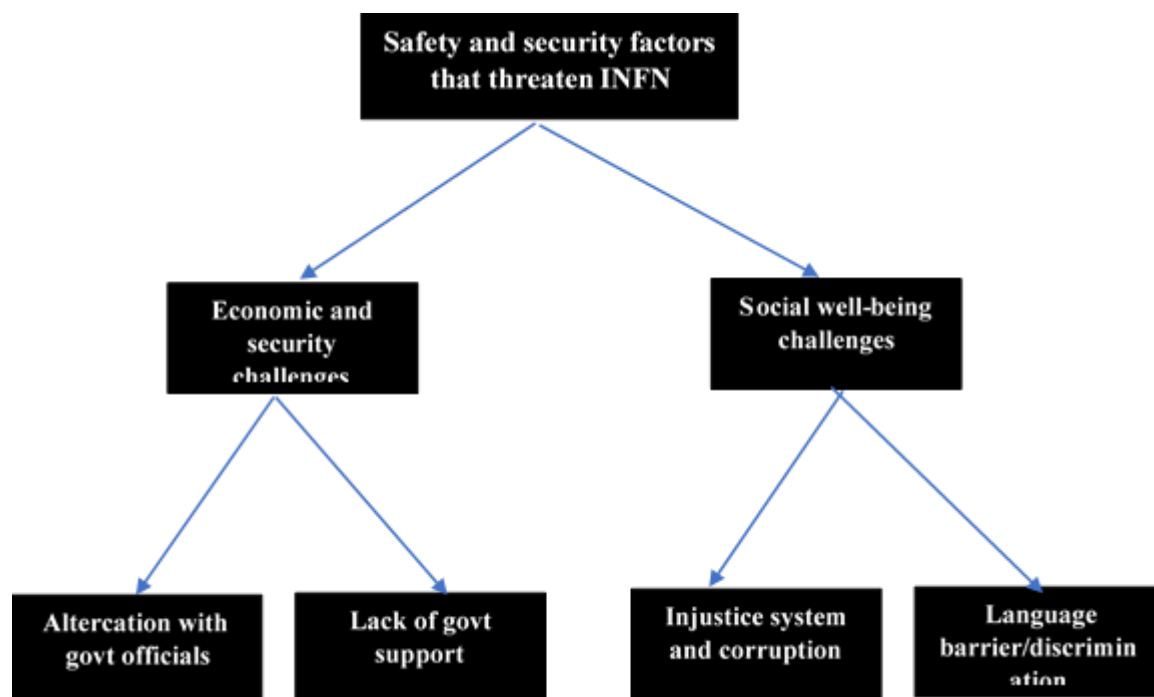
Drawing from the responses of the participants, the data demonstrates some of the transnational attributes that characterise the diasporic relationship of Igbo Nigerian foreign nationals living in Durban. These character traits (envy, greed, jealousy and violence) are however not suggestive of a general reading of Nigerian foreign nationals or Igbo Nigerian foreign nationals, the data only demonstrates that these inter-ethnic character traits identified by the participants are fertile grounds for inter-ethnic violence in Durban. According to the World Health Organization (WHO), "violence is an intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person, or against a group or community that results in, or is likely to result in, injury, death, psychological harm, mal-development or deprivation." Moreover, the experiences of the Igbo's show how these practices provide indices of a fractured relationship among them in Durban and how that justifies Pierre Bourdieu's "theory of practice." (Landau, 2004, Langlois, Haines, Tomson, 2016)

5.4 Factors that threaten the safety and security of Igbo Nigerian Foreign Nationals in Durban

The factors that threaten the safety and security of Igbo Nigerian Foreign Nationals in Durban are discussed below under two categories namely (a) economic and security challenges as well as (b) social wellbeing challenges. In identifying different threats or factors affecting them in Durban South Africa, they highlighted that the difficulties they face daily are social, and

economic security challenges. Figure 2 below illustrates graphically these safety and security challenges. The factors are divided into economic and security challenges and then social wellbeing challenges. The subcategories of each is included as provided below

Figure 2: Factors affecting the safety and security of Nigerian foreign nationals in Durban.



Source: Researcher

In South Africa, there is a huge number of unemployed local citizens who make their living through informal sectors. Nigerian foreign nationals are intensively restricted from accessing formal employment; hence they find their route to the informal economic sector. The option of the informal economic sector places them at risk because of the huge number of unemployed citizens engaged in the informal economy. Participants in this research demonstrated that altercations with local officials and lack of government support constitute a serious challenge when it comes to economic security and safety concerns of Nigerian foreign nationals.

