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Perceptions of UKZN Howard College students regarding the 2015 xenophobic attack in Durban, South Africa.



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Acknowledgements

Firstly, I would like to appreciate the benevolence of Almighty God who assisted me to conquer all the challenges I encountered throughout this project. I do not want to lie, this was not an easy journey, but with God's grace, it was successful. I want to give special thanks to my study supervisor Nompumelelo Nzimande for the guidance throughout the study. I would not have finished this dissertation without her informative comments. I would not forget to thank my best friends for their encouragement and support.

Dedication

I would like to dedicate this dissertation to everyone who made an amazing contribution for it to be successfully finished. I could not have finished it without their ongoing support. More than everyone I would like to show my special thanks to my family and friends especially my best mother Mrs. Cashile Majola who provided emotional support when I got tired along the way.

Abbreviations/Acronyms

Abbreviation	full name
CBD	Central Business District
DHA	Department of Home Affairs
IOM	International Organization for Migration
KZN	KwaZulu-Natal
LAN	Local Area Network
SA	South Africa
StatsSA	Statistics South Africa
UKZN	University of Kwa-Zulu Natal
UN	United Nations
USA	United States of America
SLA	Sustainable Livelihood Approach
UN	United Nations
UN	United Nations

Abstract

Durban KwaZulu-Natal (KZN) was stricken by relentless xenophobic attacks in April 2015 that were mainly directed to foreign African nationals that resides in Durban Metropolitan. However, these attacks did not focus in one geographic area because they were across metropolitan of Durban. The violent attacks firstly broke out in Durban Central Business District (CBD) in KwaZulu-Natal province, and then suddenly spread over many townships including KwaMashu, UMlazi, and Verulam outside of Durban city in KwaZulu-Natal province. When the provincial government realizes the damage caused by xenophobic attacks intervened by increasing the number of police officers as a response to deal with issues such as crime caused by xenophobic attacks.

While numerous studies have been conducted across the world about the issue of xenophobic attacks, however, the majority of those studies have little discussions about the opinions of tertiary students regarding the issue of xenophobic attacks affecting the society. As a response to such little discussions, this study was based at the University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN), Howard college campus to understand the views of students from tertiary education level regarding the issue of xenophobic attacks. This university is situated in Durban in the province of KwaZulu-Natal with most Zulu speaking students coming from the surrounding areas. This study draws on qualitative data. The sample consisted of twenty participants studying at this university. The twenty participants included ten postgraduate South African students and ten foreign African postgraduate students.

The participants were interviewed on campus to obtain their perspectives on this matter. The study findings noted that some people lack the knowledge of African history. Then it recommended an effective education to all members of the community regarding the African history because it has been recognized that, the lack of knowledge about African history has contributed to the eruption of xenophobic attacks in the society. The study suggested this because it is anticipated that, the xenophobic attacks would be prevented if the South African people would understand their history.

Keywords: Migration, Migrant, Xenophobia, Refugees.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

There has been a need for the research following growing incidences of xenophobia affecting society over the years in the country of South Africa. This study titled, "Perceptions of UKZN Howard College students regarding the 2015 xenophobic attack in Durban; South Africa" designed with the aim of finding the solution to this issue for people to live in harmony with one another. This study comprises of five different sections namely; chapter one (Introductory chapter), chapter two (Literature review), chapter three (Theoretical framework), chapter four (Methodology), chapter five (Findings and discussion), chapter six (Conclusions and recommendations). However, these chapters from chapter one to six are interlinked to answer the research questions set to be answered by this study. Therefore, this part serves as the introductory chapter of this dissertation.

Furthermore, this introductory chapter begins by providing the outline of chapters contained by this study. Following that discussion, this chapter will provide a discussion on key terms that will be used in this study. Furthermore, this chapter will be discussing the problem statement of this study. Moreover, this chapter will also provide the significance of conducting this research in the society. The rationale for doing this research will also be provided. Furthermore, in this chapter research questions, this study is aiming to answer will be provided as well as the objectives this study wants to achieve at the end will also be supplied. Eventually, this chapter will be explaining the purpose of conducting this study.

1.1 Dissertation chapters outline 1.1.1 Chapter 2

Chapter two of this dissertation is the literature review section. In this section, the literature on the issue of xenophobia will be critically reviewed to get a better understanding regarding this issue that is affecting the society by causing severe problems for the population. This chapter elaborates more on the topic at hand using different sub-titles such as history, the causes and the impact of xenophobic attacks to name a few. Furthermore, the reviewed literature will provide more information that is recent regarding this issue. Therefore, the discussion provided in this chapter

will assist in understanding this problem of xenophobia and contribute to making conclusions and drawing recommendations to combat xenophobia in the society.

1.1.2 Chapter 3

Chapter three of this dissertation is the theoretical framework section which follows chapter two of the study. In this chapter, the theory that will be used to frame the analysis of research findings will be discussed. Such a theory is known as the sustainable livelihoods approach. Furthermore, this theory will serve as an appropriate framework for analysis research findings. Moreover, this theory will show how it serves as an appropriate framework for the analysis of the findings of this research.

1.1.3 Chapter 4

The research methodology section is chapter four of this dissertation and in this chapter explanations and descriptions of the methods that are applied to collect data from study participants will be discussed. This chapter discusses qualitative research methodology as a preferable methodology to be used to gather information. Furthermore, this chapter will be describing sampling procedure to be followed to select study informants. Moreover, this chapter will be discussing data collection instruments that will be used to collect data. This chapter will also be explaining the data analysis process adopted to analyze the data collected.

1.1.4 Chapter 5

Chapter five of this dissertation is the findings and analysis research section of the study, which is focusing on the data collected during the interviews with study participants. In this chapter, data obtained from interviewing the participants will be examined. This chapter will be analysing participant's responses regarding the issue of xenophobic attacks that is causing destruction, not only for the country but other countries as well. Furthermore, the possible solutions to this issue will be noted while analysing data collected and further discussed in the conclusions and recommendations section in chapter six of this dissertation.

1.1.5 Chapter 6

The study conclusions and recommendations section, which is chapter six will be the final chapter of this dissertation. This chapter in this study will be providing conclusions based on the findings. Furthermore, in this chapter, the recommendations will be offered after examining the responses of the study participants, which is believed to play a vital role in addressing the issue of xenophobic attacks which in the society.

1.2 Definition of key terms

This section of this research will define and explain the relevance of the selected concepts towards making this study more understandable. In this part, four concepts namely; migration, migrant, xenophobia, and refugees will be discussed specifying the selected meaning of each concept that will be adopted by this study. Since these concepts may contain different meanings this section will be explaining them providing their differences, so that the selected meanings will be understandable. Therefore, these concepts will make it easier for readers to understand when they see them throughout the dissertation.

1.2.1 Migration

According to Weeks (2008), sometimes people do not die in places where they were born, in some cases, they die in foreign countries because of migration. The term migration is referred to the movement of people from one place to another with the intentions of settling permanently or temporarily in a new location. United Nations (UN) (2017), argued that people usually move to different locations in searching for peace if they are not satisfied with their current locations. However, Weeks (2008), argued that migration concept which will be used in this research, have existed for ages and stretches back to the earliest periods of human history. Furthermore, this movement can be across the country's border from one country to another or can be within the country. Weeks (2008), argued the migration that is across the boundaries of the country is known as an international migration. Whereas, migration within a particular country is referred to as an internal migration.

According to the World Migration Report 2018, migration in the modern period keeps providing countries and societies with many opportunities and problems (International Organization for Migration, IOM, 2017). Furthermore, IOM (2017), argued that migration is a controversial process whether internal or international. However, at the end of the day migration is defined as the movement of people over some distance (or at least from one "migration-defining area" to another) and from one "usual place of residence" to another.

However, when people are migrating, they found themselves affected by many problems including poverty and has increased over the years. According to the United Nations (UN) International migration report 2017, the number of people migrating world-widely has increased from 220 million in the year 2010 to 258 million in the year 2017 (UN, 2017). However, on the other hand, internal migration has been seen to be far greater with approximately 740 million people, which had migrated within their own country of birth so far. Therefore, migration definition referring to the movement of humans from one place to another will be adopted in this research.

1.2.2 Migrants

Another term that this study will be using is migrant which is almost similar to the term migration that has been discussed above. However, the difference between them is that the migration concept can be a process and migrants can be people carrying out that process. Migration is broader than migrants because it includes migrant within its premise of moving. According to (Conell et al. 2007), the migrant can be someone who moves from their place of birth to another place usually to countries that are foreign to them. Furthermore, migrants can move to foreign for various reasons depending on their purpose on migrating. It can be observed that migrant can almost be similar to refugee, which is a person who has been forced to leave their home country to foreign countries in order to escape a particular problem (Chimini, 2009). Although, both migrants and refugees are people moving from their home countries to foreign countries. However, migrants are different from refugees because migrants usually move voluntarily to seek for a better life elsewhere, whereas, refugees move because they are running away from a certain risk and cannot return to their countries because of fear of being persecuted. Therefore, for finishing this research, the definition of migrants referring to the movement of the people whether voluntary or by force will be adopted.

1.2.3 Xenophobia

According to Tebele (2009), xenophobia is a broad term involving many issues including hatred and abuse that varies from cultural beliefs to employment seeking. According to the Human Science Research Council (HSRC) (2008), xenophobia is a universal problem which is associated with painful behaviours that bring pain rather than peace to humans. Hagensen (2014), argued that xenophobia is defined by the South African Human Rights Commission as the extreme dislike directed to foreign nationals by local individuals.

Xenophobia is not a one-sided issue but can be too broad because it could not only occur between people of the different nationality but could occur between people of the same nationality. Tebele (2009), argue that xenophobia is the unjust treatment between different categories of people in society. Likewise, Steenkamp (2009), who argued that xenophobia is about illogical fright of the unknown or resentment of the people of different nationality.

Furthermore, such a dislike between people in society in which people attack and hurt each other in the process was observed in places like Durban in KZN. For example, in this area people, especially in the informal settlements, were attacking foreigners accusing them of economically displacing them (Gopal, 2013). This behaviour which is described by Matunhu (2011), as a latent or obtrusive dislike of foreigners is causing local informal settlement dwellers to fight each other calling those who do not attack foreigner's sell-outs. Therefore, for finishing this research, the perspective of xenophobia referring to the harsh treatment of foreigners by local people will be used.

1.2.4 Refugees

People move from one country to another for different reasons and they become refugees when moving. This term is used to describe people who are asylum seekers in countries that are not their own. According to Chimini (2009), refugees is a person who has fled their country of origin and is unable or unwilling to return because of a well-founded fear of being persecuted because of their race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion. McNamora (2007), argues that the United Nations defines a refugee as someone owing to a well-founded fear

of being persecuted as a result of the events occurred before January 1951 for reasons of race, religion, membership of a particular social group or political opinion. Furthermore, due to these reasons, refugees are unable or unwilling to return to their home countries and opt to remain in foreign countries for protection from danger. However, according to the 1951 Refugee Convention, refugees have similar rights to practice their religion with freedom as local people in destination countries (Glynn, 2011). Therefore, for this research, the definition of refugees referring to people seeking protection to foreign countries will be adopted.

1.3 Description of xenophobia

Xenophobia is the term with a broad meaning, which is interpreted differently by people from different locations. Smith (2011), argue that xenophobia can be understood as the discrimination of people from different countries by one another. Furthermore, this author argues that it is a concept adopted from a Greek terminologies Xeno and Phobia, where Xeno means foreigners and the latter stands for fear based on ethnic, cultural and religious discrimination. Another meaning of xenophobia is provided by Hagensen (2014), who understood it regarding the South African Human Rights Commission perspective, which describes it as painful dislike directed to foreign nationals by local individuals. Hagensen also argues that xenophobia is an unjust treatment by citizens to foreigners. Likewise, Tebele (2009), argue that xenophobia is an unjust treatment between different categories of people (foreigners and locals) in society. Whereas, Steenkamp (2009) present it as illogical fright of the unknown or resentment of people of different nationality. This is because you cannot be afraid of the people because they are unlike wild animals such as Lions which are dangerous.

According to Matunhu (2011: 97), "Xenophobia is an attitudinal orientation of hostility against that which is foreign to the nationals". When observing the above xenophobia descriptions, provided by Hagensen (2014), and Tebele (2009), their descriptions contains ordinary meaning which is a despising between people of different locations which is usually locals mistreating foreigners. Therefore, the definition of xenophobia provided by Tebele (2009), which views it as an unjust treatment existing between foreign nationals and local people will be adopted for understanding this research project.

Since xenophobia is understood as an unjust treatment, which exists between local people and others from different countries of the world, therefore, its opportunity of happening is probably high. This is because people usually migrate to other places or countries in pursuit of combating social issues such as poverty and crime affecting them, that forces them to go seek for a safe, better and improved life they think will be available in other countries compared to their home countries (Matunhu, 2011). However, it can be argued that they usually get the opposite to their expectations when they arrive in their destination countries. According to Matunhu (2011), some of the people from other parts of the world who migrate to countries face different problems including being beaten and killed. Likewise, Kershen (2017), who argued that the Department of Home Affairs in this country reported that, the majority number of immigrants coming from countries such as unpermitted Zimbabweans to the country, which increases the victims of xenophobic attacks.

According to Matunhu (2011), some of the migrants tend to ignore rules regulating the boundaries of the country to be crossed by people living on an assigned location. Likewise, Bloch (2010), supports Matunhu's (2011) argument by saying; some of those migrants ignoring country's rules especially in South Africa are usually coming from the neighbouring countries such as Zimbabwe and Mozambique. However, their behaviour of ignoring states migration rules increases the number of foreigners in the destination countries, which usually cause tension between them and indigenous people in that destination country. Moreover, both Matunhu (2011) and Block (2010) argue that people who usually become victims of xenophobia are those coming from outside the country they choose.

Such tension between local people and foreigners is usually observed in many residential areas across the South African country including hostels where most different ethnic groups live when arriving in the city in search of employment. It can be argued that people go to live in these areas when looking for jobs because hostels do not require them to pay rent (Bekker, 2010). However, these places are well known of political violence, and some people are using them to host meetings to plan to attack foreigners. According to Coplan (2009), some hostels were found to be strongholds of political parties such as African National Congress (ANC) in Johannesburg hostels and Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) to those in Durban. Furthermore, he argues that, in these areas,

foreigners are not allowed, and whenever they ended up in these areas they are blamed when somebody committed a crime.

1.4 Problem statement

The 2015 series of xenophobic violence in South Africa that began in Durban and quickly spread to other cities such as Johannesburg and Pietermaritzburg are the evidence reminder of the ubiquity of this threat in the country. Koenane and Maphunye (2015), argued that the 2015 attacks were apparently triggered by a speech by Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini in which he allegedly asked foreigners to pack their bags and go back to their countries because they were enjoying South African resources at the expense of locals. However, it should be noted that xenophobia in South Africa is not limited to its violent manifestation. Furthermore, many foreigners have been subjected to xenophobic comments and attitudes by South Africans. According to Koenane and Maphunye (2015), intolerance is not limited to ordinary citizens, but also government officials, some government departments, the media, and the police have adopted similar attitudes. It is thus not surprising that Mamabolo (2015) observes that xenophobia has become dominant in the post-apartheid South African society. This is because of the treatment given to foreign people by aforementioned stakeholders.

Many studies or xenophobic attacks demonstrates the connection between service delivery provision and migration (De Haas 2010). This is because in areas which are characterized by poor service delivery usually experience migration to the areas especially urban areas that seem to have better service delivery. The movement of people from one place or country to another maybe accepted globally but sometimes create problems for the population. Although their movement is usually due to poor service delivery that drives them away from their places. However, other problems such as political unrests, racial or religious conflicts in their areas can force them to seek for better living conditions in other places of the world (Chimini, 2009). These problems cause instability in places experiencing them and usually pulls or pushes people to places where they would not experience them. This type of movement where people are pulled or pushed by certain situations can be understood as pull and push factors of migration. Parkins (2010) argued that push and pull factors are that drive people away from a place and draw people to a new location.

Furthermore, Parkins (2010) explains pull factors as positive aspects of a country that encourage people to immigrate in order to seek a better life. While, on the other hand, push factors are regarded as forceful factors often demand people to leave one country for another.

However, when they are moving to those places that seem stable, they sometimes encounter serious problems including being attacked by local people because they regard immigrants as responsible for problems in their areas. Such maltreatment of immigrants was dominant in South Africa where local people attack people from other countries. It was argued by Piper and Charman (2016) that the 2015 xenophobic attacks experienced by the city of Durban resulted in mass killing and abuse of foreigners. This is because they argued that local people during the 2015 xenophobic attacks forcefully removed thousands of foreigners who were staying in the city of Durban and in the townships in this province and brutally killed some of them.

However, during the attacks, the majority of the foreigners who found themselves being accused of deviant behaviours and also the increased incidences of looting of property were observed. This was because some of the foreigners did not have employment to give them money to maintain their lives and as a result, they were accused of many problems including committing a crime in the area. The above argument was supported by Abrahams (2010), who argued that foreigners become the prime suspects in most cases where crime has been committed. However, these accusations directed to foreigners tend to perpetuate xenophobic attacks. For example, in the city of Durban in KZN, many criminal cases that were reported were assumed to be committed by foreign people and those assumptions perpetuated xenophobic attacks in the area (Piper and Charman, 2016). Furthermore, such criminal activities become social problems because they negatively impact on the well-being of the population and they have a tendency to prolong. Therefore, when people migrate to other places are at risk to encounter challenges including being accused of being responsible for issues that affect the well-being of the population in destinations.

Although the 2015 xenophobic attacks were directed to foreign people, but local people also got affected in the process. This is because Piper and Charman (2016), argued that those who are not attacking foreigners are usually accused of being the sell-outs because those attacking foreigners claim that, those not involved in the attacks are the ones reporting them to the police.

Consequently, those who are called sell-outs also hurt by perpetrators of xenophobic attacks. This is because Piper and Charman (2016), argued that some of the local people emphasized that, it is hazardous to refrain from attacking foreigners because you will be accused of informing the police when foreigners get attacked and you can even lose a life if found that you the one providing information to the police.

Some of the immigrants to South Africa face attacks, abuse, and discrimination from the local people. This cannot be due to many things including the South African history but it can also be associated with exacerbation of social and economic unfavourable conditions including poverty expansion and the competition for employment (Dodson, 2010). Furthermore, Dodson (2010), argued that the competition especially for low paid employment between South Africans and foreign nationals mainly African foreigners perpetuate xenophobic attacks. In South Africa the issue of xenophobia started to break after the country became independent in 1994, but became more noticeable and expanded all over the country in the year 2008 (Everrat 2011). Piper and Charman (2016) also argue that xenophobia in South Africa was not bad before 1994 because people were under the discriminative administration of Apartheid.

