

THE STATE OF RE-INTEGRATION OF FOREIGN NATIONALS
IN
VHEMBE DISTRICT IN LIMPOPO PROVINCE



A report prepared

By

Prof J. Francis, Mr L. Monyahi, T. Chitapa and B. Kilonzo

2009

SUMMARY

The xenophobia attacks on foreign nationals took place and have subsided. However, research findings are that South Africa needs to move swiftly to start engaging all stakeholders before another wave of violent attacks resurfaces. In a study carried out in Makhado Municipality of Vhembe District, on issues relating to xenophobia, locals and foreign nationals were engaged separately. The questionnaire developed covered seven specific themes, viz, signs of xenophobia; causes of xenophobia; experiences with xenophobia; ways of preventing xenophobia; re-integration of foreign nationals; successes of the integration process; failures of the integration process as well as other ways to improve the re-integration.

The findings were that responses of the locals and foreign nationals were almost similar in all the categories of responses. On the signs of xenophobia, category of responses were from discrimination; conflict and tensions, ill-treatment and abuses; beliefs; misconceptions and allegations. However, there were no significant differences due to respondent's sex. On causes of xenophobia, responses were categorized into allegations and abuse of immigrants and unemployment challenges. Locals and foreign nationals were in agreement on most related issues. There were areas where the level of agreement between the foreign nationals and locals were to a lesser extent. Responses on the experience with xenophobia were also divided into crime-related; discrimination; resources; abuse and health. In most cases locals and foreign nationals differed on the extent to which they agreed. On ways of preventing xenophobia, all the responses were grouped into two categories, viz, government intervention and social cohesion. Locals and foreign nationals agreed on nearly all perceived ways of presenting xenophobia. The two groups were in agreement on perceived ways of re-integration. On whether the integration was successful, foreign nationals agreed but to a lesser extent than locals. Additional evidence on not successful as some foreign nationals continued to live in the bush were also raised. Other views expressed were in support of successful integration. On what else should be done to improve re-integration. The responses were categorized into three groups namely the roles of government, society and foreign nationals. The proportion of foreign nationals and locals who confirmed the views were very high.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

SUMMARY.....	2
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	3
LIST OF TABLES.....	5
LIST OF FIGURES.....	6
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	7
1 INTRODUCTION ON XENOPHOBIA IN SOUTH AFRICA.....	8
1.1 Background.....	8
2 DEFINING XENOPHOBIA.....	9
3 PURPOSE AND OBJECTIVES.....	10
4 DESCRIPTION OF THE STUDY AREAS.....	10
4.1 Watervaal.....	10
4.2 Vleifontein.....	11
4.3 Mpheni.....	11
4.4 Shirley.....	12
5 METHODOLOGY FOR THE STUDY.....	12
5.1 Research Design and Sampling Procedures.....	12
5.1.1 Phase 1: Social preparation for implementation.....	13
6 FINDINGS OF THE STUDY.....	16
6.1 Description of Survey Respondents.....	16
6.2 Signs of Xenophobia.....	17
6.3 Causes of Xenophobia.....	19
6.4 Experiences with Xenophobia.....	22
<u>Table 3 Experiences with xenophobia in some areas of Makhado Municipality, Vhembe District of Limpopo Province.....</u>	24
6.5 Ways in which Xenophobia can be Prevented.....	24
6.6 Re-integration of Foreign Nationals.....	25
6.7 Was Integration Successful?.....	28
6.8 What else should be done to Improve Re-integration?.....	31
7 COMMENTS ON FINDINGS OF THE SURVEY.....	32
7.1 Perception that Foreigners are a Physical Threat.....	32

7.2 Perception that Foreigners are an Economic Threat.....	33
7.3 Foreigners as a Service Delivery Scapegoat.....	34
7.4 Perception that Foreigners might take over the Country.....	34
7.5 Lack of Information on Foreigners and their Rights.....	34
7.6 Ethnic Mistrust.....	34
7.7 Role of the Media in Heightening Xenophobic Tensions.....	35
7.8 Manifestation of Xenophobia.....	35
8 CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS.....	37
9 REFERENCES.....	39