Data shows that most of the Nigerian foreign nationals living in Durban are frequently engaged in altercations with local officials. Most of the participants decried the harassment they often face from local officials who frequently visit their shops and intimidate them under different auspices with the aim of exploiting them. According to Participant 4

Like me, I sell foodstuffs and other items, every time they come in to demand for this, demand for that. They always try to intimidate us because we are foreigners. Some of them eat our food for free.

The response of the participant shows that; Nigerian foreign nationals are not only economically short-changed but also exploited.

Participant 5 and 6 decried that

We are never sure of the safety of our shops as local officials or even the police are not concerned when they are burgled. Most times they break into our shops but when we report, they don't take us seriously. They treat us like shit.

It is evident from the data that, the issue of security on Nigerian owned shops in Durban are treated with light attention. This is because; discriminatory attitudes also play a major role in the recalcitrant nature of law enforcement officers in attending to the concerns of Nigerian foreign nationals. It is however important to note that, the supposed discriminatory attitude is not only evident among Igbo Nigerian foreign nationals but to a larger extent on that of other nationals living at the primary site of this study. The strains faced by Igbo Nigerian foreign nationals both economically and socially are implicit in the rationale by Merton that the social structure restricts access to the goal of success by legitimate means (Lilly et al., 2010). The theory supports the lack of opportunities for Igbo Nigerian foreign nationals resulting in desperate means of survival, thus lending credence to the manifestation of illegal dealings and violent confrontations.

The participants also mentioned lack of government support in responding to their concerns especially the constant harassment they face as Nigerians. This connotes the prejudicial treatment of Nigerians based on the conclusion that they are drug peddlers. According to Participant 7

The other day one Nigerian who owns a shop here was killed and buried in the sucker well behind his shop. He employed some South Africans who were working with him. They killed him, took away the items in the shop, nothing was done. Even when the perpetrators were arrested and confessed, nothing happened. He died like that.

The data reflects that Nigerian foreign nationals continue to suffer at the hands of the corrupt system. The police officers are not doing their work to protect the locals, but they are also perpetrating and inflicting more pain on the disadvantaged citizens. Most participants were

dismayed (as noted by Participant 7,8 and 9) by the fact that even after they report crime and at times the perpetrators are arrested, nothing happens to them as they will be seen roaming the streets again. Most of the participants also noted that, the process of legal documentation is made cumbersome thus making it difficult for them to obtain legal status. The police then take advantage of their illegal status as a basis for constant harassment. Participant 9 decried that *local authorities are always ferrying foreign nationals in their vans whenever they fail to produce legal documentation.*

Nigerian foreign nationals face a lot of injustice. They are not given an opportunity to prove their innocence even when they are falsely accused. Their human rights are always trampled upon and their voices silenced in any situation where an altercation arises. Most of the participants stated that, despite their skills, they are not giving any room to express themselves as all doors are always shut on them. According to Participant 10 *“Doors are closed for us. We cannot access any opportunity no matter how good we are, and we end up doing these small jobs and minor businesses which do not meet up our responsibilities.”*

Another challenge or difficulty faced by Nigerian foreign nationals in Durban is the issue of the language barrier as a social problem. Participants 2 and 3 revealed that most Nigerian foreign nationals are still confronted with challenges of communication. The fact that they are not able to speak or understand the indigenous language make them fail to integrate into their immediate society. They also highlighted the idea that when you fail to express yourself in the local or vernacular language, *“you are immediately cut off and treated as a foreigner and quickly they see you as a threat to their society, jobs, wives and they start to discriminate against you and your existence”* (Participant 10). Most of the participants argued that there are injustices and corruption towards Nigerian foreign nationals in South Africa. Some participants highlighted that some Nigerian foreign nationals are killed like “dogs” and justice is not served and most of the time the perpetrators are left scot-free (as noted by Participant 7, 8 and 9).