However, xenophobic attacks in Durban were different from other parts of the world. This is because Koenane and Maphunye (2015), argued that the 2015 xenophobic attacks in Durban were between people of same skin colour because they were only directed to Black African foreigners, not to other foreigners from other parts of the world such as Europe. Whereas in other parts of the world such as Europe xenophobia is usually directed to people of different skin. For example, it is rare to find people of same skin colour directing violence to one another in other parts of the world. This is because Buchowski (2017), reported that while he was living in Japan doing his research in 2017, he found that although all foreigners were affected by xenophobia, but he noticed that they were not between people of same skin colour.

1.5 Significance of the study

The findings of this study will effect to the societal benefit regarding the consequences of xenophobic attacks. The extent to which xenophobic attacks occurred in the society shows most people are not aware of this problem. This is regardless of the studies that have been conducted about this issue. Furthermore, such studies show that, xenophobic attacks which are painful violence directed to foreigners by the citizens of a country results to extreme damage to the economy of the countries in which they occur (Sidzatane and Maharaj, 2013). However, this problem keeps on occurring and affecting the society as observed in those occurred in Durban in 2015.

Therefore, this study about the 2015 xenophobic attacks is necessary to be conducted to provide people with the relevant knowledge regarding the problem of xenophobia that has affected many lives in society. Furthermore, this study will benefit the population especially the population of Durban since they have experienced it. This is because it will shed on the importance of understanding the issue of xenophobia so that they will try to avoid it. However, it is also crucial to recognise the possible constraints associated with this problem, but the recommendations that will be provided by this study might make a huge difference in people's lives and might also contribute in pursuit of combating this problem which has affected many people in the society.

1.6 Rationale of the study

The evidence regarding the outbreak of xenophobic attacks shows that they have a tendency to destroy cohesion in society. When conducting a study, you should have a specific rationale which is regarded a set of researcher's reasons for conducting a study to achieve specific objectives set in the study to solve a particular identified problem (Coyne et al. 2009). The rationale of this study is that through involving students who have graduated and ready to make a difference in society will play a critical role in addressing the issue of xenophobic attacks in society. Several studies have been conducted around the issue of xenophobia in an attempt to establish solutions to combat this pressing problem affecting society. The study will be conducted at UKZN Howard College regarding the 2015 xenophobic attacks in Durban which affected well-being in this area. Therefore,

in this study, the researcher will engage in such issue with UKZN postgraduate students to get their perceptions regarding 2015 xenophobic attacks in Durban.

This study will be aiming at establishing solutions based on their perceptions about xenophobic attacks because it is assumed that their input would provide valuable information which could assist in combating this problem in the society. This is because someone who has reached the postgraduate level of education is expected to have their skills improved. Averill (2012), argued that educated individuals in the society play a vital role in addressing issues in the community because they are expected to offer valuable solutions when problems emerge in the community since they are assumed to have studied and addressed many issues. Therefore, this study will be engaging them by examining their perceptions regarding the issue of the 2015 xenophobic attacks.

This study will also seek to allow people in the society especially postgraduate students at UKZN and other higher education institutions students to be involved in trying to establish the solutions to address the issue of xenophobic attacks. This study is meant to engage students to participate in matters affecting their lives. This is because some of the students do not understand that xenophobia problems might severely affect them in the future. For example, xenophobia could chase away investors in our country. Bond (2003), argued that investors particularly from all over the world fear to invest where stability is not guaranteed.

Furthermore, this study will be conducted because it has affected many lives in Durban. Almost three years ago xenophobic attacks broke up in Durban, and many people were affected. Bekker (2015), reported that in Durban, most people both foreigners and locals were critically injured due to xenophobic violence. Therefore, it is crucial to conduct such study to raise awareness of dangers resulting from abusing and discriminating other people in the society foreigners particularly.

This study will also be conducted because some of the students seem unaware of the implications of xenophobic attacks in society. Lack of information about xenophobic attacks might keep on affecting people in society because some of them might continue attacking each other not understanding the consequences that may arise. Therefore, this study is aiming at making them aware of such implications so that xenophobic attacks such as those of 2015 in Durban never occur again in the future.

1.7 Research questions

There are three subsidiary research questions for this study, which includes the following;

- ♦ What were the noticeable causes of 2015 xenophobic attacks in Durban?
- ♦ What was the impact of 2015 xenophobic attacks on the well-being of Durban population?
- ♦ What should be the role to be played by citizens in reducing xenophobic attacks in Durban?

1.8 Research objectives

This study has specific objectives that are seeking to achieve. Therefore, the following are three objectives to be achieved by this study.

- ✤ To examine the major causes of 2015 xenophobic attacks in Durban.
- To examine the impact of 2015 xenophobic attacks on the well-being of Durban population.
- ✤ To explore the role to be played by citizens in reducing xenophobic attacks in Durban.

1.9 Purpose of the study

According to Baxter and Jack (2008), the purpose of the study in research can also be known as the aim of the study which serves to provide proper direction established by the researcher to achieve objectives set in their research studies. This study has objectives which are set to assist the researcher to understand the issue of xenophobic attacks. Sub-Sahara Africa which contains developing countries is home to approximately 1.05 billion of the world population who are characterized by low life expectancy (World population, 2018). Therefore, the purpose of this study is to engage UKZN Howard college postgrad students to understand their perceptions regarding the 2015 xenophobic attacks. This will allow the researcher to make recommendations based on their perceptions to try and combat this problem from occurring in the community.

Chapter 2: Literature Review 2.1.1 Introduction

The argument provided in the previous chapter under problem statement of this dissertation discussed that xenophobic attacks are the serious problem creating dangerous social ills such as crime to the society. This was observed during the 2015 xenophobic attacks in Durban. Therefore, the main aim of this chapter will be to critically examine literature regarding the issue of xenophobic attacks that has ever occurred before. This chapter will begin by a description of xenophobia by various authors. Following that discussion, this chapter will provide a brief history on this issue starting from the colonial to apartheid period (Pre-independence) and the current democratic era (Post-independence). This chapter will also examine various factors leading to such ferocious attacks using three hypotheses. Furthermore, this chapter is going to discuss global, regional and local patterns of xenophobic attacks. When discussing such patterns, the similarities and differences between these regions will be mentioned.

In this chapter, patterns of xenophobic attacks in other countries situated in Europe such as the United States of America (USA) will be examined. Furthermore, push and pull factors of migration will also be examined. Moreover, this chapter after providing categories of foreigners, discussion on the effectiveness of immigration policy regulating migration in the country will be provided. After discussing policy effectiveness, this study will provide interventions by different stakeholders to prevent these terrible attacks. This chapter will also examine the relationship between migration and xenophobic attacks. Furthermore, it will also assess the impact of xenophobia in respect to economic, social and political sector. Moreover, after doing the comprehensive assessment of the mentioned aspects on xenophobia issue, this chapter will then

offer conclusions, which will provide the researcher with the opportunity to understand broader information regarding the 2015 xenophobic attacks took place in Durban KwaZulu-Natal.

2.1.2 History of xenophobia in South Africa

2.1.2.1 Pre-independence 1652-1994

Xenophobia is a dangerous global issue but mostly happening in Developing countries with South Africa leading which (Piper and Charman 2016), argue it well-known of its two-major violent xenophobic events in 2008 and 2015. However, xenophobia in South Africa has a long history and has its roots from the colonial period. According to (Koma, 2010), colonial period in South Africa was the period existed centuries ago from the year 1652 to 1910. Furthermore, this period was administered by the government from Britain, which is a country in Europe. However, he argued that there were deadly battles during this period, which was between European settlers and South Africans, which continued until the apartheid period. The hostility between foreigners and locals peaked during the apartheid period which was between the year 1948 to 1994 in which Worden (2012), argue was characterized by racial segregation and oppression. Furthermore, during this period xenophobia was different from today because it was White people discriminating Black people. Whereas, in nowadays xenophobia is mostly from Black to Black people. Therefore, the issue of xenophobia in South Africa in very old and involves a deep history of racial conflicts. Likewise, Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) (2008), argue that xenophobia is an old problem in this country and has been existing for many years since the arrival of White people in the year 1652. However, it was mostly between different racial groups unlike today, which is mostly between same races particularly Blacks from African countries.

2.1.2.2 Post-independence (1994-2004)

Xenophobia is an old problem that needs serious attention to overcome. This is because, based on the study by Harris (2002), which reported that, xenophobic attacks were observed just after South Africa got colonized centuries ago and keep happening until country transformed to a current democratic state. However, it became noticeable and expanded all over the country in May 2008 in which, Everrat (2011), argue was the biggest xenophobic event ever occurred in South Africa since its independence in 1994. Xenophobic attacks in South Africa are a serious problem more than any other country among the countries situated in Sub-Saharan Africa (Crush and Tawodzera 2014). This is because there have been several cases of South African people attacking people from foreign countries mainly African countries. Therefore, it is apparent that xenophobia is an old problem that has been affecting the well-being of the population for quite a long time.

According to Steenkamp (2009), South Africa has been declared by Southern African Migration Project (SAMP) as one of the leading xenophobic countries in the world after a series of attacks that have been experienced especially in a democratic sphere. Furthermore, Steenkamp (2009), argued that the democratic period has been witnessing to periodic incidents of xenophobic attacks, all leading to what has described by SAMP (2008), in May 2008, as the Perfect Storm. They declared it as perfect storm because several xenophobic attacks have been observed since the first democratic election year in 1994 and people has already started complaining about the presence of foreigners in SA, but the 2008 event was the first one to have attracted the eyes of the world (Steenkamp 2009).

According to Hayem (2013), xenophobic attacks were experienced during the year South Africa gained independence in 1994. Hayem (2013), argued that during this period, an armed youth gang destroyed homes and property of foreigners in Alexander Township, in Johannesburg, Gauteng province because they were suspected of being illegal immigrants in the country. Furthermore, these foreigners were beaten while the community was marching with them to the local police station where community members shouted and called upon police commander to immediately remove them. Steenkamp (2009), argue that those foreigners were accused of many criminal activities such as sexual attacks in the area. However, community members were furious when police told them that, there was no proof linking all those foreigners who were beaten up with what community members were claiming, which perpetuated the attacks in the entire Alexander Township.

There was another attack in 1998 after the event in 1994 in which Culbertson (2009), mentioned that a Mozambican and two Senegalese who were selling sweets in the train from Pretoria and Johannesburg were killed and thrown outside a moving train by a mob. The foreigners who died during that accident were killed by a group of individuals returning from a rally organized by a group that was blaming foreigners for high levels of unemployment, crime, and even the spread of Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome (AIDS) in the area. Culbertson (2009), argued that they were killed without proof linking them to what was being said. However, this was not the last incidence of violent attacks to take place.

The 1998 incidence was followed by another attack which occurred in August 2000, where seven xenophobic killings were reported in the Cape Flats district of Cape Town (Goga and Goredema, 2014). Seven foreigners from different African countries were killed on the Cape Flats. Furthermore, amongst those who were attacked by local South Africans were two Nigerians, one Kenyan, and two Angolans. However, the reason for these killings was unknown, but they were suspected xenophobic because of the attacks directed to foreigners that were reported during that time and besides no South African was killed that time. Therefore, it was likely to be regarded as xenophobic.

2.1.2.3 2004- present

For the period of fewer than five years from Cape Town incidence, there was another horrible attack reported in one of the provinces in the country. According to Steenkamp (2009), the attacks happened in the Free State province in 2005 where community members were protesting local municipality and beating foreigners in the process. However, even in this period, there was still no proof of crimes committed by those foreigners who were being attacked. Furthermore, these violent attacks spread in townships in Cape Town in 2006, where foreign-owned shops were looted with approximately 29 Somalis killed in the process. However, these attacks led to the massive attacks in 2008 and 2015.

From the past xenophobic attacks especially in post-independence, it can be argued that, all those events had contributed to the 2015 xenophobic attacks in Durban. This is because they are assumed

to be inter-generational and socially constructed. According to Amusan and Mchunu (2017), the majority of the people that are attacking foreigners in the country has been told by their parents or else heard some of the elders in the community talking bad things about foreigners. Furthermore, this can be seen that someone had told them about attacking foreigners because in most cases, young people compared to adults are the ones with the majority number involved in xenophobic attacks events.

2.1.3 Main crimes of Xenophobia

In South Africa crime is punishable law.

2.1.4 Main Xenophobia targets

Xenophobic attacks are violent attacks which can affect anyone but are usually targeting foreign people who are already inside the country. This is because the above discussion showed they are usually directed to foreigners when taking place. However, these attacks tend to be directed to the certain type of foreigners not all of them. This means, although there may be foreigners coming from all over the world within a country, some are not subject to violent attacks. This is because Piper and Charman (2016), argue that during 2015 xenophobic attacks in Durban, locals were targeting mainly Black African foreigners, not other foreigners from other parts of the world such as Indians who are in the country. Therefore, it is apparent that xenophobia was not directed to everyone from outside the country but was targeting mainly African foreigners who were regarded as a threat to locals without jobs.

The attacks of this kind are prevalent in South Africa where you find South Africans attacking foreigners particularly from other African countries being beaten and burned alive (Tafira, 2011). Furthermore, this issue of unfair treatment directed to foreigners is recognized by (Charman and Piper, 2012), who also noted that most of xenophobic attacks victims are those who reside in townships with local people. Furthermore, they argued that, such attacks affect mostly poor local and foreign nationals. However, these attacks have been accused of perpetuating social problems such as crime, unemployment, and poverty in the country (Bekker, 2010).

It can be argued that people lost their valuable belongings such as motor vehicles during xenophobic attacks. Charman and Piper (2012), argued that the majority of households were destroyed and many employments were lost during xenophobic attacks in South African townships in 2008. This was due to the murder of tuck-shop owners which left people who were employed by those owners without jobs. However, this resulted to an increase in crime because when people had no money to buy food, they usually opt to commit the crime in order to get money to buy what they wanted.

2.1.5 Xenophobia versus afro-phobia

Xenophobic attacks are considered by Tebele (2009), to be an unjust treatment directed to foreigners by local people. However, the attacks in South Africa has been directed to a certain group of foreigners which are Africans. Such unjustifiable terrible attacks between African foreigners and South Africans are known as Afro-phobia which is understood as the fear of the cultures and peoples of Africa, as well as the African diaspora (Everrat, 2011). Furthermore, he argued that it is a cultural phenomenon that pertains to the various traditions and peoples of Africa, irrespective of racial origin.

Likewise, Koenane and Maphunye (2015), argued that afro-phobia is a term used to explain racism against darker-skinned people from Africa. Furthermore, they argued that it is the opposite of Afrophilia, which is appreciation and love for all the things about Africa. However, this racism between Locals and African foreign nationals was the issue in 2015 xenophobic attacks. This is because authors such as Faith Mabera of University of Pretoria has criticized such issue associating it as affecting the process of development designed to improve the well-being of the population (Bhagat, 2018). Therefore, afro-phobia is a very problematic issue in South Africa and requires a lot of education to be provided for a better understanding in order to be able to avoid it.

2.1.6 Hypothesis on causes of xenophobic attacks

The level of xenophobic attacks in South Africa has gone to the extreme and has resulted in various problems for many Africans (Bekker, 2010). This is because in most cases when they happen terrible problems such as crime threatening the well-being of the population is created. It was argued by Desai and Vahed (2013) that xenophobic attacks have resulted in the killing of foreigners through burnings which has resorted into deaths. Furthermore, they argue that, during the attacks, some people get the opportunity to benefit themselves by committing the crime. This is because some local citizens have reached a level where they have opted to stab and robbing other local citizens their belongings and pretend as if foreigners attacked them as a way of avenging themselves. According to Piper and Charman (2016), there were many incidences reported to the police where people were being mugged during xenophobic attacks and found to be committed by street either parties (Locals or foreigners) when investigated.

Xenophobic attacks are a very problematic issue dominant in different societies and countries, especially in South Africa. Xenophobic attacks can have different perspectives such as social, economic and political regarding its causes in society. However, these perspectives on xenophobic attacks can be understood by using three hypotheses provided by Harris (2002) which are scapegoat, isolation, and bio-cultural hypothesis. Furthermore, these three hypotheses will be used in this dissertation to understand how this problem affecting the well-being of the society eventuate.

It has been discussed in the above discussion under sub-title "history of xenophobic attacks" that, xenophobia issue has already been existing in South Africa for a long period. However, it can be seen through the previous discussion that, they became well-known to the public in May 2008 where locals were violently and brutally attacking foreigners in different areas of the country. This is because Crush (2008) and Dodson (2010), argued that xenophobia was not known in the public until the ones broke up in 2008. However, their causes were not clear, but Dodson (2010), argued that, their causes lie in a complex of economic, political, social, and cultural factors, both contemporary and historical.

Furthermore, xenophobic attacks happen in different townships nationwide but mostly in Black people dominated townships including Umlazi and KwaMashu townships in KwaZulu-Natal which are characterized by poverty-related issues (Piper and Charman, 2016). Furthermore, these attacks which according to Crush (2008), are deadly also known to have complex causes. Lombard (2015), argued that foreigners during the attacks are usually taken to refugee camps that are established by the South African government in partnership with Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) in pursuit of protecting them.

According to Everrat (2011), the expansion of African foreigners in South Africa threatens and makes local people very angry. This is because of his arguments stating the frustrations of local people complaining about the increase in social problems such as crime and unemployment as Coplan (2009), claims that the presence of foreigners in the country sometimes cause problems for both locals and foreigners well-being. Furthermore, such expansion according to Everrat (2011) is dominated by black foreigners, who are uneducated and does not have jobs, meaning they are job seekers who are unskilled. However, these foreigners usually compete with South Africans over little available employment opportunities, which makes South Africans fight them because they also need those employments for a living.

Xenophobic attacks causes can have unfounded traditions and stereotypes perpetuating unrealistic perceptions linking foreigners with crimes (Dodson 2010). It is assumed that such unrealistic societal perceptions are spoken by unemployed people who viewed foreigners as being desperate for employment and therefore not minding accepting any kind of employment even if the salary is too low. However, Hadland (2010), argues that politicians and media promote such assumption that high rates of criminal activities are intrinsic to unskilled foreigners.

Misago et al. (2009: 11), argue that causes of xenophobic attacks are associated with power relations when saying, "The emergence of xenophobic violence is typically rooted in the micro-politics of township life". This is because in some cases, causes of xenophobic attacks are sometimes perpetuated by people who are believed to be pushing their agendas but pretending to be against the presence of the foreigners. According to Hayem (2013), deadly attacks in Alexandra Township outside Johannesburg occurred immediately after local spaza shop owners accused foreign-owned spaza shop owners of taking their clients. Furthermore, they said the majority of people in those attacks were individuals related to current or former local business owners.