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1 Perceived signs of xenophobia in some parts of Makhado Municipality in Vhembe District, Limpopo Province.....	18
Table 2 Causes of xenophobia in some parts of Vhembe District.....	21
Table 3 Experiences with xenophobia in some areas of Makhado Municipality, Vhembe District of Limpopo Province.....	24
Table 4 How xenophobia can be prevented in affected parts of Makhado Municipality in Vhembe District, Limpopo Province.....	26
Table 5 Evidence of unsuccessful re-integration of foreign nationals post-xenophobic attacks?.	29
Table 6 Ways of improving re-integration of foreign nationals.....	33

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1 Step by step approach used to carry out the situational analysis of xenophobia in some parts of Makhado Municipality, Limpopo Province.....	15
Figure 2 Proportions of survey respondents per study area in Vhembe District of Limpopo Province.....	16
Figure 3 Proportions of survey respondents per age group, Vhembe District of Limpopo Province	17
Figure 4 Measures taken to re-integrate foreign nationals in Vhembe District, Limpopo Province	27
Figure 5 Evidence of successful re-integration of foreign nationals in some parts of Makhado Municipality in Vhembe District, Limpopo Province.....	30

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The authors are greatly indebted to the residents of Mpheni, Shirley, Vleifontein and Waterval for participating in this survey. The hard work demonstrated by University of Venda students and some youth from the study areas deserve special recognition, for without their hard work, dedication and commitment we would not have successfully collected the data we used to construct this report.

Thank you to SAYVON for having faith and belief in our ability to undertake this survey. We are grateful to the Norwegian People's Aid (NPA) for financial support, without which this work would not have been possible.

1 INTRODUCTION ON XENOPHOBIA IN SOUTH AFRICA

1.1 Background

In May 2008 a wave of shockingly violent attacks hit South Africa. This took place mainly around Johannesburg and some parts of Gauteng Province. The attacks began in Alexandra, which is one of the biggest townships in Johannesburg. Some reports indicated that provinces such as Mpumalanga, Kwa-Zulu Natal and North West Provinces were similarly affected. The violent attacks mainly targeted foreign nationals although some local citizens coming from other provinces, particularly Limpopo were attacked as well.

At least 50 people were killed and although there are conflicting reports, about 16 000-25 000 people were displaced (Human Science Research Council: HSRC, 2008). Out of this number, 10 000 took refuge in police stations across Gauteng Province. Black people constituted the majority of the people who were displaced and killed. More than 550 people were injured and 520 suspected perpetrators were arrested. The situation was so serious that the state was forced to house victims of violent attacks in some temporal refugee camps across Gauteng province, which was the hardest hit.

The media defined the attacks as *xenophobic attacks*. On the other hand, the South African government viewed the attacks as *criminal* and orchestrated by a "**third force**" that wanted to discredit the government ahead of the 2009 elections. In an attempt to deal with the *crisis* the government deployed the army to support the South Africa Police Services.

Social commentators and analysts blamed the attacks on the South African government, arguing that it failed to put proactive measures in place to deal with the attacks. There are also claims that the government knew about the attacks and just did not take any action. Civil society organizations, particularly the South African Race Relations Institute went further to blame the government for policy failures that led to socio-economic decline.

Former Cabinet minister, Kader Asmal, called upon the government to declare an amnesty for migrants who were in the country without legal documents. Subsequently, the government granted special temporary permits to most of the victims.

The intensity and scale of the xenophobic attacks raised a number of urgent questions. Why were African migrants the targets of violence, especially in informal settlements? How do we explain the timing, location and scale of the outbreaks? Was this sudden and unexpected? What were the causes of this violence?