Conclusion

The contribution to the knowledge of this chapter emanated from the combination of Inter-ethnic practices (Pierre Bourdieu theory of practice) of Igbo Nigerian foreign nationals and the problem of safety and security using the strain theory. Pierre Bourdieu’s theory of practice was used as one of the theoretical concepts to demonstrate the nature and extent to which Igbo

Nigerian foreign nationals experience inter-ethnic violence and threat on their safety and security.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.0 Introduction

The previous chapter presented the discussion of data and the findings. Two broad themes emerged from data and these themes were then used to discuss the findings. These themes were (i) character traits that affect the social conditions of Nigerian foreign nationals in Durban. These character traits are envy (a feeling of discontented or resentful longing aroused by someone else's possessions, qualities, or luck.), greediness (the quality of wanting more than you already have), jealousy (a feeling of unhappiness and anger because someone has something or someone that you want) and violence (extremely forceful actions that are intended to hurt people or are likely to cause damage). (i) The factors that threaten the safety and security of Igbo Nigerian Foreign Nationals in Durban are discussed below under two categories namely (a) economic and security challenges as well as (b) social wellbeing challenges. In this chapter, the researcher presents the summary of the study, the conclusions drawn from the findings, and therecommendations.

6.1 Summary of the study

This study explored the experiences of Nigerian foreign nationals on inter-ethnic violence and how it provides a catalyst for violent confrontations subsequently undermining their rights to a safe and secure climate. The data for the study was dominated by the Igbo ethnic nationality thus the use of Igbo Nigerian foreign nationals (INFN) in the discussion of the themes. The study is reported in six chapters with each chapter presenting a specific component. Below the researcher provides a synopsis for each chapter.

Chapter One: Background orientation and problem formulation

This chapter focused on the overall introduction of the study with a clear formulation of the research problem. The chapter discussed the rationale that motivated the study as well as the research questions and the objectives of the study. The chapter also discussed the post-independence political history of Nigeria to understand the context of ethnic divisions and how it further informs the diasporic divisions of Nigerian immigrants and motivates violence among them. The key clarification of concepts to guide the reader to the context of the application of the concepts in the study was discussed.

Chapter Two: Literature review

This chapter discussed the review of related literature on violence as a phenomenon from the global, national, and local perspectives. The chapter began with an introduction, followed by

the concept of violence and how it is understood from the global perspectives. The literature on violence and violent crimes in South Africa were also discussed.

Chapter Three: Research Design and methodology

This chapter discussed the research design and methodology of the study. It presented the instruments of data collection and data analysis. The chapter also discussed the ethical issues related to the study.

Chapter Four: Theoretical framework

The theoretical frameworks of the study are discussed in this chapter. It discussed two theories selected for the study. The Pierre Bourdieu theory of practice and the Merton Strain theory were discussed.

Chapter Five: Data presentation and analysis

This chapter discussed the findings of the data collected. The findings are analysed into themes. The themes are discussed with the research questions as a guide.

6.2 Conclusions drawn from findings

Most research on foreign national violence in South Africa has concentrated on xenophobic violence. However, violence as it manifests internally among foreign nationals especially Nigerian foreign nationals is scarce. The current study is to contribute to the existing body of research through exploring inter-ethnic nuances between Nigerian foreign nationals living in Durban and how it provides a catalyst for violent confrontations, subsequently undermining their rights to a safe and secure climate. Through inter-ethnic violence among Nigerians, the study notes that the colonial division in Nigeria along the lines of ethnicity and economic resources laid foundations for inter-ethnic rivalry and violence. Evidence from this study indicates that Nigerian foreign nationals experience inter-ethnic nuances among them thus instigating violence. Among others, the study found that Nigerian foreign nationals involved in altercation make use of South street urchins commonly referred to as “Paras” or “izibengu” to kill or physically assault their fellow Nigerians. Igbo Nigerian foreign nationals dominated the demography of the study. Drawing on these divisions along the lines of ethnicity, Cohen (2019) observed that the national relationships appear to be imported via the diaspora. Transnational relationship of Nigerians in the diaspora is thus largely based on inter-related home divisions.

The study demonstrated that, all the components of human security are triggering factors of threats to socio-economic and the social well-being of Igbo Nigerian foreign nationals in the city of Durban. The security challenges of Nigerian foreign nationals do not start within the host communities but have a transnational history which starts before the concerned take the decision to leave the community or country of origin. The literature and findings from the data have shown different reasons for leaving the country of origin. Most of these reasons are security-based be it economic insecurity, political instability and so forth. On their way to the host country and community, Igbo Nigerian foreign nationals face myriads of security challenges of which death and physical injuries, as well as the loss of properties throughout the migration journey, are on record. However, the study found that, Igbo Nigerian foreign nationals also provide an enabling environment that prompts their economic and social insecurity due to the character traits of, envy, greed, jealousy and violent. Added to this is the kind of illegal businesses some of them engage in. Nevertheless, even though Igbo Nigerian foreign nationals face security challenges throughout their way to host communities, it is unfortunate that their safety and security is of no guarantee within the host communities upon arrival and within their communal spaces. When asked about threatening factors on their safety and security, participants cited among many, the altercations with local officials, impediments to a legal document, as well as the injustice system and corruption. On top of the previous security threat elements, there is an existing tension of negative attitudes among local citizens towards Nigerian foreign nationals.