2.1.6.1 Scapegoat hypothesis

Scapegoating amid a climate of high unemployment and inequality is nothing new. In 2008, 62 people were killed in xenophobic violence across Johannesburg's townships (Steenkamp, 2009). In April 2015, many people died as looters rampaged through the city of Durban and surrounding townships (Desai, 2015). Scapegoat hypothesis is when Black African foreigners become a frustration scapegoat and a target to blame for the enduring problems such as poverty in South Africa (Lombard, 2015). Furthermore, foreigners particularly Black African nationals are criticized for being responsible for the expansion of social problems such as crime, unemployment, poverty, poor access to adequate housing, and other social issues that South Africans are battling with. According to Piper and Charman (2016), the issue of needs such as housing inaccessibility keeps frustrating many South Africans because some of the foreigners staying in some municipalities access houses without producing valid documents to prove their legal presence to be in the country. Therefore, local people blame foreigners for taking houses that are supposed to be provided to them and as a result, they attack them.

Local people can also scapegoat hypothesis when they are struggling with securing employment. This is because they argue that foreigners have taken their jobs when locals cannot find one. According to Dinbabo and Nyasulu (2015: 30), "The increase in economic immigrants primarily from neighbouring countries has occasionally been met with hostility from the generally poor and unemployed sections of South African society who view foreign migrants as direct competitors for jobs in the primary sectors of the economy". However, South Africans who complain about immigrants taking up their jobs also suspect government officials for being corrupt because they believe such problem of immigrants competing for employment with them should have been prevented.

According to Desai (2015), many locals claim that foreigners with expired passports just remain in communities because they have bribed some government officials preventing to be sent back to their home countries to have their passports renewed. Furthermore, he argues that among the reasons mentioned by citizens of Durban townships during the attacks were suspicions that foreigners paid Department of Home Affairs some money to stay in the country because they were regarded as undocumented foreigners. However, that is one of the reasons making locals to blame foreigners for their problems such as the high rate of unemployment.

Undocumented foreigners competing for employment opportunities can propel locals to blame foreigners. According to Landau (2010), locals blame foreigners because those without valid passports documents are sometimes forced to accept low paying employment that locals take for granted. In 2011, the census reported that, there were approximately 2.2 million immigrants in the country with the unknown, undocumented foreigners present in the country (Statistics South Africa, 2018). Furthermore, based on the 2012 General Household Survey (GHS) these figures were still noted. One can argue that the reason for recording similar results in both occasions might be foreigner's fear of disclosing their personal information which could have put them into danger of getting jailed for being illegal in the country.

However, such anonymity of available immigrants within the country threatens locals when searching for employment. This problem can possibly increase competition for employment resulting in an extreme anger of locals which makes them attacks foreigners. For example, in Alexandra Township which located outside Johannesburg in Gauteng province, a group of young unemployed people organized a march to the local police station demanding the immediate removal of foreigners whom they accuse of being responsible for criminal activities in their area (Lekaba, 2014). Therefore, it can be expected that the presence of undocumented immigrants within a country can cause xenophobic attacks.

Based on this perspective of undocumented immigrants, someone might argue that the problem of illegal on the country can result in foreigners being blamed for taking employment for local people. This is because based on the studies conducted in Johannesburg and Durban townships discovered different notions about the employment of foreigners. Mosselson (2010), reported that some people believe that everyone has the freedom to choose whatever he or she wants in life, therefore, foreigners have a right to do any job they prefer in this country. Whereas, others believe that people must work in their country of birth, therefore, foreigners indeed take the employment for local people and if the government allows them to enter the country, such problems would never be avoided.

However, such cases in the community lead to people destroying and attacking foreigners who in then affect innocent people. Matunhu (2011), argued that foreigners in South Africa are regarded as a threat, but not all are a threat. This is because the study by Mosselson (2010), recommended that the government should ensure foreigners are protected because they provided refuge to South Africans who were in exile during the apartheid period. However, some South Africans do not care that other African countries were helping South Africa. This is because they believe that in order for the economy of the country to grow, the products to be utilized within the country should be locally owned (Neocosmos, 2010). Therefore, the presence of foreigners might affect that because they would bring the products from their own countries.

Piper and Charman (2015), reported that the clash between foreigners and locals due to a crime believed to be committed by foreigners in Verulam north of Durban resulted, in the death of a 14-year old boy while locals are looting foreign-owned shops. Furthermore, this death perpetuated locals to loot more foreign-owned shops because they accused the owner of that death. However, this event shows the extent to which South Africans shift the blame of their flaws which is what Lombard (2015), refer to as scapegoating. This is because this death occurred while people were looting when the shop owner was not involved. According to Piper and Charman (2015), the shop owner was already at the police station during the time death took place. Therefore, neither South Africans nor foreigners should never be involved in violent situations where they shift blame to someone who should not be responsible for that situation.

It can be observed from the above discussion that, scapegoat hypothesis is intrinsically attached to relative deprivation which argues that, personal dissatisfaction occurs out of what people feel entitled to, and what they receive (Webber, 2007). Such entitlement Webber is talking about is considered to be felt by South Africans who were promised better life by first democratic government elected in the year 1994. According to (Charman and Piper, 2012), democratic government promised people of South Africa better life where they would be provided equal and fair access to basic rights as enshrined in the constitution of the country. Therefore, xenophobia becomes an expression of disappointment with the manner in which government is rendering services to the people both locals and foreigners. Relative deprivation theory argues that South

Africans feel disappointed by the inability of the government to fulfill their promise of better life for all.

South Africans bottle these disappointments and only turn violent when they observe an increment of the number of people competing for little resources that the government is even unable to render to its people. Therefore, it can be concluded that scapegoating hypothesis take place when local people direct their anger resulting from the problem they are facing against foreigners, mainly because foreigners are assumed or labelled as responsible for all their problems which are not proven to be true thus far.

2.1.6.2 Isolation hypothesis

Another hypothesis that can be used to explain the causes of xenophobic attacks is known as isolation hypothesis. According to Lombard (2015), this type of hypothesis views xenophobia as resulting from the seclusion of South Africa from the international community during the apartheid era where black people were oppressed by the apartheid government. Duncan (2012), argue that regarding this hypothesis, xenophobia can be a product of futile isolation policies which were designed by the apartheid government to control foreigners. The isolation thesis locates xenophobia in the apartheid administration. Scholars of this school of thought such as Crush et al. (2015), Lombard (2015), Dodson (2010), Crush (2008), and Steenkamp (2009), argue that due to the oppressive nature of the apartheid system, South Africa was isolated by the international community. While there was a considerable inflow of white immigrants during this period, Black African immigration to South Africa was extremely limited. Thus, there was minimal contact between South Africans and black foreigners. The end of apartheid and South Africa's re-entry to the international arena sparked a massive inflow of African migrants into the country. This resulted in hostility and hatred towards foreigners, especially African immigrants.

The above discussion regarding isolation hypothesis shows that, during the apartheid era, South Africans did not learn to share with other people especially from other countries, but they only learned jealousy and hatred about their small pieces of land assigned to them by the apartheid government. This kind of behaviour created serious divisions between people from different communities in which Duncan (2012), argued it is deep to the extent that even a century can pass without South Africans being able to share their spaces with other people from other countries. According to the research conducted by Sidzatane and Maharaj (2013), found that foreign traders trading in the streets of Durban with local street traders were not happy about the manner which other traders from South Africa treat them because they are foreigners.

However, after the end of the apartheid system, South Africans were exposed to other countries of the world with many white population leaving the country. Therefore, people from neighbouring countries started to move freely coming to the country without fear of being arrested by the apartheid government and mostly whites moving away, possible with fear of being discriminated since they were no longer in power. The isolation hypothesis explanation can be referred to the work of Eric Hobsbawm which was a British professor, who associated isolation and rapid change in Europe as leading to fear among people (Weber, 2016). In this perspective, xenophobia becomes a mechanism of defence against foreigners which according to this study is South Africans fearing African foreign nationals. The isolation hypothesis in this study holds that xenophobic attacks was a consequence of apartheid South Africa's isolation from the international community, and particularly the rest of Africa.

According to this hypothesis, South Africans regard the presence of foreigners in the country as causing economic issues such as poverty in the country which can lead to various problems. According to Piper and Charman (2016), foreign shop owners are accused of importing cheap goods from their home countries and sell them with lesser prize compared to the South African shop owners. This can result in extreme conflict between local citizens and foreigners in the country because most people prefer to buy where they will pay less money, which in this case will be foreign-owned shops.

Hickel (2014), argue that although xenophobic attacks result from a variety of things such as the high rate of unemployment, can develop through procedure used by employers when hiring employees. This is because in most businesses employers hire foreign low skilled workers as general workers. Piper and Charman (2016), reported that most of xenophobic attacks victims in Durban were general workers who were accused of taking jobs that could have taken by locals.

However, the unfairness of employers when hiring employees can cause xenophobic attacks when employers offer low paying jobs to the people which are usually taken by foreigners who do not have a choice but to accept it because they want the money to buy food.

2.1.6.3 Bio-cultural hypothesis

Another hypothesis on the causes of xenophobic attacks can be understood as the bio-cultural hypothesis. In this perspective, xenophobia causes are explained regarding the equality of all foreigners. According to Lombard (2015), assert that the bio-cultural hypothesis explains that xenophobia is unequally applied to all foreigners. The previously discussed hypotheses provided the general explanations regarding causes of xenophobic attacks, however, this hypothesis provides an explanation that can be specifically applied to xenophobic attacks in South Africa more directly. This hypothesis argued, that xenophobia is not equally applied to all foreigners, meaning some foreigners may experience xenophobia with greater intensity than others; and that this is based on physical or cultural differences. This statement is supported by the study conducted by Tshishonga (2015), in the city of Durban which discovered xenophobic attacks were mainly directed to Black foreign nationals. The bio-cultural hypothesis locates xenophobia at the level of visible difference, or otherness. According to Duncan (2012), such difference can be assessed regarding physical, biological factors and cultural differences exhibited by African foreigners in the country.

This theory holds that foreigners are being identified based on their identity and characters. For example, Nigerians and Congolese can be more easily identifiable as the 'other', because of their physical features and their inability to speak one of the indigenous languages. The bio-cultural hypothesis can use features of foreigners such as their accent, their language and the clothes they wear. According to Lombard (2015), these features have made them easily identifiable in South African communities, and this makes them easy targets in South Africa. While the bio-cultural hypothesis provides an amazing basis to comprehend the theoretical belief underlying xenophobic attacks, Lombard (2015), argues that this hypothesis is not efficient because it does not properly explain the main reasons that cause locals to direct their anger toward black African foreigners only not foreigners such as Indians and Chinese during the attacks.

2.1.7 Xenophobia at an international level

The issue of mistreating foreigners is not central only to South Africa but it's a worldwide problem affecting many people in Developed and Developing countries. This is because xenophobia has been observed even in well-known Developed countries such as the United States of America in Europe. Furthermore, its description and applicability remain common as in South Africa. Williams (2010), argued that although most Americans roots lie in other parts of the world, there is a broad streak of xenophobia among them. However, this shows that the meaning of xenophobia which is hatred directed to foreign people is the same all over the world. This is because from the argument of Williams (2010), no matter how large is the number of immigrants in the country but foreigners will always be hated by local people.

This issue of hating foreigners' dates back from more than a century ago. This is because Lyon (2012), argued that during World War 2 Japanese-Americans experienced forced relocation by the U.S. government and thousands of them were confined to detention camps. Furthermore, that action was the culmination of the federal government's long history of racist and discriminatory treatment of Asian immigrants and their descendants that had begun with restrictive immigration policies in the late 1800s. Williams (2010), further stated that even Chinese and Irish immigrants in the early 19th century were the targets of nativist hostility. Moreover, Silva (2017), supports Williams (2010) and Lyon (2012), argument when saying, "Currently, the unwelcome mat is spread for Latinos and Muslims".

Furthermore, immigrants in Europe are unwelcomed because of a series of problems they are believed to have caused. Such problems include terrorist attacks in different parts of Europe. For example, in September 2001 there was a massive terrorist attack by a terrorist group called al-Qaeda against the United States (Neil, 2016). Furthermore, another attack was experienced in November 2015 in Paris France which was also done by terrorists. Moreover, in these attacks, many people died including the attackers themselves. Therefore, these incidences have made the current USA President (Donald Trump) to strengthen rules regarding people immigrating to his country by building a wall along the border with Mexico Silva (2017).

Xenophobia in this region may be influenced mainly by cultural identity differences rather than other issues they face. Cultures, and by extension cultural values, are defined as the "shared way of life of a group of people" (Leong and Ward, 2006: 801) or as the "rich complex of meanings, beliefs, practices, symbols, norms, and values prevalent among people in a society" (Schwartz, 2003). From an eco-cultural perspective, cultural variations are believed to arise because ecological (e.g., physical environment, climate, and resources) and socio-political (e.g., the degree of democratic freedom) factors affect adaptation, and these, in turn, influence individual behaviours and attitudes. In the long term, according to Leong and Ward (2006), this type of social regulation becomes well entrenched and sets some cultures apart from others in terms of their value emphases and cultural ideals. This has become a problem for people in many countries in Europe. Furthermore, people cultural values in these countries may be seen as underpinning, shaping, and justifying local people behaviours towards foreigners. Consequently, there are reasons to hypothesize that cultural-level value differences may affect the perceptions of immigrants across cultures.

According to Hausknecht (2018), in the last few decades xenophobic and extreme right-wing political movements have become increasingly strong electoral forces in many European countries. The Nordic countries have long been viewed as among the most tolerant countries in the world, with exemplary protection of minorities. Nevertheless, in Denmark, Norway, Sweden, and Finland, xenophobic parties also moved into first place during the past decade (Lakimova, 2018). Both national and international laws require governments to protect people against discriminatory treatment, but developing effective policies to cope with discrimination requires a clear understanding of the factors that trigger xenophobia. Despite a substantial body of cross-national research on the subject, the causes continue to be debated.

The problem of xenophobia in European countries might cause people to assume that the inflow of migrants in recent years has made the region more xenophobic. However, the opinion polls conducted since the year 2014 about citizen's sentiments towards immigrants tell a different story. According to Lakimova (2018), the overall share of people who have negative feelings about arrivals from outside the bloc has fallen from 57% to 52%. Furthermore, different regions,

however, have been pulling in opposite directions. Western and southern European countries have generally become friendlier to foreigners, while northern and eastern countries have grown more hostile. Crucially, though, there seems to be no correlation between how many migrants and refugees a country admitted and its changing opinions of non-Europeans.

2.1.8 Push factors and pull factors of migration

Populations are always on the move, and they usually move for various reasons including affirmative action which Alexander (2007), regard as an active effort that favours those seem suffering from discrimination. There are other reasons which include; crime, better salaries, better quality of life as well as improved health care. However, the reasons stated above are regarded as push and pull factors of migration. Castles et al. (2014), argue that push factors are those factors which force people away from their place of birth because of wars or crime in those areas. Whereas, pull factors are those that attract people to certain places they consider to offer them an improved life. Furthermore, they say immigrants are pulled to South Africa as they think that will be opening them economic opportunities that are not available in their home countries.

It can be argued that, these immigrants consist of a large number of unskilled to a limited number of skilled individuals. However, when unskilled immigrants arrive in the country, they tend to conflict with local unskilled individuals because they would be now competing for limited job opportunities. According to Nyamnjoh (2014), the availability of unskilled immigrants makes locals very angry because they are claiming to be taking the little that they have because the government is suspected to be failing to provide all the needs they need.

2.1.9 Categories of Foreigners

When you move away from your country of birth, you become a foreigner in the destination country. However, you can be either illegal or legal foreigner depending on whether you have abided or not with the migration policies that regulate visitors in the destination country. Illegal foreigner is understood as a person who cross a country's border in a way that violates the immigration laws of the destination country, with the intention of remaining without the legal right

in that country, whereas legal foreigner is someone who has produced relevant documents required to legally reside in foreign country (Neocosmos, 2008).

The xenophobic attacks which broke out in the country immensely affected both illegal and legal foreigners in the country more specifically Black African foreigners. This is supported by Lombard (2015), who argued that during xenophobic attacks, Black African foreigners specifically were brutally assaulted, burnt and thousands who survived got displaced after their belongings were looted. Furthermore, Hickel (2014), reported that during the riots, nationwide all foreigners were harassed by angry vigilante mobs regardless of their actual immigration statuses. Moreover, those vigilante mobs were mostly comprised of young unemployed males who were swearing to kill all foreigners if they are not removed in their communities. This is supported by the research of Vahed and Desai (2013), who found the unemployment to be one of the leading reasons supplied by locals as causing them to chase foreigners away from their country.

2.1.10 Immigration policy application in South Africa

There is an unknown complicated and dangerous problem existing between immigrants and the local population. This is because immigrants in South Africa have been subjected to xenophobia and violence, regardless of their immigration status as described in the immigration policy documents. According to Bloch (2010), immigrants in South Africa are usually experiencing xenophobia and violence regardless of their immigration status, with some regarding this because of the isolation caused by the apartheid government.

In 2017 July, the South African government released White Paper on immigration which provides a policy framework for a complete review of the country's immigration system (Crush and Williams, 2018). Furthermore, this policy replaces 1999 White Paper on international migration which was founded mainly from immigration Act. 2002 (Act No. 13 of 2002) and Refugees Act. 1998 (Act No. 130 of 1998). The South African government regarded the country's previous approach to immigration as not prioritizing national security and development agenda of this country. This is because the Department of Home Affairs in South Africa saw the deadly attacks between foreigners and locals assumed to be caused by the presence of illegal foreigners in the

country. According to the DHA (2018) the former minister of Home Affairs Prof. Hlengiwe Mkhize, "In the recent past, the Department of Department of Home Affairs (DHA) amended the Immigration and Refugees Acts and implemented regulations and strategies to address glaring gaps in legislation". Kershen (2017), argued that the gaps the DHA noticed were assumed to be responsible for ever-growing challenges such as unemployment which troubles the country. However, the current amended policy shows that, the country is trying the best to limit such problem and is thriving towards making it a safe place for both locals and immigrants. Furthermore, in this White Paper, there are certain important conditions that must be met by those wishes to come and stay in the country. According to this policy, South Africa is open to any person from any country. However, the following immigration conditions must apply;

- If you wish to apply for citizenship based on years in South Africa do it fast.
- If you wish to set up an own business or are highly skilled South Africa explicitly wants you.
- If you are a foreign student, studying a critical skills subject, you are welcome and desired to stay.

Bloch (2010), argued that it had been suspected that migrants cross illegally into South Africa to meet the demand for cheap, seasonal non-contractual labour that undocumented migrants can offer in certain sectors of the economy. According to the Department of Home Affairs it has been found that, these undocumented migrants' works especially on farms in Northern Limpopo and spread throughout to other country provinces such as Gauteng and KwaZulu-Natal where they try to establish families. However, the department argues that, it is very difficult to get correct information on immigrants because some of them are illegal in the country and are afraid to be arrested and displaced since they do not have the permission to be in the country.