A study conducted by the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) in June 2008 recommended re-integration as a way of ensuring that people from other countries were accepted in communities within South Africa. The major challenge with the strategy was buy-in from both the victims and communities they came from. Some victims felt it was difficult to move back to communities that once saw them as a source of their pain, loss and dehumanizing suffering. As such it was difficult for people to trust and feel safe again.

In November 2009, The South Africa Young Voices Network (SAYVON) in collaboration with the University of Venda's Centre for Rural Development and Poverty Alleviation (CRDPA) carried out a study designed to investigate the extent to which re-integration of foreign nationals was carried out. The study was carried out in some parts of Vhembe District and sought to assess the effectiveness of the re-integration of foreign nationals and what could be done to prevent future attacks.

2 DEFINING XENOPHOBIA

The word xenophobia is derived from the Greek words '*xeno*', meaning stranger or foreigner, and '*phobia*', meaning fear. In simple terms, it refers to an unreasonable fear and dislike of foreigners or strangers.

Quite often more difficult economic situations precipitate higher levels of intolerance and xenophobia. Even though this is the case, there is no direct correlation between economic downturn and high levels of xenophobia.

Xenophobia is not only a phenomenon in post-colonial states with transitional economies. Even well developed states with strong historical democratic traditions are not necessarily immune. Many xenophobic slogans have been used in recent years in electoral campaigns in Austria, Italy, Denmark and the Netherlands. A similar trend was also evident even in France, which is regarded as a 'trendsetter' of high standards of political culture and equality. Support for the xenophobic Le Pen increased. Thus, xenophobia should not be reduced to a simplistic explanation such as a 'growing competition for scarce economic and social resources'. Xenophobia manifests differently and its targets depend heavily on which element of a person's identity is regarded as determinant or important in a given society. For instance, hostile feelings towards those who practice other religions is expected to be more intensive if 'belief' is declared one of the most important elements of a person's identity. In addition, if the society's division goes along linguistic lines, then linguistic minorities become targets of xenophobia.

Therefore, it can be argued that xenophobia is a latent dreading of foreigners or strangers or people from other groups. Social (culture shock), economic (unemployment) or political crisis (transition) situation that helps initiate an ethnic identity climax inspires xenophobia.

3 PURPOSE AND OBJECTIVES

The purpose of this report is to present the findings of situational analysis on xenophobia carried out in Mpheni, Shirley, Vleifontein and Waterval areas of Makhado Municipality in Vhembe District of Limpopo Province. It focused on the following dimensions of xenophobia: Signs:

- a) Causes;
- b) Experiences;
- c) Prevention; and
- d) Re-integration of foreign nationals (approaches used; evidence of success; and other ways of improving re-integration).

4 DESCRIPTION OF THE STUDY AREAS

This study targeted the communities of Mpheni, Shirley Watervaal, and Vleifontein located in Makhado Municipality's Wards 16, 17, 19 and 20, respectively.

4.1 Watervaal

Watervaal is a peri-urban community located ± 25 km away from Louis Trichardt town and ± 125 km to the north of Polokwane, the Provincial capital of Limpopo Province. Louis Trichardt town provides employment to most residents who do their trades in shops, followed by Elim (Hubyeni Shopping Mall) where considerable economic activities take place.

The total population of the Watervaal is 10 446 (Statistics South Africa: STATSA, 2001). More than half of the population are young people. It is a diverse community with a diverse blend of people with wide linguistic backgrounds, namely Venda, Shangaan, Northern Sotho and some Afrikaans. Watervaal is also a home to a handful number of foreign nationals (both legal and illegal immigrants). The majority of them (there are no reliable statistics) come from neighbouring Zimbabwe.

The South African National Civic Organization (SANCO), which is an umbrella body of all organizations, leads the community. All organizations in the community, including SANCO are supposed to report to the Ward Committee, which the Ward Councillor chairs.