6.4. Recommendations

Based on the generated data, the researcher makes the following recommendations. The recommendations are directed to Researchers.

6.4.1. Recommendations to Researchers

It would be very interesting to explore the experiences of other African foreign nationals in South Africa on inter-ethnic rivalries in their spaces of settlement. The internal tensions among foreign nationals along their ethnic groupings and how that provides a catalyst for violent confrontations subsequently undermining them to a safe and secure climate would be an interest area of inquiry. Such research would be able to bring to the public knowledge the underreported and complex lived experiences in the internal spaces of immigrants. This will contribute to a

broader immigrant-immigrant violence as against the often over flogged research on xenophobic violence.

6.5 Chapter summary

This chapter discussed the summary and conclusions. It provided the introduction to the chapter. The summary of the study was provided highlighting the summary of each of the six chapters. This was followed with the conclusions drawn from the findings. The chapter concluded with recommendations to researchers.

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APPENDIX ‘A’

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE



INTERVIEW SCHEDULE GUIDE FOR INDIVIDUAL PARTICIPANTS

1. Based on your experience, what is your perceptions about violence among Nigerian immigrants on Point Road? (Please elaborate on your answer).
2. Based on your experience, what do you think are the reasons for violence among Nigerians on Point Road?
3. Based on your experience, what are the most common forms violence that occur among Nigerian immigrants?
4. Based on your experience, what are the leading factors that promote Violence on Point Road?
5. Based on your experience, are there role players on responding to violence among Nigerian Immigrants?
6. Based on your experience, are the violence among Nigerians reported/not reported?
7. Describe your experience on how you think violence among Nigerians affect the Nigerian community on Point Road.

APPENDIX 'B'
REQUEST FOR PERMISSION



Criminology and Forensics Studies,
School of Applied Human Sciences,
College of Humanities,
University of KwaZulu-Natal,
Howard College Campus, KwaZulu-Natal
Date

Dear Sir

INFORMED CONSENT LETTER NIGERIAN UNION MEMBERS

My name is Joseph Tertsea Ikoyoive, I am a **Master of Social Science (MSS) (qualification which is being studied towards)** student from the Criminology and Forensic Studies, School of Applied Human Science, College of Humanities, University of KwaZulu-Natal. I am conducting research titled **‘Investigating the experiences of violence among Nigerian immigrants on Point Road in Durban Area, KwaZulu-Natal’**.

Most of the research on violence against foreign nationals in South Africa has always revolved around the subject of Xenophobia. Since the year 2008 the intensity of xenophobic attacks on foreign nationals and their businesses have continued to escalate. However, the experiences of violence as it manifests internally among foreign nationals has been under researched.

In view of the foregoing, this study sets to throw a spotlight on the inter-ethnic nuances and experiences of violence as it manifests among Nigerians living on Point Road in the Durban Area of KwaZulu-Natal.

The objectives of the research are as follows:

1. Understand the experiences of violence among Nigerian immigrants on Point Road in the Durban area of Kwazulu-Natal with the view to ascertain the underlying motives of such violence.

2. To understand the implications of violence among Nigerian immigrants on Point road in the Durban Area of KwaZulu-Natal.
3. To make recommendations (if any) on how to mitigate violence among Nigerian immigrants on Point road.

You are invited to please participate in the study because you are a Nigerian and a member of the Nigerian Union living on Point road in the Durban area of KwaZulu-Natal. You have been identified through a referral from the stakeholders of the Nigerian Union.

To gather the information, I am interested in requesting you to participate in this study by reflecting on your experiences of violence among Nigerians living on Point Road. Additionally, your experience will assist me in understanding factors that enable violence to occur among Nigerian immigrants. I will ask you some questions during an individual interview, each of 25-30 minutes' duration.

Due to the Covid-19 pandemic, I assure that there will be strict adherence to the Covid-19 regulations. Social distance shall be maintained during the interview process as well as sanitizing of hands and wearing of mask.

Kindly Note that: Due to the stress of the Covid-19 pandemic, the researcher will be providing data bundles and/or Airtime for a telephonic interview in an event you are not physically available. The interview will be tape recorded for the purpose of transcription and your anonymity will be maintained in the study.