The economic issues are very complicated and create conflicts between immigrants and locals. This is because in most cases the conflict between these people which are usually fighting and killing each other due to persisting economic problems affecting them. According to Blum et al. (2009), conflict can be understood as the friction or disagreement between two or more people over a certain argument they have. It can be argued that during xenophobic attacks foreigners and local people are in disagreement with various things including access to housing and employment.

Furthermore, people fight over housing and employment because of the unstable economy in South Africa. It was argued by Rodrik (2008), that the poor the economy, the greater the problems leading to people fighting one other. However, local people tend to be more angry and violent if they see immigrants competing with them over limited opportunities such as jobs in the country. Therefore, the poor economy can create huge conflict between immigrants and local people which generally ends up being violent and kills many innocent people.

2.1.11 Interventions to combat xenophobic attacks

Following some violent xenophobic attacks incidents that have occurred in the country, the provincial government number of policemen in the city during the day and after hours when people are not at their working places. This police increment was a response to deal with issues such as crime caused by xenophobic attacks. According to Qambela (2016), the South African government have the best constitution that protects human rights including foreigners. However, even the leaders of the country prioritize safety of foreigners. According to Kwansah-Aidoo and Saleh (2017) the former Southern African President Jacob Zuma had to cancel a state visit to Indonesia to deal with the crisis and visit one of the camps who was in the Durban suburb of Chatsworth, where more than a thousand foreign nationals were sleeping in tents and relying on volunteers for food. Furthermore, the former president promised to help those wishing to go back home and assured those wishing to remain to allow them to stay in peace.

It can be argued that the South African government has been instrumental in trying to rectify the damage caused to foreigners by local people during the attacks. This is because the South African government provided food and shelter to the victims of xenophobic attacks. According to Tshishonga (2015), government marked xenophobic attacks as the national crisis and decided to build camps where people with xenophobia were going to stay to be given food and shelter since they lost almost everything during the attacks. Such help given to foreigners proves Qambela's claims about the caring South African government. Furthermore, supportive country government was apparent when the former president postponed everything and went himself to the refugee camps and calm their nerves since most of them who survived were kept for safety. Therefore, as

much as foreigners were severely harmed but the South African government intervened to help people with xenophobia to show other African countries governments that they are against the attacks.

2.1.12 Economic impact of xenophobia

The 2015 xenophobic attacks in Durban negatively affected not only the economy of the city but the whole country. The series of 2015 xenophobic attacks incidences in Durban is the evidence reminder of the ubiquity of this threat in the country. Tshishonga (2015), argues that abusive violation of foreigners by locals which is deemed by the South African Human Rights Commission as unconstitutional is destroying the nation's economy. This is because South Africans who were working in other countries especially in the continent Africa lost their jobs. According to Kwansah-Aidoo and Saleh (2017), approximately 340 South Africans who were working for Sasol in Mozambique were evacuated over fears for their safety which meant the beginning of hunger in their families because they were no longer be able to send money for food and other family needs. Therefore, 2015 xenophobic attacks affected economic statuses of the population.

Bahari and Shah (2013), argued that some local people rejected foreign products due to xenophobia. Furthermore, this issue contributes to the vulnerability of businesses within a country by escalating problems such as crime when people boycott foreign products. It can be argued that people are being mugged their belongings during xenophobic attacks. According to Tshishonga (2015), at shopping centers such as Workshop shopping center in Durban city in KwaZulu-Natal province, foreigners selling clothes were beaten and mugged their belongings. However, such incidences caused even local street vendors to stop coming to sell their products and foreigners who were attacked were taken to the camps in Chatsworth and Isipingo for safety. Therefore, because of xenophobic attacks, people's economic statuses were affected since they were unable to sell their products and get money to maintain their lives.

2.1.13 Social impact of xenophobia

There are varying views regarding foreigners in the country. One may argue that even though some of the immigrants enter illegally in South Africa but that does not mean they should be attacked and chased away leaving their hard-earned property destroyed. This is because some of those immigrants are best friends, husband, and wives to local people and if they are killed many families will suffer because they form an integral part of some families and communities in the country. Tsai (2006), argued that xenophobic attacks destroys integration between foreigners and locals which then creates problems such as crime and poverty. After a series of violent attacks, many foreigners were tortured by locals and ended up being displaced. This has caused mistrust among people in the community which is not good because lack of trust can be associated with the increase in crime rate. Dufur et al. (2013), argue that communities lacking social capital which is concerned with trust will be in danger of high crimes such as murder and robbery because people would treat each other as strangers and end up hurting one another.

Furthermore, such problem of trust is not only affecting foreigners but also local people who are not speaking the same languages because they will not be trusted, however, such problem result in extreme damage, which Amusan and Mchunu (2017), regarded as barbaric behavior leaving many innocent people homeless and jobless. Furthermore, Amusan and Mchunu (2017) argued that xenophobia affected many foreigners who came to the country because most of them ended up not sending money to their home countries. This was due to xenophobic attacks they were facing which forced them stop searching for money to protect themselves.

Koenane and Maphunye (2015) argued that foreign victims were complaining that their families are suffering because they are no longer receiving money because they are not working anymore and the sad part they are being killed. It was noted that during many people who were injured and lost their belongings were foreigners and people not speaking IsiZulu and IsiXhosa languages because, during that violence, people who were not trusted were identified by their accent when speaking of which they were attacked if not speaking the familiar language (Zulu and Xhosa). Therefore, such behaviour should be avoided to promote peace and stability among people of which is something that every people should have in the society.

2.1.14 Political impact of xenophobia

The manner at which political and community leaders of the country communicate is the important element to ensure maximum peace in the country. This is because if they are not careful with the way they address the public, the results are disastrous. According to Koenane and Maphunye (2015), the 2015 xenophobic attacks worsened following the comments made by the Zulu King, Goodwill Zwelithini. They said the king requested all foreigners to take their staff and leave the country because they are causing problems. However, after such comments, approximately 250 people died, and own foreign shops in the townships were looted (Koenane and Maphunye, 2015). The death and the looting of foreign shops happened because the most people in the country respect their leaders and those who wanted foreign people to be removed in the country misinterpreted the king's statement. As a result, they attacked and killed foreigners thinking they honor the wish of their leader by trying to get foreigners out of the country.

Another issue which could have perpetuated xenophobic attacks is the comments denying xenophobic attacks made by political leaders of the country. This is because when Mr. Thabo Mbeki address the public against violent attacks on foreign nationals in 2008, he seemed to struggle with the idea that xenophobia was widespread and prevalent in this country (Dodson, 2010). Furthermore, during the address Mbeki said, what happened during those days was not inspired by possessed nationalism, or extreme chauvinism, resulting in locals to violently attack foreigners. Likewise, Gordon (2017), who argued that in a 2013 debate in the country's National Assembly, the former president Jacob Zuma stated that, he thought at times there was a bit of an exaggeration, where people say xenophobia is a big problem in South Africa because foreigners were busy everywhere, in every corner of this country, and employed, in which he thought was showing non-existence of xenophobia. Therefore, it is important for country leaders to be extra careful when addressing the public because they are dealing with the people might misinterpret their statements and cause problems for the country.

2.1.15 Migration and xenophobia in South Africa

Migration and xenophobia have a direct relationship and directly influences one another. This is because as migration increases, the chances of xenophobic attacks to occur also increases and vice versa. Cross-border migration has brought foreigners to the country in far greater numbers. According Moyo (2017), immigration in South Africa has increased in the last decades with most

immigrants coming from the SADC region (Southern Africa Development Community) due in part to the end of apartheid. Although immigration increased after South Africa got independence, it has lowered Qambela (2016), argue that in recent years, it has steadily increased. This is due to a rise in insularity and hostility towards migrants which has been observed, right across all social classes, regardless of social status.

Independence in South Africa has brought foreigners to the country in far greater numbers than in the past. However, South Africans regard such increase of foreigners in the country as causing problems. This is because the National Immigration Policy Survey (NIPS) discovered exaggeration by citizens regarding the cause of existing issues such as selling of drugs and human trafficking in the country (Moyo, 2017). Furthermore, the majority of South Africans view immigration to the country as a problem rather than an opportunity, and scapegoat foreigners for their problems. Migration policies are playing an essential role in providing guidelines to which government control the manner in which foreigners enter and leave the country. Before South Africa became democratic in 1994, it was well-known for its racial and oppressive policies which were used by the apartheid government for social control (Duncan, 2012).

According to NIPS, ports of entry were under the control of police directed by an intelligence unit to deny the movement of Africans considered politically undesirable. Furthermore, those policies were biased because only Blacks were oppressed not Whites who were leaders of the apartheid government. This is because Koma (2010), asserted that during the apartheid era, Whites were the only population group allowed unlimited movement in the country and were the only ones residing in developed areas, such as suburbs where other races mainly Blacks were being arrested, when found in such areas without permission granted by a white person. However, such oppression ended when the country become democratic. With all this oppression and discrimination happened in the country during apartheid created anger among the oppressed (black people) which Lombard (2015), argue they take it out to foreigners.

Apartheid government caused extreme damage to the way South Africans interact with people from other countries. This is because Clark and Worger (2016), most cases some people always state that, they have enormously suffered during apartheid and they do not trust foreigners, because

they might take them back to where they come from (Apartheid). When people are making such statements, the chances of xenophobic attacks increases. However, Lombard (2015), suggests that the South Africans must not compare the presence of foreigners in the country with apartheid period because they are the two different things.

2.1.16 Conclusion

In conclusion, the literature reviewed in this section of this chapter discovered that the majority of the authors who have written about the issue of xenophobic attacks shows common results. This is because their studies have shown a negative impact on society where people suffer problems such as crime and poverty. It can also be concluded that, xenophobic attacks are a dangerous issue affecting almost every people in the society. This is because xenophobia causes destruction where you found people being forced to seek for refugee in other countries in pursuit of peace. This chapter has defined xenophobic attacks as something to do with the dislike taking place between people of different locations which are foreign nationals based on this study.

This chapter also concludes that 2015 xenophobic attacks were not the first incidence to have to happen in the country but followed other terrible attacks occurred back in 2008. It can also be concluded this problem can result from the way people socialize with one another where you found locals mistreating foreigners which drastically affect the country's economy. Furthermore, when xenophobic attacks took place, the political sphere forming the government of the country had to intervene to control the situation. However, it is difficult for our government to intervene because according to this chapter some of the employers hire undocumented foreign people whom they pay low wages. Consequently, local people fight foreign people over employment opportunities which perpetuates xenophobia. Furthermore, this chapter concluded that a government is working tirelessly to combat this issue by implementing policies to stabilize the situation so that everyone regardless of nationality is living in peace with each other in South African soil. Eventually, this chapter concluded that xenophobic attacks impact negatively in the country by affecting the well-being of the population by destroying the economy resulting to loss of jobs for people which leads to extreme poverty in the society.

Chapter 3: Theoretical framework 3.1 Introduction

The previous chapter discussed xenophobia in detail including how it came about to be a known issue in the society. Therefore, this chapter will aim to discuss the relevance of the Sustainable Livelihood Approach (SLA) to the research topic. Furthermore, this chapter will be explaining how SLA serves as the best framework for the analysis of research findings. Theory can be understood by Eisenhardt and Graebner (2007), as a logical explanation for why things are in the state they are. Furthermore, the theory is understood as a systematic explanation for the observations which relate to a certain aspect of life. However, this theory was used to provide a framework for the analysis of research findings. However, this theory was identified as the most suitable theory due to its strength to relate people to the environment. Moreover, this theory assisted the researcher to understand the student's perceptions regarding the issue of xenophobic attacks. Therefore, this section is examining the relevance of SLA in ending the issue of xenophobia and analyzing the findings.

3.2 Sustainable Livelihood Approach (SLA)

This theory is used for a better understanding of the perceptions from selected students regarding the 2015 xenophobic attacks. This is because it is mostly dealing with social livelihoods which made easier to understand the attacks from a social perspective. It was argued by Gutierrez-Montes et al. (2009), that livelihoods depend on people's capabilities to make means of surviving. However, they argue that people's capabilities may differ depending on the norms and standards of the community. According to Knutson (2006), Sustainable Livelihood Approach is the theory that is used to explain the way society uses their available community assets both material and social resources to ensure they sustain a healthy living. Furthermore, he also argued that SLA depends on the capabilities, assets (both material and social resources) and activities which required for a means of living. According to Gutierrez-Montes et al. (2009), people's livelihoods are deemed sustainable when they cope with and can recover from any challenges and keep enhancing their capabilities. The Sustainable Livelihood Approach explanation provided by Knutson complements Gutierrez-Montes et al. (2009), argument on people's capabilities to make means of surviving. This is because for assets to contribute to healthy living, people should know how to use them by applying their capabilities. There are five capitals making this approach, i.e. financial, human, natural, physical and natural capital (Scoopes, 2009). Furthermore, SLA is understood as an economic theory specifically dealing with the production of social and material resources required to keep the community healthy.

Blocklesby and Fisher (2008), state that SLA enhances human understanding for different challenges to enable them to identify the underlying causes of those challenges and make means to address them. Furthermore, they argue that people can do that by focusing on various factors preventing them opportunities to better their standard of living. However, this study presents the argument that locals focus on the presence of foreigners as a factor preventing them from improving their lives. According to Bhandari (2013), SLA suggests that people should be focusing on the sustainable factors which are understood as the ability to be maintained for future purposes. However, people must not focus on things just because they can be sustained, but they should focus on those who can improve their standard of living. Therefore, this theory is relevant and

crucial to this study because people focus on the factor that is not improving their livelihood than focusing on xenophobic attacks which are not improving their well-being but destroys them.

The figure 1 below is explaining the sustainable livelihoods framework and is aiming to show the relationship between people, their livelihoods assets, their environments as well as policies regulating institutions that are playing an important role in perpetuating or reducing xenophobic attacks.

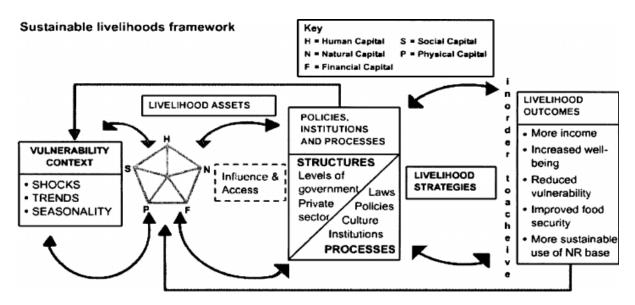


Figure 1 Source: DIFID, 2002, www. Livelihoods.com (Accessed 07 September 2018)

3.2.1 Human Capital

This theory can also be used to understand student's perceptions since its dealing with the way people acquire knowledge. According to Marimuthu et al. (2009), Human Capital theory can be an economic theory associated with education process designed to train individuals to sharpen their abilities and enhance their skills necessary to solve their current and future problems. Furthermore, this theory recommends the investment of benefits derived from the work done by people to enable them to solve socio-economic problems in the future. Olaniyan and Okemankinde (2008), argue that such investments made by people to improve their economic productivity are represented by human capital. Furthermore, for the investments to be able to improve the economy should be stable which means it should create jobs for people and for people to get jobs they should get educated.

It can be argued by winters (2011), that no investments can be made in the absence of human capital. Furthermore, human capital is considered as the catalyst needed to build and promote partnerships by establishing strong bonds within community members to encourage them to work collectively to improve well-being. Therefore, Human Capital will be relevant to this study it deals with enhancing skills required to better standard of living which people should acquire and stop fighting one another.

3.2.2 Social Capital

Social Capital theory will be another theory to be used as a framework for this study. Mathie and Cunningham (2003), claim that social capital is regarded as the most essential asset required to develop the community since it strengthens the use of other capitals such as financial and physical. Social Capital theory can be understood as the theory which is concerns about relationships people should have in a community (Dufur et al. 2013). Furthermore, they argue that, Social Capital theory deals and involves two capitals bridging and bonding capital where the former talks about the relationship established between people of different communities or countries. Whereas, the latter talks about the relationship between people of the same community which share a common cultural belief. The intention here is not to use social capital theory to explain xenophobic attacks, but rather to assess what xenophobic attacks implies about social capital. Therefore, this theory will be relevant to this study because it involves people from the same and different locations which will make things easier to identify the existing problem and suggest solutions. This is because the premise of this theory is relationships that are required to be strong, which is the major component that should be embedded in humans to achieve maximum peace with each other since strong relationships strengthen trust to people. Therefore, Social Capital theory will be necessary to use in this study because relationships are crucial in ensuring maximum trust in humans.

3.3 Contribution of theories

The contribution of each selected theory used in this study is very important and necessary. Firstly, Sustainable Livelihood Approach dealing with the interaction of the people with the environment to make means of living is necessary and related to the second theory called Human Capital. This is because Human Capital theory is about the knowledge and skills of individuals required to make means of surviving. Furthermore, Social Capital theory which is the third theory of this study is concerned with the relationships that people consists in the society. Therefore, these theory are necessary to be used in together in this study because they are closely related with each other. This means that they equally contribute in understanding the issue of xenophobia occurred in Durban.

3.4 Conclusion

In conclusion, this study is about the student's perceptions regarding the xenophobic attacks at Durban in 2015. This chapter discussed the Sustainable Livelihood Approach as framing the study. Therefore, this chapter has outlined the Sustainable Livelihood Approach as the relevant theory to understand this issue. However, this chapter has argued this theory is relevant because it is intrinsic to human life by clearly explaining the issues associated with xenophobic attacks. This is because SLA is concerned with the maintenance of healthy living by people. Therefore, this chapter has discussed and shown that this theory can serve a foundation of identifying the assumed root cause of xenophobic attacks.

Chapter 4: Research Methodology 4.1 Introduction

The literature reviewed in the previous chapter discovered that xenophobic attacks issue in South Africa results to various problems making life difficult for the entire population. This is because authors such as Dodson (2010) and Hagensen (2014), argued that xenophobic attacks cause social ills like crime and poverty. Since this study is central to perceptions of students regarding 2015 xenophobic attacks that have occurred in Durban. Therefore, this chapter was explaining the research methodology used by this study to understand their perceptions regarding such an issue. Furthermore, this chapter identified qualitative research methodology as a suitable methodology to be adopted to achieve research objectives. In this chapter, the sampling method selected as well

as the data collection process was explained. Moreover, this chapter will be explaining the level of trustworthiness of the study. Towards the end of this chapter, the data analysis method used in this research was identified and described.

4.2 Study location

This study will be conducted at the University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN), Howard college campus situated in Glenwood Durban found in the province of KwaZulu-Natal (KZN) in South Africa (SA). The UKZN is the university that comprises five campuses in which Howard College is one them. This location was identified because it is situated in Durban where 2015 xenophobic attacks took place. Although xenophobic attacks were all over SA, those in Durban were extremely terrible (Mamabolo, 2015). The UKZN have more than 45000 registered students coming from all parts of the world with the majority from South Africa. Although the majority of students registered in this institution come from South Africa, the issue of xenophobia is affecting both people from SA and other international countries. Therefore, it will be an advantage to get perceptions of postgraduate students registered in this institution because xenophobia issue affects everyone. 064 791 1602

4.3 Research questions

This study is seeking to answer the following questions...