4.2 Vleifontein

Vleifontein is located ±35 km to the south east of Louis Trichardt town. It is located along the D4 road that connects Levubu/Thohoyandou to the N1. Vleifontein and Watervaal possess similar characteristics because they are both townships. Also, they have a similar history because they were established in 1982 after their forced removal from Tshikota township. Shanghaan speaking people were banished to Watervaal, with Venda speakers being confined to Vleifontein. Today, Vleifontein is home to Shanghaan, Venda, Northern Sotho and Coloured communities who now speak all the languages commonly used locally. This community is a home to 4 774 residents. There is a large number of foreign nationals in this area, although there are no up to date statistics on their actual population.

The leadership of SANCO is the highest decision making body. It presides over monthly consultation forums involving all organizations in the area. Community participation continues to decrease considerably, mainly due to political differences in the community.

Residents are largely employed in shops in Louis Trichardt town. A tiny fraction works in the Elim Hubyeni Shopping Mall. A considerable proportion of the residents depend on social grants.

Vleifontein resembles an island since it has no land for expansion. There is a lot of infrastructural development in the community. It consists of a primary and secondary school, post office, Municipal office, South Africa Police Services (SAPS) satellite station, more than 5 crèches (with one having decent infrastructure), clinic, community hall, tennis court (incorporating a basket ball court), soccer stadium and many shops, liquor stores, a filling station and a garage, and spaza shops. Many of its streets are tarred. There are street lights although they are poorly maintained.

Peace Africa Youth Centre-Vleifontein is a community-based organization that works with schools in Makhado Municipality. The organisation also deals with xenophobia-related issues. It reaches young people, mainly in schools and also out of school.

4.3 Mpheni

Mpheni is a huge community which is connected directly to Elim Hubyeni Shopping Mall. Elim Hospital and is found in this area, which is 22 km away from Louis Trichardt town. There are more than 10 270 people in Mpheni. Some foreign nationals also reside in this area.

Venda-speaking people are predominant, although there are Shangaan speakers also. Both the Traditional Leadership Council and SANCO are quite strong. As a result, SANCO controls one part of Mpheni (Makhakhi and vhotuwa nga Dzebu). In contrast, the Traditional Leadership Council controls Blocks A, B and C. Other community-based organizations in this area contribute to the development of the community and are aligned to both the Traditional Leadership Council and SANCO. This community is unique in that it is spread widely.

Makombandlela Youth Movement (a SAYVON member organisation) is located in Mpheni. This organisation focuses on sexual and reproductive health. There is need for pointing out that it does not focus directly on xenophobia.

4.4 Shirley

Shirley is found in Ward 17 of Makhado Municipality. It is a rural area located \pm 25 km away from Louis Trichardt town. The residents of this area are mainly Shangaan-speaking people. Shops found in Hubyeni complex (found in Elim) and Louis Trichardt town create employment opportunities for most residents. There is limited infrastructural development. Schools and the Traditional Leadership Council office are the only ones that are well built. Shirley is home to more than 3 745 residents.

A very strong Traditional Leadership Council exists and works closely with the local Ward Councillor. All the organizations in the community report directly to the Traditional Leadership Council. Few foreign nationals reside in this community. Most of them stay with people who employ them.

5 METHODOLOGY FOR THE STUDY

5.1 Research Design and Sampling Procedures

The survey was implemented in six phases (Figure 1). These were the following:

- a) Phase 1 – Social preparation;
- b) Phase 2 – Qualitative, exploratory survey;
- c) Phase 3 – Development of formal survey questionnaire;
- d) Phase 4 – Administration of formal survey questionnaire;
- e) Phase 5 – Data coding, entry, cleaning and storage; and
- f) Phase 6 – Data analysis and report writing.