This study has been ethically reviewed and provisionally approved by the UKZN Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee (approval number HSSREC/00002503/2021).

Please note that:

- Your participation is voluntary. If you do not participate you **will not be penalized** in any way. There is no disadvantage to your business and your career if you choose not to participate.
- Your confidentiality is guaranteed as your inputs will not be attributed to you in person but reported only as a population member opinion. Strict anonymity will be maintained and any information you provide will be treated with high confidentiality.
- Individual interview will be granted, the interview process (1 of each) will last for about 25-

30 minutes and may be split depending on your preference.

- Any information given by you cannot be used against you, and the collected data will be used for purposes of this research only.
- Data will be in the form of interview transcripts will be stored in secure storage and destroyed by incinerated after 5 years. Digitally recorded data will be deleted after five years. You have a choice to participate, not participate or stop participating in the research. You will not be penalized for taking such an action. You are free to withdraw from the research anytime you choose not to proceed, and you will not be penalized.
- Your involvement is purely for academic purposes only, and there are **no financial** benefits involved. However, it is expected that you will gain insight into the experiences of violence among immigrants in Durban.

Thank you.

Yours faithfully

Tertsea Joseph Ikyoive

My contact details are as follows:

ikyoiwetj85@gmail.com

Cell phone: 0679413403

My supervisor is Prof Nirmala Gopal, she is a lecturer in the Criminology and Forensic cluster, School of Applied Human Sciences, College of Humanities, Howard college Campus, University of KwaZulu-Natal

My supervisor's contact details are:

Email: Gopal@ukzn.ac.za

Phone number:0837922957

You may also contact the Research Office at:

University of KwaZulu-Natal

Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics

Prem Mohun

Tel 0312604557/4609

Email: HssrecHumanities@ukzn.ac.za

Thank you for reading this document about this research.

DECLARATION OF CONSENT

I

(Full names of participant) hereby confirm that we have been informed about the study entitled “Investigating the experiences of violence among Nigerian immigrants on Point Road in Durban Area, KwaZulu-Natal” by Joseph Tertsea Ikyoive. I understand the contents of this document and the nature of the research project, and I consent to participating in the research project.

I understand the purpose and procedures of the study (add these again if appropriate). I have been given an opportunity to answer questions about the study and have had answers to my satisfaction.

I declare that my participation in this study is entirely voluntary and that I may withdraw at any time without negative consequences.

I voluntarily give permission for the interviews to be audio recorded.

If I have any further questions/concerns or queries related to the study I understand that I may contact the researcher at ...0679413403

If I have any questions or concerns about my rights as a study participant, or if I am concerned about an aspect of the study or the researcher, then I may contact:

HUMANITIES & SOCIAL SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS ADMINISTRATION

Research Office, Westville Campus

Govan Mbeki Building

Private Bag X 54001

Durban

4000

Prem Mohun

Tel 0312604557/4609

Email: HssrecHumanities@ukzn.ac.za

Additional consent, where applicable

- I am willing to be part of the garden project and interviews. I am also willing to allow recording by the following equipment, and the use of other data:

Digital audio recording interviews	Willing	Not willing
------------------------------------	---------	-------------

.....

.....

Name of Participant

Signature/date

APPENDIX ‘C’
GATEKEEPER’S CONSENT LETTER



4th Dec, 2020

Dear Mr JT Ikoyoive

RE: REQUEST FOR USING OUR UNION AS SITE OF RESEARCH

Your communication dated 21st September, 2020 has reference.

The Nigerian Union has no objection to you using our union as site of research for *“Investigating the experiences of violence among Nigerian immigrants on Point Road in Durban Area, KwaZulu-Natal.”*

However, the following conditions for external use apply:

- The union will have the right to approve content to research instrument and analysis.
- The names of the union members to be interviewed cannot be used.
- The use of any findings that reflect negatively on the Union or its members or related body must be approved in writing by the president.

please note that failure to comply with all the above conditions will result in necessary legal action against you.

Your corporation in this regard will be highly appreciated.

I have read the contents of this letter and I accept the conditions

Name: **TJ Ikoyoive**

Signature _____ Date: 4/12/20

All Correspondence: nigeriaunionD@gmail.com +27783166986

APPENDIX ‘D’
PARTICIPANT CONSENT LETTER

DECLARATION OF CONSENT

I

(Full names of participant) hereby confirm that we have been informed about the study entitled “**Investigating the experiences of violence among Nigerian immigrants on Point Road in Durban Area, KwaZulu-Natal**” by Joseph Tertsea Ikyoive. **I understand the contents of this document and the nature of the research project, and I consent to participating in the research project.**

I understand the purpose and procedures of the study (add these again if appropriate). I have been given an opportunity to answer questions about the study and have had answers to my satisfaction.