- ✤ What were the major causes of 2015 xenophobic attacks in Durban?
- ✤ What was the impact of 2015 xenophobic attacks on the well-being of Durban population?
- What is the role played by citizens in reducing xenophobic attacks in Durban?

4.4 Research design

In this study, research design selected will be used to provide a critical and in-depth analysis of the applied research methodology to answer research questions and achieve research objectives. To achieve that qualitative research methodologies were adopted. Creswell (2012), argued that qualitative research methodology could be regarded as the research methodology that mostly

provides respondents to voluntary and openly expresses their experiences and views to the researcher. Therefore, this methodology was suitable in this study because it enabled participants to offer their perceptions regarding the issue of xenophobic attacks that troubles many people in society.

This study identifies the Qualitative Research method as the most valuable method to be used to gather relevant information which was helpful in answering the research question. According to Lewis (2015), qualitative research studies provides an illustrative approach of methods used in the study to understand a certain phenomenon. However, in this study qualitative approach seeks to aid in understanding the foundations of xenophobic attacks. Therefore, a qualitative approach describes and explain experiences.

Qualitative research mostly uses observations and interviews to ensure that views of participants are not restricted (Bless et al. 2013). Therefore, by applying qualitative research methodology enabled the informants of this study to provide perceptions on the issue of illegal migration and xenophobic attacks in our country. This method does not generalize the findings from the population, but it seeks to go deeper to understand the source of the problem being investigated. Therefore, by going deep about this issue with the participants, it made much easier to identify the root causes of this and try to establish the solutions to address it.

4.5 Research Paradigm

This study used research paradigm known as social constructivist which emphasises people's cooperation. Unlike social constructionism which focuses on created artifacts through the group's social interactions, this paradigm focuses on meanings created by individuals or groups in the society (Young and Collin, 2004). According to Mackenzie and Knipe (2006), social constructivist is a sociological model of knowledge which argues that human development is constructed through social interaction. Furthermore, they argue that this paradigm evolved from the philosophy of German philosophers and philosophy of Edmund and Dilthey's who studied hermeneutics which is a study of interpretation. Therefore, this type of paradigm was selected and used in this study because it deals with what society describes as the acceptable standard of living.

4.6 Interview schedule

This section is going to reflect on the interview process to discuss various factors such as time, language as well as setting which influenced study participants. This is a qualitative study and the UKZN Howard college postgraduate students were involved during the interviewing process. Therefore, it has influenced by factors such as interview setting, language and time. It can always be anticipated that when people are involved there would be problems associated. Interviews in this study were conducted in a safe, conducive environment at UKZN Howard college campus where participants were safer since this campus is monitored by the securities day and night. During the interviews maximum of one hour was allocated for each interview. The interviews were conducted using both English and IsiZulu languages to accommodate every participant since UKZN is a bilingual institution allowing for a full understanding of questions to participants.

4.7 Participant's demographic information

For this study, 10 foreign African national postgraduate students that are coming from the South African Development Community region, as well as 10 South African postgraduate students were the main participants in this study.

Participant No.	Gender	Race	Nationality	Level of study
Number 1	Female	African	South Africa	Postgraduate
Number 2	Female	African	South Africa	Postgraduate
Number 3	Female	African	South Africa	Postgraduate
Number 4	Female	African	South Africa	Postgraduate
Number 5	Female	African	South Africa	Postgraduate
Number 6	Female	African	Lesotho	Postgraduate
Number 7	Female	African	Democratic Republic of Congo	Postgraduate
Number 8	Female	African	Zimbabwe	Postgraduate

Table 1, figure 2 below shows the details of study participants

Number 9	Female	African	Nigeria	Postgraduate
Number 10	Female	African	Democratic Republic of Congo	Postgraduate
Number 11	Male	African	South Africa	Postgraduate
Number 12	Male	African	South Africa	Postgraduate
Number 13	Male	African	South Africa	Postgraduate
Number 14	Male	African	South Africa	Postgraduate
Number 15	Male	African	South Africa	Postgraduate
Number 16	Male	African	Zimbabwe	Postgraduate
Number 17	Male	African	Zimbabwe	Postgraduate
Number 18	Male	African	Zimbabwe	Postgraduate
Number 19	Male	African	Zimbabwe	Postgraduate
Number 20	Male	African	Zimbabwe	Postgraduate

Figure 2 source: Own source

4.8 Availability of respondents

Finding participants of the study is never easy because sometimes people may be too reluctant and secretive about their personal informal. However, to limit such problem, for this study, the researcher began by building a rapport with potential study participants. According to Gremler and Gwinner (2008), rapport can be understood as creating a close relationship with each other so there would be a trust created. Since this study was conducted at UKZN which have separated Local Area Networks (LANs) for undergraduate and postgraduate students. However, the separation of LANs made easier for the researcher to find potential study participants because all the participants were the postgraduate students. Therefore, finding the participants in this study was easy because they were all found in postgraduate LAN.

4.9.1 Judgmental sampling

The judgmental sampling method is one of the qualitative research methods this study used to select participants. According to Creswell (2012), purposive sampling is known as the sampling method that solely depends on the researcher's judgment based on the characteristics of the possible respondent in which the researcher deemed information-rich for the study. Bless et al. (2013), argued that this sampling method has the ability to provide respondents equal opportunity to participate in the study. The study sample size involved 20 participants (10 foreign African and 10 South African postgraduate students). The researcher recruited the first participant by randomly selecting any student who was in the postgraduate LAN to give them equal opportunity to become participants. Therefore, judgmental sampling was the relevant sampling method used to select the participants.

4.9.2 Snowball sampling

This part is discussing the Snowball sampling method which is one of the two sampling methods used to select the participants interviewed in this study. According to Etikan et al. (2015), Snowball sampling is the method that allows study participants to recruit one another. When using this method of sampling, the researcher only selects one participant and then selected participant recommend another participant to increase the number of participants which will provide the information needed. Bless et al. (2013), argues that this sampling method is also known as referral sampling because, recruited participant refers the researcher to another participant. The researcher used this method to select participants after randomly selected each participant from South Africa and foreign African. The participants that were randomly selected was asked to recommend another participants whom they know their country of birth. The snowball sampling was useful to help the researcher find the relevant participants because it was difficult for the researcher guesstimate the nationality of participants. Therefore, the adoption of this sampling after getting the first participants from South Africa and foreign African was made a huge contribution in finding the required participants.

4.10 Data collection process

After selecting the sample participants, the researcher begins the interviewing process. In this study, ten foreign African national postgraduate students that are coming from the South African Development Community region, as well as ten South African postgraduate students were the main participants in this study. Since this is a qualitative study, therefore, it was compulsory to interact directly with them to get first-hand information. Bless et al. (2013), argued that to collect data using qualitative methods you should have proper communication skills to enhance the process of data collection. This study has used data collection instruments known as semi-structured interviews. This was done because the researcher wanted to get first-hand information regarding the 2015 xenophobic attacks. The researcher conducted the interviews using both IsiZulu and English languages to ensure all the participants understand the questions. This means the researcher recorded the interviews and those participants who did not understand some of the questions were allowed to explain using both English and IsiZulu language for those using IsiZulu as their first laungage.

4.10.1 Semi-structured interviews

The semi-structured interviews were one of the data collection tools used to select the study participants. This tool was chosen because of its strength in obtaining first-hand information. According to Gill et al. (2008), semi-structured interviews are open-ended interviews that give the interviewer the chance to go deep on the themes provided by the interviewee that are interesting or difficult to understand. Bless et al. (2013), argue that Semi-structured interviews are one on one interviews that require the researcher to prepare an interview guide prior to the beginning of the interview. Furthermore, this instrument give the researcher the chance to ask participants differently if they do not understand the response to the question. Therefore, the researcher got the opportunity to plan prior to the interview and helped him to prepare himself to ask the questions to the responses that seemed complicated to understand. Furthermore, this method was helpful to participants who were shy to talk because there was only the researcher and them during the interview.

4.11 Ethical considerations

There are many important aspects such as confidentiality, anonymity, and plagiarism to be considered when conducting a research because they can affect emotions of participants and xenophobia is a seriously sensitive issue which can destroy their lives. Ethical consideration is regarded as a critical part of the research, associated with values and principles that address questions of what is good or bad in human affairs (Bless et al. 2013). This is because the absence of ethical consideration can lead to hurting of participants which will mean unsuccessfulness of the research helped to determine the difference between the acceptable and unacceptable behaviour during the interviews. Furthermore, ethical consideration were considered during the research to ensure participants were comfortable to conduct interviews with the researcher.

4.11.1 Confidentiality

Confidentiality in research is a very important aspect to be considered because it can affect trust between researchers and participants. Confidentiality is regarded as state of conserving privacy of information supplied by participants in research (Rothstein, 2010). Questions requesting participant's confidential information was avoided to minimize their discomfort. According to Hugman et al. (2011), it is emphasized that researchers ensure participants information are kept confidential all the time. This study ensured the confidentiality of the information by storing the participant's information in safe protected place known by the researcher.

The confidentiality is an important ethical measure that must be considered by the researchers because it allows the study participants to be comfortable and realistic when responding to the questions asked by the researcher (Hugman et al. 2011). Furthermore, the participants would provide quality information without fear of being known in the public when they have assurance that their information is safe. Therefore, this study assured the participants that their names will remain anonymous to ensure confidentiality.

4.12 Trustworthiness

The most important part to consider in research is trustworthiness to ensure you produce quality research results. This is because issues of trustworthiness are sometimes questioned in qualitative research and gaining trust from participants is crucial to maximise quality information collected to strengthen your research results. According to Bless et al. (2013), the trustworthiness in research is when studies results are trusted and considered to be genuine. Bless et al. (2013), further argue that the trustworthiness of the research considers human behaviour that is influenced by emotions from their surrounding environments. Therefore, trustworthiness in every research is necessary and an important factor to ensure results are reliable and reduces doubts about the results produced.

Lietz et al. (2006), argue that there should be reciprocity during the research where the researcher does unto others the same way they would want to like to be treated. Every study must maintain high credibility and objectivity to ensure trustworthiness in results being collected. Trustworthiness of my study will be assessed based on four principles, unlike quantitative study which uses validity and reliability. Bless et al. (2013), argues that research trustworthiness is determined in terms of four principles which are confirmability, credibility, dependability, and transferability. Therefore, in this study, all the principles of research trustworthiness was taken into consideration to ensure the high quality of research results.

4.12.1 Credibility

The first principle is known as credibility which is the principle that recognizes the experiences within the study. Credibility is regarded as the most critical aspect of establishing trustworthiness in research because it involves the reliability of results. According to Bless et al. (2013), credibility in research ensures that findings do make sense by showing reality under study. Since in research you can use many tools to increase trustworthiness in research but this study will be using methods such as triangulation which is about using different methods of data collection to check those research findings are consistent, and it will also use member-checking which is a method of sharing research results with participants to ensure there are no errors and the information they provided is correct (Thomas and Magilvy, 2011). Therefore, credibility in this study is crucial to ensure perceptions of students are not misinterpreted and it will ensure the results are shared with the participants to check there are no errors contained.

4.12.2 Dependability

Dependability is the second principle that was considered to ensure trustworthiness of this study. However, this principle requires the researcher to clearly and thoroughly illustrate the strategy followed by research. Bless et al. (2013), argues that dependability is crucial in research since it proves consistency and repeatability of research results. It can be argued that dependability in research is meant to ensure common results are recorded if research were to be conducted by another researcher. Furthermore, this aspect allows researchers to check if they have not missed anything by verifying their findings. Therefore, all steps has been completed to ensure dependability.

4.12.3 Transferability

The third principle is transferability which is dealing with the applicability of results in other situations. It was argued by Bless et al. (2013), that transferability in research ensures a detailed description of the data collection process is thoroughly provided by a researcher all the time. This will allow me to strengthen my relationship with my study participants which, will help me collect enough quality information. Furthermore, such thorough information will enable other researchers when comparing similarities of the findings. However, when understanding the context where findings emerged and where such findings might be meaningful, means that study is having high transferability. Therefore, in this the study transferability will be used to ensure research findings make sense to other researchers who might wish to use it.

4.12.4 Confirmability

Confirmability is another principle that was used to ensure trustworthiness of results. According to Bless et al. (2013), confirmability of results to ensure trustworthiness in research can be referred to the extent to which a study can repeat itself. This is the final principle which argues that the researcher should consider establishing trustworthiness by ensuring that findings are shaped by participants rather the researcher Thomas and Magilvy (2011). Furthermore, they argue this principle suggest the researcher is forced to understand the language used by study participants

even though they are using unfamiliar language. However, the study. Therefore, the researcher used English and Zulu languages to conduct interviews to ensure confirmability of results.

4.13 Data analysis

The growth in qualitative research is a well-noted and welcomed fact within the social sciences; however, there is a regrettable lack of tools available for the analysis of qualitative material. There is a need for greater disclosure in qualitative analysis, and for more sophisticated tools to facilitate such analyses. This section explains a technique that was used to analyze data collected to ensure the research questions were adequately answered. The data analysis known as thematic analysis was used to analyze data in this study. According to Braun and Clarke (2006), thematic analysis is the method of data analysis mostly used in qualitative research studies that emphasizes the recording as well as thoroughly examining the themes of the patterns within data to be analysed. They argued that it is a process of inspecting and cleansing data to discover useful information to make informed conclusions about the subject matter being investigated. Vaismoradi et al. (2016), argued that it is a flexible qualitative data analysis method that is capable of thoroughly reporting the exact meanings, reality, and experiences of study participants. Furthermore, thematic analysis is best thought of as an umbrella term for a variety of approaches adopted in studies rather than a singular method.

According to Stirling (2001), thematic analysis is performed through the process of coding in six phases to create established, meaningful patterns. These phases are; familiarization with data, generating initial codes, searching for themes among codes, reviewing themes, defining, and naming themes, and producing the final report. Furthermore, this method which suggests a researcher should follow a step by step analysis that will make sense of the collected data (Braun and Clarke, 2006).

According to Vaismoradi et al. (2013), when conducting a research, the researcher should follow steps including transcribing and coding to thoroughly analyze data. The researcher transcribed the interviews in a word to word format after being recorded to conduct a thematic analysis. The researcher re-read the transcribed data after transcription of interviews to thoroughly get a broader

idea of what was contained within the data. After reading data, was conducted. Moreover, the similar codes from preliminary codes was then reduced grouping similar codes together. Furthermore, the reduced codes were used to compile final report.

4.14 Limitations of the study

Majority of studies tend to encounter certain limitations that hinder the achievement of their objectives. Likewise, this study had some limitations that hindered achievement of its objectives. However, there were measures taken to combat those limitations.

- Inaccessibility of students to be interviewed due to their postgraduate studies commitments. However, I selected times that were convenient to them to conduct our interview without being distracted.
- The informants would have refused to participate if they were told they will not get paid for hosting the interview. However, I overcame this limitation by explaining possible benefits for being a participant of this study.
- Informants may provide false information. To combat this limitation, I provided a clear explanation about the importance of this study in their lives.
- This study may also be interrupted by extreme weather conditions which may prevent interviews to be conducted safely. However, I reschedule the interview and conduct it when it is safe to do so.

4.15 Conclusion

In conclusion, this chapter has mentioned and described the methods and process followed throughout the study to be successful. It was necessary to adopt a qualitative research methodology which is a method that seeks to directly engage with participants to record their opinions since this study was about perceptions of the students who was the participants of the study. Therefore, this chapter has discussed all the stages from selecting a sample of the study participants to tools used to collect the data. Furthermore, this study chose semi-structured interviews as desirable tool to understand perceptions of 2015 xenophobic attacks in Durban. This chapter has emphasized the

process to be used to ensure the trustworthiness of the study. Furthermore, this chapter has identified thematic analysis as data analysis method used to analyse the collected data.

Chapter 5: Findings and Discussion 5.1 Introduction

The previous chapter discussed broadly the processes and stages that were considered to be able to finish this research. This chapter presents the evidence from the student's perceptions following the interviews with them. Furthermore, this chapter will present findings from those interviews which were based on the 2015 xenophobic attacks in Durban KZN. Moreover, this chapter provides a thorough discussion of the findings from the participant's responses regarding this problem. Therefore, the discussion in this chapter is based on the data conducted through face to face interviews with students from UKZN Howard college campus.

Furthermore, discussion on this chapter will be the critical analysis of interviews using thematic analysis strategy to identify gaps and offer recommendations towards preventing the issue of xenophobic attacks. Moreover, this chapter also present and discuss various factors which are assumed to have influenced the population of Durban to violently attack foreigners. The results being discussed in this chapter represents the subpopulation composed of UKZN Howard college students', particularly postgraduate students. Furthermore, this chapter also discuss the interventions deemed to be necessary for combating xenophobic attacks.

However, these interviews provided suggestions regarding ways to address such issue in which Hagensen (2014), regarded as a harsh treatment by locals to foreigners. This chapter is divided into many different but related subtitles which are in line with the study's objectives. One of the sections will be providing participant's perceptions about possible causes of xenophobic attacks. Furthermore, this chapter will also have a part that discusses the impact of 2015 xenophobic attacks in the well-being of the population as well as the part on how participants think xenophobic attacks affected the economy of Durban. The other aspect this chapter will be discussing the participant's viewpoint manner in which country's migration policies contribute to controlling process of migration to reduce xenophobic attacks. This chapter also contains a section that will be discussing the perceptions about the role played by government and Durban citizens to reduce the prevalence of xenophobic attacks in this area.

The similar set of questions were asked to both the foreign African and South African postgraduate students. Their responses are presented below starting with the postgraduate South African students and then the foreign African postgraduate students at last.

5.2 Presentation of interviews

This part presents the findings of data obtained during the interviews process, where both UKZN Howard college foreign African and South African postgrad students regarding 2015 xenophobic attacks in Durban were interviewed. Therefore, the discussion of interviews which were conducted serve to achieve the study purpose which is to combat xenophobic attacks by analysing interviews conducted and the data obtained from the literature reviewed in chapter two of this dissertation. However, this section (chapter 4) along with the following section (chapter 5) will be attempting to answer research questions that were presented in chapter 1, which reads as follows;

- ✤ What were the major causes of 2015 xenophobic attacks in Durban?
- ♦ What was the impact of 2015 xenophobic attacks on the well-being of Durban population?
- ✤ What is the role played by citizens in preventing xenophobic attacks in Durban?