5.1.1 Phase 1: Social preparation for implementation

Phase 1 of this survey started with a meeting between the Centre for Rural Development and Poverty Alleviation (CRDPA) at the University of Venda and the President of SAYVON. This meeting discussed the possibility of undertaking a rapid study on the various dimensions of xenophobia described above. It was agreed that there was a need for further engagement to cement the study. This meeting paved the way for engagement of SAYVON member organizations that would play a leading role in carrying out the survey.

A meeting was held with SAYVON member organizations. It was held to debrief them on the planned survey. Also, the meeting sought to secure their support and active participation. Three (3) of the five (5) member organizations affiliated to SAYVON participated in this workshop. The workshop, which was held on 16 November 2009, resolved that each member organization would appoint two representatives who would participate in the study. The CRDPA facilitated the workshop together with the President of SAYVON. As agreed, the required field workers were recruited.

The CRDPA designed the research facilitation plan and prepared data collection tools. A training workshop was held on 18 November 2009 at Acacia Park in Thohoyandou. This was done to orientate, train and prepare the field workers in order to ensure effective and quality data collection. Ten (10) field workers from all the five (5) organizations affiliated to SAYVON were trained.

Data collection

The sensitive nature of the study on xenophobia necessitated organizing separate engagement platforms for foreign nationals and locals. It was assumed that this would create an enabling environment for the participant groups to express themselves more freely.

Two data collection workshops were held in each of the following areas: Watervaal, Mpheni, Vleifontein and Shirley. The first workshops involved foreign nationals in their respective area of residence. In workshop 2, locals participated. The initial plan was that the perceptions of the following groups would be solicited: children; in-school and out of

school youth; men; women; the elderly and community leaders. However, because schools were open, it proved impossible to engage children. The trained field workers facilitated the data collection process, with CRDPA providing supervisory support and intellectual direction. Reflection circles were adopted as the most ideal technique for data collection and were anchored on the following fundamental open-ended questions:

Phase 1 – Social preparation

- Preparatory meetings
- Agreement on approach to use in the survey
- Orientation and training of recruited field workers



Phase 2 – Qualitative, exploratory survey

- Use of semi-structured interview guide with open-ended questions (Appendix 1)
 - Workshop 1: Reflection circles held with foreign nationals
 - Workshop 2: Reflection circles held with local community members and leaders
 - Consolidation of results from workshops 1 and 2



Phase 3 – Development of formal survey questionnaire

- Use of consolidated results from phase 2 with closed-ended questions requiring answers on Likert-type scale
- Translation of questionnaire into Shangaan and Tshivenda
- Training of field workers and pre-testing questionnaire

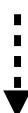


Phase 4 – Administration of formal survey questionnaire

- Random sampling of foreign nationals and locals
- Questionnaire administered to randomly sampled respondents in each of the four study areas



Phase 5 – Data coding, entry, cleaning and storage



Phase 6 – Data analysis and report writing

- Use of Statistical Package for Scientists (SPSS); Descriptive statistics; Hypothesis testing

Figure 1 Step by step approach used to carry out the situational analysis of xenophobia in some parts of Makhado Municipality, Limpopo Province

- a) What are the signs of xenophobia?
- b) What are some of the causes of xenophobia?
- c) How can xenophobia be prevented?
- d) What are some of the experiences during xenophobic attacks
- e) How were foreign nationals re-integrated
- f) Was the integration successful?
- g) What else do you believe should be done to improve integration?

The results of both exploratory studies from the four areas and involving foreign nationals and locals were consolidated and used to develop a formal survey questionnaire. Because of the low levels of literacy in the study areas and in order to ensure that there was a common understanding of the issues, the questionnaire was translated into Shangaan and Tshivenda. A one day workshop was held to train the enumerators or field workers. Another purpose of this workshop was to provide the field workers an opportunity for them to share their experiences in the previous engagements before being orientated on art of administering the structured questionnaire.