I declare that my participation in this study is entirely voluntary and that I may withdraw at any time without negative consequences.

I voluntarily give permission for the interviews to be audio recorded.

If I have any further questions/concerns or queries related to the study I understand that I may contact the researcher at ...0679413403

If I have any questions or concerns about my rights as a study participant, or if I am concerned about an aspect of the study or the researcher, then I may contact:

HUMANITIES & SOCIAL SCIENCES RESEARCH ETHICS ADMINISTRATION
Research Office, Westville Campus
Govan Mbeki Building
Private Bag X 54001
Durban
4000
Prem Mohun

Tel 0312604557/4609

Email: HssrecHumanities@ukzn.ac.za

Additional consent, where applicable

- I am willing to be part of the garden project and interviews. I am also willing to allow recording by the following equipment, and the use of other data:

Digital audio recording interviews	Willing	Not willing
------------------------------------	---------	-------------

.....

Name of Participant

.....

Signature/date

APPENDIX 'E'

ETHICAL CLEARANCE



19 May 2021

Dr Joseph Tertsea Ikyoive (214581367)
School of Applied Human Sc
Howard College

Dear Dr Ikyoive,

Protocol reference number: HSSREC/00002503/2021

Project title: Investigating the experiences of violence among Nigerian immigrants on "Point Road", in Durban area, KwaZulu-Natal

Degree: Masters

Approval Notification – Full Committee Reviewed Protocol

This letter serves to notify you that your response received on 11 May 2021 to our letter of 13 April 2021 in connection with the above, was reviewed by the Humanities and Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee (HSSREC) and the protocol has been granted **FULL APPROVAL**.

Any alteration/s to the approved research protocol i.e. Questionnaire/Interview Schedule, Informed Consent Form, Title of the Project, Location of the Study, Research Approach and Methods must be reviewed and approved through the amendment/modification prior to its implementation. In case you have further queries, please quote the above reference number. **PLEASE NOTE:** Research data should be securely stored in the discipline/department for a period of 5 years.

This approval is valid for one year until 19 May 2022

To ensure uninterrupted approval of this study beyond the approval expiry date, a progress report must be submitted to the Research Office on the appropriate form 2 - 3 months before the expiry date. A close-out report to be submitted when study is finished.

All research conducted during the COVID-19 period must adhere to the national and UKZN guidelines.

HSSREC is registered with the South African National Research Ethics Council (REC-040414-040).

Yours faithfully



.....
Professor Dipane Hlalele (Chair)

/dd

Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee
UKZN Research Ethics Office Westville Campus, Govan Mbeki Building
Postal Address: Private Bag X54001, Durban 4000
Tel: +27 31 260 8350 / 4557 / 3587
Website: <http://research.ukzn.ac.za/Research-Ethics/>

Founding Campuses:  Edgewood  Howard College  Medical School  Pietermaritzburg 

APPENDIX ‘F’
CERTIFICATE OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE EDITING

ASOKA ENGLISH LANGUAGE EDITING

CELL NO.: 0679413403

2 ALLISLEA, 73 JOSIAH GUMEDE STR, PINETOWN, 3610, SOUTH AFRICA

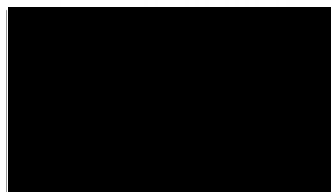


DECLARATION

This is to certify that I have English Language edited the thesis:

Investigating Nigerian Foreign Nationals’ Experiences of Violence, Safety and Security On ‘Point Road’, Durban, South Africa

Candidate: Tertsea Joseph Ikoyiove
Date: 25-07-2021



SATI member number: 1001872

DISCLAIMER

Whilst the English language editor has used electronic track changes to facilitate corrections and has inserted comments and queries in a right-hand column, the responsibility for effecting changes in the final, submitted document, remains the responsibility of the candidate in consultation with the supervisor/promoter/editor.

Director: Prof. Dennis Schaffer, M.A. Leeds, PhD, KwaZulu Natal, TEFL, TITC Business English, Emeritus Professor UKZN, Cambridge University Accreditation for IGCSE (Drama).

APPENDIX 'G'

Thesis - Without preliminary pages

ORIGINALITY REPORT

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