5.2.2 Responses on the participant's background and level of education

This study involved participants already at postgraduate level from different countries, therefore, it was necessary to ask about their country of origin and level of education. Therefore, the first question that was asked was based on their level of educational qualification, where eight of the South African students mentioned Honours degree and twelve of them mentioned master's degree as their highest qualification thus far. For foreign African postgraduate student's similar questions were also asked. The first question also asked about their level of educational qualification thus far where seven of them stated Honours Degree as their highest qualification and other three said they have master's Degrees. Meaning seven out of ten are currently doing their master's level of study and other three out of ten are studying their PhDs this year.

The second question was asking the participants about their countries of birth, since minimum requirements to participate in this study was to be an African. However, those not from South

Africa was requested to state the period they have spent in the country. It was noted that, all of foreign African students have spent more than three years in the country, meaning they were already around during the 2015 xenophobic attacks. It was also noted the majority of them were Zimbabwean born which were six in total, followed by two from the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) and lastly, 1 from Nigeria and 1 from Lesotho.

5.2.2 What is migration?

The respondents of this study were asked about the meaning of migration. Their responses on this question described migration as the movement of the people in and outside the country with the purpose of bettering their standard of living. Furthermore, those who did not include the requirements of migrating in their discussions were asked to state, what they think is the requirement of migrating. However, they added that you need documents such as identity document and passport when crossing the country's border as well as the relevant visa depending on the purpose of migrating. For example, there was a participant who responded by saying the following;

I think migration is just the movement of people from one place to another, whether such movement is within a country or from one country to another. Or the movement between regions. For example, someone can move from the continent of Africa to the continent of Asia or America and it is influenced by pull and push factors. In my case I migrated to South Africa because my country underwent an economic crisis, so we as the Zimbabweans ended up crossing the Limpopo river coming to South Africa for better economic opportunities (Foreign student participant no. 20: 2018).

Likewise, another participant from South Africa (participant no. 11: 2018), argued that the migration is indeed a movement of the people, which is usually influenced by certain conditions in their home countries that people deem disturbing their peace and stability. As a result, they decide to relocate to other countries. However, this participant did not include the requirements of migrating and the counter question was asked, which the participant responded by stating the following;

Well, obviously my brother, someone will need specific documents such as the identity document for the adults, birth certificates to children and they will also require a relevant visa specifying the purpose of migrating if moving would be required to produce certain documents (SA student participant no. 11: 2018).

5.2.3 Illegal migration meaning

It was discussed during the literature review section in chapter two that migrants must produce their identity documents and relevant visas as requirements for migrating. However, Lombard (2015) argued that people usually ignore those requirements which negatively impact on their wellbeing. The question that followed the meaning of migration was asking the participants about their perceptions regarding the definition of illegal migration or migrants and the majority of them responded by referring illegal migration to the type of migration that did involve legal documents (passport and visa) when being done. Below is the response from one of the participants;

Illegal migration would be an unofficial or unconventional channel of moving from one place to another right. So, when I say unconventional or unofficial, I mean it is something that is not realized within official channels or accepted within official channels of the state or country. So, those are people who usually just run away from wars or feuds that are happening within their countries. They move to go find refuge in another country without having the actual necessary documents that you should have produced when moving from the country which would be your passport, visa and identity document (SA student participant no. 12: 2018).

However, another participant who was asked about the definition of illegal migration associated this concept with the issue of corruption and below is his response.

I think is when someone crosses the border of another nation without proper documentation such as passport or when someone cross the border with a passport but granted a number of days at a border. However, when passport expire to those given certain days decide to remain in the country, their status becomes an illegal one. However, in the spirit of Pan Africanism, I do not think there is such a thing called an illegal immigrant in the context of so-called African nations. For example, a Zimbabwean or South African cannot be an illegal immigrant in Bulawayo. If you are a Ndlovu from Mpangeni, I am sure you can find other Ndlovus in Bulawayo. I am sure you are just one people, but for the sake of being politically correct, yes an illegal immigration is when someone who crosses to other countries without proper documentation. However, in Zimbabwe we call them to border jumpers because some of them use river to cross to Musina from Bait Bridge but others they use what we call Omalayisha (which are sort of people transporters) and are involved in human trafficking. So, you just give them money and they will help you cross the border (Foreign African student, participant no. 20: 2018).

Furthermore, this participant responded by saying the following when being asked about the level of security in the border.

You know security there (in the border) is not that tight; actually, it is like there is no security at all. As, you see everyone comes here at any anytime. You know Zimbabwean and South African police are full of corruption, you just give them maybe R100 and they

will just ignore you. You know in most cases they are just interested in getting money for cool drink, they do not want much. For example, my brother how many people crosses the border every-day? If you can collect R100 from everyone, by the end of the day, you might just have maybe R2000 or so (Foreign African student, participant no. 20: 2018).

5.2.4 Understanding of xenophobia

Participants were also asked to define xenophobia in their own opinions and in this question, they regarded xenophobia as hatred or violence directed to foreigners by local people. Below is the response from one of the participants;

Xenophobia, I will give you two definitions of xenophobia. Xenophobia I think is a fear, they say is a fear, phobia is a fear, right? A fear of a foreigner, someone who is not like you. So, in this case, a Zulu person can be xenophobic towards a Venda person because he might deem him or her foreign to him or her traditional or identity. In addition, in the context of South African xenophobia, I think it is not really hatred towards foreigners, but it is hatred towards a particular set of foreigners. Those of African and maybe to some extent Asian, and it is not really directed towards foreigners from Europe or America. I would say maybe people from Australia, it just hatred directed towards fellow black men (Foreign African student, participant no. 20: 2018).

There was another participant who also commented on the understanding of xenophobia who argued that xenophobia is not fear, but it is just an illogical thinking from people. This participant said;

You know I will be honest with you, I am South African but I am completely against what other South Africans are doing to our fellow brothers and sisters from other countries especially Africa. Actually, I always fail to understand why we always want to solve our problems with violence. Although people from other countries, mainly African countries to be specific are usually problematic, but really we should not try to resolve those problems using violence. Therefore, I can say xenophobia is just an unreasonable hatred of locals to foreigners (SA student participant no. 3: 2018).

5.2.5 Perceptions on relationship between xenophobia and illegal migration

The question on what they think is the relationship between xenophobia and illegal migration was asked and about 7 participants South Africa and 6 from other African countries said, there is no relationship between these two concepts. However, the rest of the participants from South Africa

and other African countries agreed that there is a relationship between the two. One of the participants said the following about the relationship;

I do not really think there is a link there, because the Guptas were here illegally. That is what Malema said, and claims but people never really expressed detest towards the Guptas. It goes back to black on black hate, what I have just articulated in my previous communication. I think even if you are legal you can face xenophobia. It just a matter of the identity clash. The locals and the so-called African nationals or foreigners because the locals are also African nationals for Christ sake. However, there is this identity crisis that if you are an African everything is wrong with you. It either you are said to be paddling with drugs, you taking jobs and you taking money out of the country. You are accused to be taking money maybe to Zimbabwe, Cameroon, or Nigeria wherever you coming from. So I think it is more of ignorant among Africans people, we do not tolerate each other as Africans. This is because when people from other African countries arrive here, they come with a set of attitude towards South Africans that they are lazy. They say South Africans do not want to work, they want things for free. And South Africans also have certain attitudes towards foreigners that, they are dirty, they are poor, they cause overcrowding and they bring drugs. So, I think it is an issue of an identity crisis, it is not an issue of illegality or legality at all. It is a matter of attitudes, a mental state, and the consciousness of a black person (Foreign African student, participant no. 20: 2018).

Likewise, another participant argued that there was no connection between xenophobia and illegal migration and below is her response;

Okay, maybe there is a connection, maybe not. But let me just say there is no connection. This is because if people who are legally here in the country with all the documents also get attacked, so it is not the matter of these people the culprits, first asked to see the documents to check if we are here illegally or legally, they just attack us, so I do not think there is a link between xenophobia and illegal migration. The only thing I observe in this whole problem, you guys hate us finish (Foreign African student, participant no. 9: 2018).

The participant's views seemed to be different on whether there is a relationship between xenophobia and illegal migration. However, below is the response from one of those participants who argued there is a relationship between xenophobia and illegal migration;

Well, I think the relationship is the perceptions that we often have as South Africans. We often associate hatred of foreign nationals as due to the fact that, they use to occupy a particular country illegally. So their migration in and outside the given country is sometimes linked to illegality which often leads to xenophobia. So their association with

illegal deeds could be one of the reasons that have led to xenophobic attacks. They are often associated with illegality, they come to a country illegally and they also get involved in illegal activities. So I think there is a strong relationship and that relationship is based on our perceptions, but it is not always the case. This is because some of us does not associate foreigners with criminal activities (SA student participant no. 4: 2018).

5.2.6 Causes of xenophobic attacks in Durban perceptions

Xenophobic attacks are very dangerous, and people have different opinions on their causes. However, one of the study objectives was to understand the major causes of 2015 xenophobic attacks in Durban. Therefore, when participants asked about the causes of attacks in 2015, they mentioned different but related problems as possible causes of 2015 xenophobic attacks.

5.2.6.1 Unemployment

The majority of the participants mentioned unemployment and poverty as the leading causes they think were responsible for the attacks.

Without a doubt my brother, xenophobic attacks are caused by shortage of employment and poverty which is an issue in many African countries, as we ended here in South Africa we trying to fight it (Foreign African student, participant no. 10: 2018).

The other participant provided the same causes but added another factor that he thought could have led to xenophobic attacks in this area. This participant responded to this question by saying;

I think the reason for those attacks was due to jealousy in South Africans besides issues like poverty and unemployment as usual. The main problem we have as South Africans is that, we always think government is our God and should be responsible for all our needs which is impossible. This is because our country is faced with other serious issues including high rate of teenage pregnancy and crime just to name a few because they are too many. Some of them that I have mentioned earlier are a cause of human sufferings and also a result of the high rate of unemployment in the country (SA student participant no. 3: 2018).

5.2.6.2 The hatred

However, one of the foreign participant who was asked the same question also did not mention only unemployment and poverty as the main factors that caused 2015 xenophobic attacks in Durban but stated hatred as one the causes, and below is her response;

It is hatred, it is just hatred but tell me how can you beat up someone that you do not know? You do not have to love them or like them, but just be civil, how can you hurt someone, who you actually civil with? It is just hatred, hate is associated with evil deeds. So like how can you do that because that is just pure hate, nothing else my brother? Because it is not the matter of only attacking people with businesses. Foreigners with businesses there was a point where they attacked every foreigner they came across in the street. So it is not the matter of only attacking foreigners with businesses, you see, so I think it is just hatred. Actually, some of the people in this country do not like us as foreigners (Foreign African student, participant no. 9: 2018).

5.2.6.3 Poverty

Poverty was another issue that assumed to have caused 2015 xenophobic attacks. However, poverty is believed to be influenced by other factors like unemployment. Below is the response from one of the participants;

I think I have indicated this to you before. The main thing that perpetuated xenophobia is poverty. You know, I once heard someone staying in a suburb telling to another person that they saw xenophobic attacks on the news because they have everything in their area. So without a doubt these attacks were caused by poverty. This is because even back home in Zimbabwe, there are always fights in poverty-stricken communities (Foreign African student, participant no. 20: 2018).

5.2.7 Impact of 2015 xenophobic attacks perceptions

In chapter 2 of this dissertation, it was argued by many authors including Piper and Charman (2016) that 2015 xenophobic attacks had a negative impact on the well-being of the population. However, to examine the impact of these attacks on the well-being was one of the study objectives. Therefore, the responses recorded were almost similar, since all the study participants were already in Durban when xenophobia erupt.

5.2.7.1 Instability as an impact of 2015 xenophobic attacks in Durban

One of the participants who was a South African student responded by saying the following;

There are many things my brother, number one is instability. I think there was instability in the community or rather let me not say I think because I was an eyewitness. Therefore, I will definitely say there was instability. Look here my brother, that time people were fighting each other badly. So there was extreme violence that was happening. Then, peace and well-being of the community were no longer present because there was a terrible fight in the roads, and in most cases you found people killing each other. So when I am saying there was killing of each other. It simple because both foreigners and locals died since foreign people were not sitting back when they were killed, they were fighting back. As you would know my brother, when we say xenophobic attacks, we say it is a war actually, it is a fight between them and us South Africans, and instability in the community is the impact of this. Another thing, in my flat by South Beach where I was staying that time. Most children dropped out of school and their parents sent them back home to be safe. So they negatively affected the population of Durban (SA student participant, no. 3: 2018).

However, foreign participant who was asked to comment on the impact of xenophobic on the wellbeing of Durban population mentioned the following;

Actually, the 2015 attacks were extremely terrible my brother I never wish to experience the same again. You know, there was no stability in Durban CBD, everything was a total mess, people both locals and foreigners could not even walk to buy bread in shops because of fear of being attacked (Foreign African student, participant no. 7: 2018).

5.2.8 School dropout as an impact of 2015 xenophobic attacks in Durban

The 2015 xenophobic attacks in Durban affected even children at school. This is because one of the participants from South Africa stated the following;

I am glad to be part of the research regarding the 2015 xenophobic attacks because it caused too much damage especially education wise. You in 2015 I was staying in one of the flats in Durban CBD and my neighbours children were sent back home in rural areas for their safety (SA student participant, no. 9: 2018).

Likewise, another foreign African student participant also mentioned school drop-out as an impact on the wellbeing of Durban population. Below is his response; You know, the 2015 xenophobic attacks affected us big time. This is because, my friend sister's daughter who was staying at KwaMashu Township had to stop studying and leave Durban to stay with her mother's brother at Pretoria for safety (Foreign African student, participant no. 17: 2018).

5.2.9 Crime as an impact of xenophobic attacks in Durban

The issue of crime which was highlighted in chapter two that, crime incidences increased during the 2015 xenophobic attacks and study participants also highlighted the issue of crime during the interviews. Below is the response from one of the participants who was asked to comment on the impact of the 2015 xenophobic attacks;

As I have indicated earlier that, my neighbour took her children back home for safety. So, protecting them from seeing what was happening that moment was not the only reason made her to send children in rural areas, but crime was another reason because housebreaking was dominant in our flat alongside point road in South Beach (SA student participant, no. 9: 2018).

5.2.10 Xenophobic attacks effects on economic growth of Durban?

This study demonstrated that the 2015 xenophobic attacks in Durban were very dangerous for the growth of the economy in this area. It was noted in the literature reviewed in chapter two that, xenophobic attacks are of capable affecting the economic growth in the areas where they are experienced. Furthermore, it was also noted during the interviews conducted that, the participants highlighted certain effects of the 2015 xenophobic attacks in Durban when asked to comment on their effect on the economy of Durban.

5.2.10.1 Investors

The participants highlighted investing as the economic growth aspect that was affected by the 2015 xenophobic attacks in Durban. For example, one of the participants argued that,

I think xenophobic attacks negatively affected Durban economy because some of these people had businesses here and maybe some of them when coming to the country had friends that were still going to be visiting the country to spend some money in some of the things at some point. So, I think negatively because they went away with their business ideas to assist in growing the economy. Another important thing, all those people who were planning to invest in Durban and spend a lot of money did not come after watching the terrible news on television and social media, because the attacks were all over social media. So, as a result, Durban lost potential investors which were going to contribute to the economic growth of the city. You know Majola my brother, our country is going down and we losing important investors because of people who are unable to think for others (SA student participant, no. 12: 2018).

5.2.10.2 Employment generation

There was another participant who commented on the extent to which xenophobic attacks affected the economic growth of Durban claimed that;

Okay because they chasing away foreign people, bear in mind that I might not be 100% sure about this but I am suspecting that some of the attacked people during these attacks left the country. Well I am not even suspecting, it was all over the news that some of us actually left, so can you imagine if they close down the businesses, okay let us go back to the point I was saying that, if we as foreigners had to go back to our countries, then how sure you are that your people will be able to sustain those businesses that would have been closed? Because it is all about money generating money, making money and stuff like that, so if foreign people who are helping to generate employments in South Africa leave, you guys are hitting, hitting us and we not even sure if those people hitting foreigners have enough skills to create employments. You know that is not the right thing. If we had to go with our expertise, what is going to happen in your country? You should remember that some of us are employers of South African people. So xenophobic attacks largely affected economic growth of Durban and trust me your economy will be completely destroyed if foreigners would be totally removed in this country (Foreign African student, participant no. 10: 2018).

5.2.11 Migration policies perceptions

The participants were requested to comment on the effectiveness of migration policies regulating the process of migration in the country. The responses recorded shown that, although the country have strong migration policies, the room for the improvement is still necessary. This is because one of the participants said the following;

I think they are quite ineffective because till today we have a lot of people around South Beach who are there, they have businesses but some of them do not even have papers that they need to be here, so I think that the policies are ineffective, because it is a norm thing that, 'they are these people' most of them, not to say that, they must be chased out of the country but just to deal with it, okay, what are we doing now, are we getting you guys the correct papers so that if you have a business you will pay tax just like everyone else affected (SA student participant, no. 5: 2018).

Another participant was also asked to comment on the effectiveness of migration policies in the country and below was her response;

Well, effectiveness I do not think so because in the border there are corrupt people there, so long there are corrupt people who take bribes as my cousin told me they demanded R500 to allow him to come here without papers. So, no implemented policies will work in those cases and they are just useless because whatever you try, you just cannot stop corruption, because I can say they need stronger laws but what's the use of having written laws if practically they will not be able to control the input or whatever influx of people, so it just does not make sense to say they need stronger laws or constitution because people working in the border are still going to take bribes. But, what I think can work is to put cameras to be monitored from time to time to ensure people working in the border are not taking bribes (Foreign African student, participant no. 6: 2018).

There was another participant who provided a response to the effectiveness of migration policies and recognized lack of implementation as the main problem and below is the response;

I do not know any policies but I believe they are, and given that xenophobic attacks still occur in spite of those policies, I think there is a problem with the implementation of those, I cannot say they are ineffective, they might be good on paper but the problem is with the people or actors who are responsible to implement those policies, because you know in South Africa, for instance, we have so many policies but when it comes to implementation, they are not effective, it is either they are not implemented at all or their implementation does not contribute to positive outcomes, so I think the issue is around implementation, and hence, I can say those who are in charge to implement these policies should be held accountable for xenophobic attacks (SA student participant, no. 14: 2018).

The issue of policy implementation was dominant in some of the study participant's responses. When they were asked to comment on the effectiveness of migration policies in South Africa, they kept indicating the issue of implementation. Below is the response from one of that participants;

Obviously one may ask that, yes, South Africa has migration policies but how come there is a gradual increase of illegal migration, so I think it has to do with the implementation of the policies, are they properly implemented? So I would say, yes, there are strong policies but the problem is with implementing the policy, hence, we are seeing a gradual increase

in illegal migration, I think we need to look at how the policies are implemented and also corruption, is there a proper border control because I have heard that there is corruption, people would bribe to get into South Africa illegally, so it is the matter of implementation and accountability, who is accountable for increased illegal migration (SA student participant no. 3: 2018).

There was a counter question from this response which was about the majors that participant think can be taken to address this problem of the implementation of migration policies. This question emerged from the third study's objective and the participant responded by saying the following;

I think is accountability and ensuring that there is no corruption. I think we need to employ the right people, and also strengthening our border control. We need to avoid corruption and ensure that there is accountability. If officials were to be watchful about illegal migration, and also strengthen the implementation of the policies. We cannot have good policies but when it comes to implementation, we cannot account. We also need to strengthen our border control because that is where the problem starts. We need to make sure our border is very strong. Furthermore, we must avoid corruption and people must account (SA student participant no. 2: 2018).

5.2.10 Government role in combating xenophobic attacks

Participants were also asked about the role that should be played by the South African government to ensure xenophobic attacks never occur in the future. However, this question was asked because one of the study objectives was to evaluate the role that citizens should play including government of the country to combat xenophobic attacks. One of the participants stated the following when requested to provide their perceptions regarding the role of government towards ending the issue of xenophobia;

I really think the government is accountable for everything and should do something according to me. You know as I understand this-this thing of xenophobia. I think maybe they just need to organize some workshops, educate citizen people that foreigners are not taking your job or they are not taking what belongs to you. They could note the reasons that will be mentioned by the locals. So, if the citizen also say, 'we say they are taking our job because they are accepting low pay as they claim', then they can tell the foreign people that, this is the reason, so you have to come to an agreement, like an assume payment for every security guard or any car guard person just set an amount that is fixed for both citizen and foreign so that you will not be having that kind of inequality. So, I think that can definitely reduce xenophobic attacks if the government can try it, other than that nothing will ever change (Foreign African student, participant no. 7: 2018).

Similar question was asked to South African student participating and recommended legal actions as a solution on this issue. This participant responded by saying the following;

Okay, I can give you long-term and short-term plans. The short-term plans is to encourage tolerance, you can do that through education, people should be educated about their history particularly here in South Africa. South Africa because of Apartheid, it was isolated from the rest of Africa, so the history is a bit of Africa majority of South Africans seem not to appreciate, so we will begin there. Teach local black South Africans the African history from Kwame Nkrumah to Sekou Tore and Sani Abacha, the good and the bad of African history. And on the other hand, Africans coming to South Africa should learn more about South African culture. Myself it was easy for me to integrate into South African society especially Zulu tradition because it was something that I learnt in primary school. So, if I speak your language Malibongwe. For instance if I say 'Majola ngikhulume izithakazelo zakho zonke (say all your clan names) you are less likely to take a brick and hit me because you identify me'. And if I come here and eating uphuthu (pap) with you, you are less likely to put a brick on me because I am eating the food that you eat. This applies everywhere, if I am to go to Nigeria today and start talking about Wole Soyinka and start talking about Abacha, it will be easy for me to be integrated in their community and it also easy for them to accept me because at least I have background information of that society. So, that is needed. The long-term I think is just to reduce the incidence of poverty and reduce inequality between South Africans. If you have solved poverty, then you would have solved xenophobic attacks. People will not have time to put a tire on someone if they are at work. (Foreign African student, participant no. 20: 2018).

All participants in this study suggested different solutions that they think government should do to end xenophobia. However, it was noted from their responses that, xenophobia is very dangerous and people does not commend the violence directed to people from foreign countries because most of them condemn the attacks and recommend severe punishment for practicing this type of action. For example, another participant responded by saying the following when asked this question;

Definitely my brother, they have to be extreme punishment to all those perpetuating this terrible stupid behavior. You cannot just hurt someone and pretend as if nothing happened while you have committed serious crime. This is because I regard these attacks as acts of criminality. You know my brother I was there and I saw everything that local people were doing to these foreigners. I think our government must establish a serious punishment. For example, all those attacking foreigners must at least serve a minimum of 10 years in jail to give our community a lesson that, if you involve yourself in violence you will face painful punishment (SA student participant, no. 4: 2018).

5.2.11 Role of community members in combating xenophobic attacks

Similar question on the roles were also asked but this time, they were asked about the role they think should be played by community members to combat this problem that has caused destruction in the area of Durban. The participants suggested various solutions they think could help ending this problem for people to live in harmony with one another regardless of race or country of birth. Below is evidence that comes from a South African student who believes that community member have a critical role to play is combating xenophobic attacks in the future. This student stated that:

I think maybe in the community, for example we have chiefs and Izinduna, and in townships we have councilors and mayors, so before anybody wanting to start any business in these areas, they have to first consult to them to seek for permission. So I believe if they have to access him and investigate if they have correct documents required to be in the country and also find out how that business is going to benefit the community. Then deny them permission if they do not have papers and are unable to provide needed information (SA student participant no. 5: 2018).

Another participant asked about the role that should be played by community members in ensuring xenophobic attacks does not happen mentioned the following;

I think among Africans, people must learn to love themselves to be able to love other people. As I have told you before, among African society, there is no such thing as a foreigner. You know the reason why Africa was colonized, it is because we are welcoming, and we are warm people. We just sit under the tree and be chilled. In Africa, we do not want fight people that is why we were colonized. I can tell you, take any African proverb, whether is from Zimbabwe, Ghana or Nigeria, there is always a proverb about welcoming a visitor. I would give you an example, in IsiNdebele, they say 'Isisu somhambi asingakanani, singangophonjwana lwembuzi', and here in KZN, you reduce the uphonjwana lwembuzi and put 'inso yenyoni' right? Which shows we always welcome a visitor. I think we can tolerate ourselves as Africans and we can live in harmony as Africans.

Like I told you, there is nothing called a foreigner at the end of the day. You smile at white person, you say, 'yoo he is from Britain' and when I say I am from Kenya, you frown. So, xenophobia is a psychological issue, it has to do with colonialism and Apartheid. You know I do not blame South Africans, if they seem to be ignorant of Africa because you were isolated. Apartheid was all about isolation, no wonder why some people even consider Venda people as non-South Africans because that was point of Apartheid. We put Lebowa there, we put Transkei there, we put Kwazulu there, and we put Venda there. So, that you do not have that contact. I am telling you that xenophobia is very deep. Even if you remove all those you say are foreigners that you say Amakwerekwere, but still you will attack each other. The only way community can get rid of xenophobia is through education, as I have said before, people must love themselves and also get educated finish. You Malibongwe

does not attack because you are educated, you know there is life outside KZN (Foreign African student, participant no. 20: 2018).

5.3 Discussion

Xenophobic attacks are very dangerous and are capable of changing people's lives for the worse. Xenophobic attacks have various causes leading various challenges which are closely related. During the literature reviewed and interviews conducted, it emerged that xenophobic attacks should be regarded as a symptom and not a cause of people's problems. This is because Hassim et al. (2008) argued that, as soon as xenophobia is accepted to be a symptom rather than a primary cause of people's problems, responsibility and accountability would be achieved and distributed more widely among people which will to combating this problem destroying peace in the society. The interviews conducted were analyzed using the thematic analysis which emphasizes the recording and examining the patterns or themes within data has been used. Themes are patterns across data sets that are important to the description of a phenomenon and are associated to a specific research question.

5.3.1 Causes of xenophobic attacks

This study was asking participants perceptions regarding the causes of 2015 xenophobic attacks in Durban as this question was one of the research questions for this study. However, although they differed in their perceptions in terms of the causes but there were common aspects they identified about xenophobic attacks causes. This is because majority of them mentioned similar problems that could have led to the attacks in Durban. Among the possible causes they mentioned were like that of Piper and Charman (2016) which says, xenophobic attacks were results of increasing number of foreigners who are suspected of stealing jobs of local people, hence locals remains unemployed. However, there were few respondents who provided different perspective about the causes of 2015 xenophobia attacks in Durban. This is because one of the participants who is a South African born student stated that; "Xenophobic attacks in our country are the results of stupid

people who are jealous of other people's success, because you cannot just decide to kill not someone just because they are working, and you are not." (SA Participant no. 5, 2018).

Furthermore, this participant argued that, although there is high rate of unemployment which perpetuate poverty issues in the country but, violence is not a way of solving problems, as you see, instead our problems are deteriorating.

5.3.1.1 Poverty

Poverty was one of the main problems that many participants highlighted as the main cause of xenophobic attacks. This was the central point for 8 of 10 South African, and 7 of 10 foreign African participants of my study. This is because their responses mostly touched on the need for government to create more employment opportunities to end poverty for people to stop fighting foreigners over employments. This is because they argued that, people will suffer poverty if they are not working. According to Mbokazi and Bhengu (2012) poverty is a situation where people are unable to meet their basic requirements of life. They argue that, poverty can be a broad issue which could be a multifaceted concept, which may include social, economic, and political elements.

Furthermore, they argued that, poverty can be classified into two forms. Firstly, Absolute poverty which is about inability for someone to meet minimum requirements of life such as food, shelter, and health care. Secondly, Relative poverty which can be understood as a condition of being unable to afford a certain want. For example, one of the participants argued that xenophobic attacks in Durban were dominant in poverty affected areas such as townships. This is because according to this participant, you never heard any xenophobic attacks incidences being reported in the areas such as Umhlanga Rocks. However, this should clearly regard this particular as a problem of those people who suffer absolute poverty (Foreign student participant no. 3, 2018). Furthermore, Ceccato and Wilhelmsson (2011) argued that people who suffer from absolute poverty usually tend to be associated with criminal activities. Moreover, another argument they provide is of the relationship between poverty, unemployment and crime that the other leads to another problem. Therefore, it can be concluded that poverty indeed contributed to eruption of 2015 xenophobic attacks based on the evidence from the literature and interviews.

5.3.1.2 Unemployment

This study also presents unemployment as another problem believed to the cause of 2015 xenophobic attacks in Durban. The argument provided by Kershen (2017) which portrays unemployment as killer factor of the community is supported by one of the study participant who argued that, unemployed people in the townships are sometimes jealous of other people's success (Foreigners particularly) and they end up verbally attacking those who seem to be progressing (Foreign African student, participant no. 4: 2018). Furthermore, this participant stated that, the unemployment rate of the country in 2015 was very high and people were taking out their frustrations to people from foreign countries. According to Clark and Worger (2016), the issue of unemployment in the democratic state of the country is a serious issue and based on a national study conducted just before the end of the previous decade indicated that unemployment was less than 20 percent, but by the beginning of the current decade, unemployment had jumped to over 25 percent. Therefore, unemployment can be regarded as one of the elements which contributed to 2015 xenophobic attacks.

5.3.1.3 Crime

The issue of crime can be possibly caused the attacks in 2015 in Durban area. This is because in chapter, it was argued by Piper and Charman (2016) that, citizens of Verulam in the north of Durban attacked foreigners suspecting them of being responsible for crime in the area. However, the issue of crime appeared again during the interviews where some of the participants were mentioning crime as the factor they think has played a role in the eruption of the 2015 xenophobic attacks in Durban. According to Ceccato and Wilhelmsson (2011), crime can be understood as an action or harmful behavior committed by people to another in the community. Therefore, when understanding Verulam incidence and what has been found during the interviews, you can conclude that, crime was indeed one of the causes of 2015 xenophobic attacks in Durban.

5.3.2 Impact of xenophobic attacks

The 2015 xenophobic attacks in Durban has a huge impact on the well-being of the population from this area. This is because based on the literature reviewed and the study findings, it was observed that, there are many things including poverty that, participants believed to have occurred after 2015 xenophobic attacks. However, the factors that participants believe to have caused xenophobic attacks in Durban were similar to what they think are the impact of those attacks on the well-being of the population in this area.

5.3.2.1 Poverty

Poverty which is the issue identified by study participants as the cause of the 2015 xenophobic attacks in Durban was also identified as the impact of the attacks on the well-being of the population from this area. This issue which is the state of lacking a certain amount of material possessions or money in order to survive according to Mbokazi and Bhengu (2012). The participants described poverty as the impact of xenophobic attacks because, this issue according to Hayati and Karami (2005), occurred when people are not getting any income to be used to meet their basic needs. However, this was the case in Durban in 2015 after the attacks most people lost their jobs due to xenophobic attacks which was causing people miss work. SA participant (no. 3: 2018), argued that most people who were staying in some of the flats in South Beach could not even afford to buy bread because they were no longer working, since they were fired in work because of being absent due to the attacks. Therefore, xenophobic attacks resulted to poverty in some people.

5.3.2.2 Crime

The issue of crime in our society is a very challenging problem in the attempts to combat issues like poverty that affect people. This problem is another issue identified as the impact of the 2015 xenophobic attacks. During the interviews, it was noted that, some of the participants recognized crime as a result of those attacks in places that were dominated by xenophobic attacks in 2015. This is a very dangerous issue which has caused people to lose their lives during the attacks (Piper and Charman, 2016). Likewise, one of the participants (SA participant no. 3: 2018), reported that, "After the attacks, the rates of crime in our area increased because people were no longer working and the only that was keeping the busy most of the time was doing criminal activities". Therefore, crime was one of the impact of the 2015 xenophobic attacks on the population of Durban.

5.3.2.3 Unemployment

The issue of unemployment is also among issues that were considered as the impact of 2015 xenophobic attacks. In chapter 2, it was discussed by authors such as Koenane and Maphunye (2015) and Moyo (2017) that, the issue of xenophobia affects many people, as it leaves them unemployed which leads to some people to commit crime. According to Kingdom and Knight (2005) unemployment is regarded as a situation where someone is jobless and is not actively searching for one because of various circumstances that could be a hindrance in getting employed. However, during the attacks in 2015, the Zulu king Goodwill Zwelithini commented that, the foreigners should leave the country as they were causing problems for local people (Koenane and Maphunye, 2015).

5.4 Conclusion

In conclusion, this chapter has demonstrated that, perceptions of participants regarding the 2015 xenophobic attacks are multidimensional and extremely important for social cohesion. The major finding from this study is that xenophobic attacks are one of the leading social problems destroying social cohesion. However, we cannot ignore other underlying problems such as unemployment and poverty affecting people in the country. These social problems were believed to be the driving force towards violence directed to foreigners in Durban and were also believed to be the impact of those attacks. Hence, postgraduate students are found to have a critical role to play in combating xenophobic attacks in the community. The participants in this study therefore, indicated that there is a need to intervene to end these attacks because they might cause extreme damage to the population well-being.

Chapter 6: Conclusion and Recommendations6.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, I examined the responses from the perceptions of participants to understand their perceptions on different aspects of 2015 xenophobic attacks in Durban which extremely destroyed their lives. However, in this chapter, two related parts, which are study conclusions and recommendations towards addressing the issue of xenophobic attacks will be discussed beginning with the conclusions and recommendations at last. The first part of this chapter will be the conclusions which are a summary of key points about the findings of the study. Furthermore, those key points which will be discussed are the major points discussed during the study. The second part of this chapter will be the recommendations which will be offering some recommendations most of them which were provided by the participants in this study. However, those recommendations will be based on what has been discovered in the study which seemed to have caused and perpetuated 2015 xenophobic attacks in the area of Durban.

6.2 Conclusions

As stated above that, the previous chapter examined the responses from the participants regarding xenophobic attacks that affect the population, which in this study is the population of Durban that has been affected by extreme xenophobic attacks in 2015. The 2015 xenophobic attacks caused terrible destruction in this area where many people lost their belongings and many foreigners displaced. It can be concluded that this study is comparable to other studies conducted such as the study by Felicia Lombard in 2015. This is because in the Lombard's study similar results noting extreme damage to the well-being of the population were also recorded. However, in both studies, it was observed that maltreatment of people by one another can result in serious problems including committing crimes and deaths which was exactly happened during the 2015 xenophobic attacks in Durban.

This study had three objectives that were stated in chapter 1 as follows;

✤ To understand the major causes of 2015 xenophobic attacks in Durban.

- ✤ To examine the impact of 2015 xenophobic attacks on the well-being of Durban population.
- ◆ To evaluate the role to be played by citizens in reducing xenophobic attacks in Durban.

These objectives starting with the first objective which was to understand the major causes of 2015 xenophobic attacks in Durban has been successfully met. This objective has been met because the study found that some of the major causes of those attacks were the shortage of employment which made local citizens take out their anger on foreigners. This can be seen in chapter 2 where I discussed three hypothesis on the causes of xenophobic attacks. During that chapter, it was discussed that scapegoat hypothesis is when local people (South Africans) direct their frustrations of different problems at foreigners, especially Black African foreigners.

While isolation hypothesis argued that locals are not used to foreigners and suggest that xenophobia is a product of ineffective isolation policies of the apartheid government. Whereas, bio-cultural hypothesis argues that, it is when xenophobia is unequally applied to foreigners. This is because, on many occasions where people had mistreated foreigners, they were identifying them in terms of identity. During the research, it was noted in the reviewed literature and discussed by the majority of study participants that foreigner's migration statuses are usually associated with illegality because some of them enter the country illegally and involve themselves in crime according to the findings. Furthermore, this can also be seen in chapter 4 where I discussed responses from study participants.

Moreover, it can also be concluded that for the immigrants to cross South African borders is particularly easy. This is because of the number of problems such as unemployment, crime, and poverty are the ones that the participants believed to be caused by the illegal immigrants which is one of the reasons that made the South Africans to attack foreigners. However, it was discussed that these problems were considered to be causes as well as the impacts of 2015 xenophobic attacks in Durban. However, it was observed that these problems were the main causes of the 2015 xenophobic attacks. Therefore, it can be concluded that the security in South African borders is not ensured as the country have many foreigners believed to be illegal and involved in criminal activities that mostly affects the well-being of the population of Durban.

This study concludes that the socio-economic issues including poverty and unemployment have caused the 2015 xenophobic attacks in Durban. However, it was discussed that these issues relate to and influence one another. This is because it was noted from the reviewed literature in chapter 2 and from interviews conducted that when people suffer poverty they are usually unemployed and vice versa. However, it was also noted that unemployment and poverty were the causes as well as the impact of the 2015 xenophobic attacks in Durban. Furthermore, it was discussed that these problems tend to be dominant in Townships. Therefore, the study has achieved its first objective by understanding the major causes of the 2015 xenophobic attacks.

It can also be concluded that the second objective of the study that was to examine the impact of the 2015 xenophobic attacks on the well-being of Durban population has been achieved. This is because during the study it was argued that, the well-being of Durban population was largely affected as there were some people who lost their employment because of being unable to go to work due to fear of being killed. This can be seen in chapter 2 and chapter 4 of this study. It was discussed in these chapters that those who lost their employment also suffered poverty because of inability to afford their daily needs. However, it was noted that the xenophobic attacks affected even school children because some of them dropped out of school. Therefore, it can be concluded that the 2015 xenophobic attacks have largely affected the population of Durban. Furthermore, it was discussed that the effects of the 2015 xenophobic attacks were also the causes of those attacks. Therefore, it can be concluded that this study has achieved its second objective because it has identified the impact of the 2015 xenophobic attacks on the population of Durban.

This study has also achieved its third objective which was to evaluate the role to be played by citizens in reducing xenophobic attacks in Durban. This is because it was discussed that members of the community are very important in attempts to stop xenophobic attacks in the community as they are the main people interacting and fighting with foreigners every day which could be easy for them to find solutions since problems resulting from those fights affects them. This study has also concluded that stakeholders such as the NGOs and government can play a vital role to address the issue of xenophobic attacks in the country. Therefore, it can be concluded that the community members are important to combat xenophobic attacks.

This study concluded that South African people are basically nice people and most people in every province in this country have a certain way of welcoming a visitor. This is because people from these provinces have a certain proverb they use which refers to caring for their visitors. For example, in South African provinces such as Limpopo, people use proverb like, '*Isisu somhambi asingakanani kodwa singangophonjwana lwembuzi*' and in KwaZulu-Natal, they replace '*Uphonjwana lwembuzi*' with "*Intso yenyoni*' which means a visitor can be always given a special treatment because the little that you have, the foreigner cannot finish whatever you have because they are not there forever. Therefore, it can be concluded that South African people are kind but problems including unemployment, poverty, and crime make them unkind and attack people from other countries.

6.3 Recommendations

South Africa as a country keeps on experiencing extreme challenges of xenophobic attacks directed to foreign nationals in the country especially Black African foreign nationals. The outbreak of terrible attacks in 2015 in Durban in KwaZulu-Natal serves as the evidence of this never-ending challenge. While results of this research cannot be generalized, it is necessary to understand the problems caused by xenophobic attacks in the well-being of the population, as this study revealed that they are capable of destroying lives in the society. However, in response to the issue of xenophobic attacks, this study proposes short and long terms recommendations in pursuit of ending such an extremely dangerous social problem.

Below are short and long-term recommendations towards addressing the issue of xenophobic attacks that is affecting the well-being of the population. However, these recommendations are believed to reliable in the prevention of these attacks from happening in the future. Therefore, it is highly recommended that these recommendations are taken into consideration for the population to be safe regardless of country of birth.

Encouraging tolerance among people in the community is the first recommendation that is recommended by this study which is considered to be a short-term recommendation. This can be done by educating people about their history by teaching them African history which is the aspect that most Africans seem to be lacking. This is because Piper and Charman (2016) argued that some of the people during xenophobia seem to understand foreigners as people who do not belong in Africa. In this perspective, it is recommended that the government establish awareness campaigns where people will be taught to begin by understanding stories from both sides (Foreigners and Locals) before involving themselves in the attacks.

Furthermore, educating society about starting by examining the possible outcomes of their actions will make them realize the complications that will be brought by involving themselves in xenophobic attacks. The study found that it is difficult for South African people to tolerate people from other African countries because they do not understand African roots. As a result, they tend to treat them as aliens in the continent of Africa. However, when they are taught about African history, they might understand where Africa is coming from which will make them realize the importance of being an African. Therefore, tolerance among people in the community is necessary to combat xenophobic attacks and would learn to share a space with one another without any complications.

- The second recommendation is geared towards educating the population about the danger of being involved in xenophobic attacks. This is because the study discovered that some of the people who are usually taking part in xenophobic attacks usually do not understand the reasons behind those attacks. However, they are being influenced by those people that they see attacking foreigners. However, this is a long-term recommendation because providing historical education is might take long and requires extensive training to those responsible to teach it. Furthermore, this education should involve everyone in the community including the children who are the future of the country. Therefore, by educating children of the country would enable the future generations also to know their history and avoid discriminating other people from other African countries in which would then combat xenophobic attacks.
- It is suggested that the government should conduct awareness campaigns to educate people about their history in communities that have mostly been affected by xenophobic attacks. Moreover, it is recommended to conduct these campaigns in the presence of both foreign nationals and local people to give them a chance to talk out their problems regarding the issue of xenophobic attacks. In these campaigns, foreigners should also be allowed to

explain their intentions of coming to the country. However, local people should also be allowed to raise their concerns regarding the presence of foreigners so that, two parties would try to find amicable agreement to end this terrible attacks. Furthermore, in those campaigns people should be educated about the consequences of being involved in xenophobic attacks. Therefore, when they have a common understanding of xenophobia, the chances of xenophobic attacks to erupt again in future would be very slim.

- The third recommendation is to encourage the community members to report every person starting businesses such as Spaza shops (Tuck shops) in their community. This is because locals claimed that the foreign Spaza shops owners were illegal in the country. Furthermore, they accused them of selling expired products, and selling products as a cheaper price compared to theirs. Therefore, by reporting every foreigner arriving in the community to the community leaders so that they would be able to investigate whether they have the correct papers to be in the country.
- Another recommendation is to encourage cooperation between the government departments such as the Department of Home Affairs, Department of Education, and Department of Police which was regarded as lacking by Hassim et al. (2008). It is expected that the cooperation of these departments will reduce xenophobia in the country by the following. Firstly, the Department of Home Affairs would deal with documentation of immigrants and insert a mark to differentiate the original and fake document, to allow Department of Police to identify those with illegal documents and arrest them. The Department of Education would be dealing with educating people to be able to differentiate between the original and fake documents. Therefore, the cooperation of the government departments would play a huge role in combating xenophobic attacks.
- The fifth recommendation is on the legal perspective where it suggests that all people who are found attacking foreign nationals must be severely punished. This is because there has never been a serious jail sentence for xenophobia cases to give a warning to potential xenophobia offenders. However, this perspective recommends the establishment of policies to deal with this problem. However, this recommendation complements the first recommendation talking about getting educated, because it is expected that if you are highly educated there are high chances to be employed and you will not go around fighting

other people over employment because you have your own. Therefore, giving xenophobia offenders a severe punishment might assist in warning potential xenophobia offenders of the punishment they might receive when attacking foreigners.

- Since the study concluded that, the possible dominant cause of xenophobia was unemployment. However, it is recommended that, government partner with private sector to establish more employment opportunities so that people will have employment to give them money to buy their basic needs such as food and shelter and stop blaming and attacking foreigners for being responsible for their problems. However, it is expected that people would not have time to attack and kill foreigners if they are working and able to support their families. Therefore, enough employment opportunities would combat xenophobic attacks because will be focusing on their employment and not on abusing other people especially foreigners.
- This study also recommends strengthening border control by increasing the level of security in the border. This is because it has been noted by the growing concerns on the way in which the country's border is functioning. This was recognized by Piper and Charman (2016) when arguing were perpetuated by foreigners who were suspected to be illegal in the country. By increasing border security, it will be ensuring that all people coming to the country are legal and have disclosed their intentions of coming into our country. Therefore, the increment of border security would combat xenophobic attacks because it would limit illegal immigrants that are believed to be responsible for the eruption of xenophobic attacks.
- It has been noted the suspicions of corruption in the border of the country and this study recommends the harsh punishment be given to those found to be involved in corruption cases. Furthermore, this study recommends that all those found guilty never be allowed to work for any government department.
- This study also recommends further research on what exactly causes xenophobic attacks so that, it would be easy to establish solutions to combat this problem affecting the population. However, the research should be conducted in areas that are known to be xenophobia hotspots.

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8. Appendices

8.1 Appendix A: Informed consent form



University of KwaZulu-Natal (Howard College, Durban) Investigator: Malibongwe Majola Department: School of Built and Development Studies Contact details: 0797386116, email: <u>213554028@stu.ukzn.ac.za</u> Supervisor contact details: telephone +27312602704, email: <u>nzimanden@ukzn.ac.za</u> HSSREC Research office contact details: Telephone: 031 260 3587/8350/4557 Facsimile: 031 2604609 Email: <u>ximbap@ukzn.ac.za</u> / <u>snymanm@ukzn.ac.za</u> /mohuno@ukzn.ac.za Website: <u>www.ukzn.ac.za</u> Informed Consent Form

Project title: Perceptions of UKZN Howard College students regarding 2015 xenophobic attack in Durban, South Africa.

Invitation to Participate: You are being asked to participate in this research study because I want to get perceptions of students in higher education institutions regarding xenophobic attacks occurred in Durban, South Africa in the year 2015.

Purpose: The purpose of this research is to get perceptions of students regarding xenophobic attacks occurred in Durban, South Africa in the year 2015.

Procedures: You are required to respond truthfully to the questions asked by the study.

Risks: Some of the questions that will be asked may touch on sensitive areas. However, you will be referred to the campus student counseling if you experience such discomfort. You are encouraged to discuss with me any negative or difficult the feelings or experiences as a result, of participating in this research project. You are free to withdraw at any time when you feel you would like doing so.

Benefits: There are no monetary benefits from the study. However, you may socially benefit from attending this interview.

Compensation and alternatives: You will not receive any compensation by participating in this study and you may choose not to participate.

Additional Information: Your participation in this study is entirely voluntary, and you are free to refuse participation. You may discontinue your participation at any time without prejudice or without jeopardizing the future care either of yourself or of your family members. If you discontinue participation in the project, you may request that we do not use the information already given to us. You are encouraged to ask questions concerning the study at any time as they occur to you during the programme. Any significant new findings developed during the course of the study that may relate to your willingness to continue participation will be provided to you.

Interview Length: This interview will take approximately one hour. However, for further queries, you may contact the researcher Malibongwe Majola in the above-provided contact details. Alternatively, you can also contact the HSSREC Research office and the details are provided above.

Do you give permission to be audio-recorded?	Yes	No	
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By signing below, you are indicating that you have read and understood the consent form and that you agree to participate in this research study.

Participant's	signature
Date	
Researcher's	signature
Date	
Thank You very much for your time	

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8.2 Appendix B: Ifomu Lokunikezela ngemvume



University of KwaZulu-Natal (Howard College, Durban)

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Ifomu Lokunikezela ngemvume

Isihloko Socwaningo

Perceptions of UKZN Howard College students regarding 2015 xenophobic attack in Durban, South Africa.

Isimemo sokuzibandakanya: Uyamenywa ukuthi ube ngomunye wabazozibandakanya kulesifundo socwaningo lokuthola imibono yabafundi basesikhungweni semfundo ephakeme i-

Ukzn, Howard college mayelana nezigameko zokuhlaselwa kwabokufika eNingizimu Africa ezenzeka ngonyaka ka-2015.

Inhloso yocwaningo

Inhloso yalolucwaningo ukubheka imibono yabafundi mayelana nenkinga yokuhlaselwa kwabantu abavela kwamanye amazwe eyabhebhetheka ngonyaka ka-2015.

Umgomo: Njengomunye waba zozibandakanya kulolucwaningo uyacelwa ukuba unikezele ngezimpendulo eziliqiniso kuyoyonke imibuzo ozobuzwa yona.

Ubungozi: Kuyenzeka eminye yemibuzo ebuzwayo ingaphathani kahle kwabasuke bebuzwa yona. Kodwa ngizoqinisekisa ukuthi ngikutholela usizo lokwalulekwa uma kwenzeka uzizwa ungaphathekile kahle kweminye yemibuzo ezobuzwa. Ngakho asikho isidingo sokukhathazeka.

Imihlomulo: Akukho mihlomulo eyonikezelwa kwabazoba yingxenye yalolucwaningo. Kodwa ukuba yingxenye yocwaningo kwakho kungakusiza ukuzwakalisa izikhalazo zakho mayelana nezitelela zokunikezelwa kwezidingo zomphakathi.

Ubumfihlo: Lonke ulwazi ozolunikezela luzogcinwa luyimfihlo, akekho omunye ngaphandle kwakho, nami kanye nabaphathi bomcwaningi abayoba nemvume yokufinyelela elwazini ozobe ulinikezele. Kulolucwaningo angeke lisetshenziswe igama lakho uma sekushicilelwa, konke okunikezele kuyogcinwa kuyimfihlo.

Ulwazi olwengeziwe: Ukuba yingxenye yalolucwaningo akuyona impoqo, wonke umuntu uzikhethela yena ukubamba iqhaza. Ngakho uyovumeleka ukushiya nganoma yisiphi isikhathi uma sewuzizwa ungasaphathekile kahle ngokuba yingxenye yalolucwaningo. Unemvume ngasosonke isikhathi yokubuza nganoma yini oyibona ingakukhanyeli kahle mayelana nendlela okuqhutshwa ngayo ucwaningo. Kanti uvumelekile ukuthula ungaphenduli imibuzo oyithola ingakuphathi kahle kulolucwaningo.

Ubude benhlolokhono: Lenhlolokhono yalolucwaningo izothatha isikhathi esicishe sibe ihola lonke. Ngemibuzo okungenzeka ubenayo, ungathintana nabaphathi bocwaningo ezinombolweni zokuxhumana ezinikeziwe ngaphezulu.

Ngabe uyayinikeza imvume yokuthi inkulumo yakho iqoshwe? Yebo

Cha

Ngokusayina ngezansi, uyaqinisekisa ufunde konke okubhaliwe ngokucophelela futhi uyazibophezela ekuzibandakanyeni kulolucwaningo.

Obuzwayo.

Savina	.Usuku
••••••	
Umcwaningi	
Sayina	Usuku
Ngiyabonga kakhulu ngesikhathi sal	xho

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8.3 Appendix c: Interview guide for foreign African students

Topic: Perceptions of the UKZN Howard college postgrad students regarding 2015 xenophobic attacks in Durban, South Africa.

Ethical clearance number; HSS/2179/017M

- 1. What is your highest qualification?
- 2. What is your country of birth?
- 3. How long have you been to South Africa?
- 4. How would you define Migration in your opinion?
- 5. How would you define illegal Migration in your opinion?
- 6. How would you define xenophobia?
- 7. What is the relationship between xenophobia and illegal migration?
- 8. What do you think were the main causes of xenophobic attacks?
- 9. What do you think was the impact of xenophobic attacks on the well-being of the Durban population?
- 10. How xenophobic attack did affect the economy of Durban Metro?
- 11. How would you comment on the effectiveness of migration policies in South Africa?
- 12. What do you can be done to improve the effectiveness of migration policies in this country?
- 13. What do you think the South African government should do to ensure xenophobic attacks never happen?
- 14. What do you think is the role of community members in reducing xenophobia?

8.4 Appendix D: Interview guide for South African students

Topic: Perceptions of the UKZN Howard college postgrad students regarding 2015 xenophobic attacks in Durban, South Africa.

Ethical clearance number; HSS/2179/017M

- 1. What is your highest qualification?
- 2. What is your country of birth?
- 3. How would you define Migration in your opinion?
- 4. How would you define an illegal immigration in your opinion?
- 5. How would you define xenophobia?
- 6. What is the relationship between xenophobia and illegal migration?
- 7. What do you think were the main causes of xenophobic attacks in Durban Metro?
- 8. What do you think was the impact of xenophobic attacks on the well-being of the Durban population?
- 9. How xenophobic attack did affect the economy of Durban Metro?
- 10. How would you comment on the effectiveness of migration policies in South Africa?
- 11. What do you think can be done to improve the effectiveness of migration policies in this country?
- 12. What do you think the South African government should do to ensure xenophobic attacks never happen?
- 13. What do you think is the role of community members in reducing xenophobia?

8.5 Appendix E: Imibuzo yocwaningo yabafundi base-Afrikha

Isihloko Socwaningo: Perceptions of the UKZN Howard College students regarding 2015 xenophobic attack in Durban, South Africa.

Inombolo ye-ethical clearance: HSS/2179/017M

- 1. Yiziphi iziqu eziphezulu zemfundo onazo?
- 2. Yiliphi izwe owazalelwa kulona?
- 3. Sewunesikhathi esingakanani waqala ukuhlala eNingizimu Africa?
- 4. Ngokuqonda kwakho, ungakuchaza kanjani ukufuduka?
- 5. Ungakuchaza kanjani ukufuduka okungekho emthethweni?
- 6. Ungakuchaza ngokuthini ukucwaswa kwabantu bokufika?
- 7. Yikuphi ukuxhumana phakathi kokucwaswa kwabokufika Kanye nokufuduka ngokungemthetho?
- 8. Kungabe ucabanga ukuthi kwaba yini imbangela yokucwaswa kwabokufika endaweni yaseThekwini?
- 9. Kungabe uyini futhi wabangakanani umthelela wokucwaswa kwabokufika endaweni yaseThekwini?
- 10. Kungabe ucabanga ukuthi wabangakanani umthelela wokucwaswa kwabokufika ekukhuliseni umnotho waseThekwini?
- 11. Kungabe ucabanga ukuthi lemithetho yokufuduka ebekiwe ukuqondisa ukufuduka kwabantu yanele ukugwema ukucwaseka kwabokufika kulelizwe?
- 12. Yikuphi ocabanga ukuthi kungnziwa ukuphucula izinga lokusebenza kwemithetho yokufuduka yaseNingizimu Afrika?
- 13. Yikuphi ocabanga ukuthi okungenziwa uhulumeni ukunciphisa ukucwaswa kwabokufika?
- 14. Yiliphi iqhaza elidlalwa umphakathi ukugwema ukucwaswa kwabokufika?

8.6 Appendix F: Imibuzo yocwaningo yabafundi base-Ningizimu Africa

Isihloko Socwaningo: Perceptions of the UKZN Howard College students regarding 2015 xenophobic attack in Durban, South Africa.

Inombolo ye-ethical clearance: HSS/2179/017M

- 1. Yiziphi iziqu eziphezulu zemfundo onazo?
- 2. Yiliphi izwe owazalelwa kulona?
- 3. Ngokuqonda kwakho, ungakuchaza kanjani ukufuduka?
- 4. Ungakuchaza kanjani ukufuduka okungekho emthethweni?
- 5. Ungakuchaza ngokuthini ukucwaswa kwabantu bokufika?
- 6. Yikuphi ukuxhumana okukhona phakathi kokucwaswa kwabokufika Kanye nokufuduka ngokungemthetho?
- 7. Kungabe ucabanga ukuthi kwadalwa yini ukucwaswa kwabokufika endaweni yaseThekwini?
- 8. Kungabe uyini futhi wabangakanani umthelela wokucwaswa kwabokufika endaweni yaseThekwini?
- 9. Kungabe ucabanga ukuthi wabangakanani umthelela wokucwaswa kwabokufika ekukhuliseni umnotho waseThekwini?
- 10. Kungabe ucabanga ukuthi lemithetho yokufuduka ebekiwe ukuqondisa ukufuduka kwabantu yanele ukugwema ukucwaseka kwabokufika kulelizwe?
- 11. Yikuphi ocabanga ukuthi kungnziwa ukuphucula izinga lokusebenza kwemithetho yokufuduka yaseNingizimu Afrika?
- 12. Yikuphi ocabanga ukuthi okungenziwa uhulumeni ukunciphisa ukucwaswa kwabokufika?
- 13. Yiliphi iqhaza elidlalwa umphakathi ukugwema ukucwaswa kwabokufika?

8.7 Appendix G: Gate keeper letter

8.8 Appendix G: Ethical clearance letter