It was agreed during this workshop that the formal questionnaire would be administered to the following categories of community members: male youth; female youth; men; women; and community leaders. The target was to sample 250 respondents per each of these cohorts, implying that the target sample size was $250 \times 5 = 1250$ locals. On the other hand, since the number of foreign nationals was not known, it was desirable to administer the questionnaire to those who expressed interest in participating in the study.

Data coding, entry, cleaning and storage

Five postgraduate students coded, entered and stored the data as MS Excel spreadsheets. The data were then imported into the Statistical Package for Social Scientists (SPSS) for analysis. After cleaning and deletion of outliers, 1178 questionnaires were usable. Thus, the results presented below are based on these questionnaires.

6 FINDINGS OF THE STUDY

6.1 Description of Survey Respondents

As reported above, the perceptions of 1 178 foreign nationals and locals residing in Vleifontein, Shirley, Mpheni and Waterval are presented here. Eighty-four percent of these were locals and the remainder, foreign nationals. Figure 2 shows the relative contribution of each of the four areas to the number of participants.

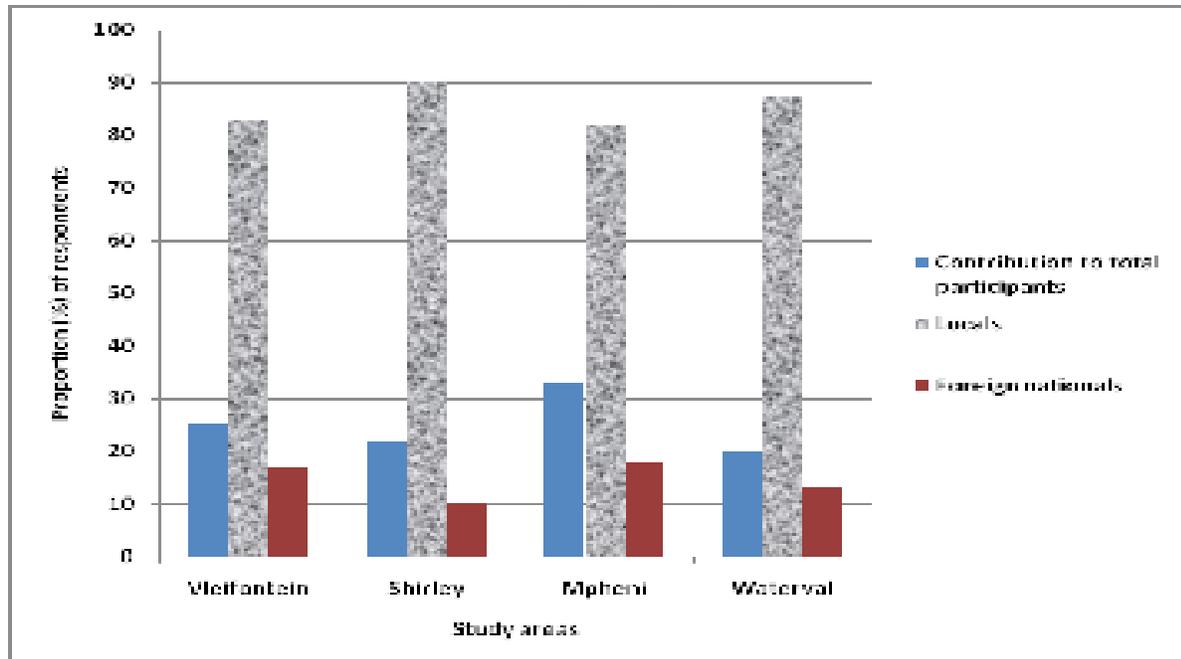


Figure 2 Proportions of survey respondents per study area in Vhembe District of Limpopo Province

On the basis of age (see Figure 3), almost 83% of the respondents were young. Specifically, those less than 18 years old were the majority (37%), followed by 19-25 years (28%). However, the distribution of the respondents by sex of individuals was almost the same (51% males vs 49% females).

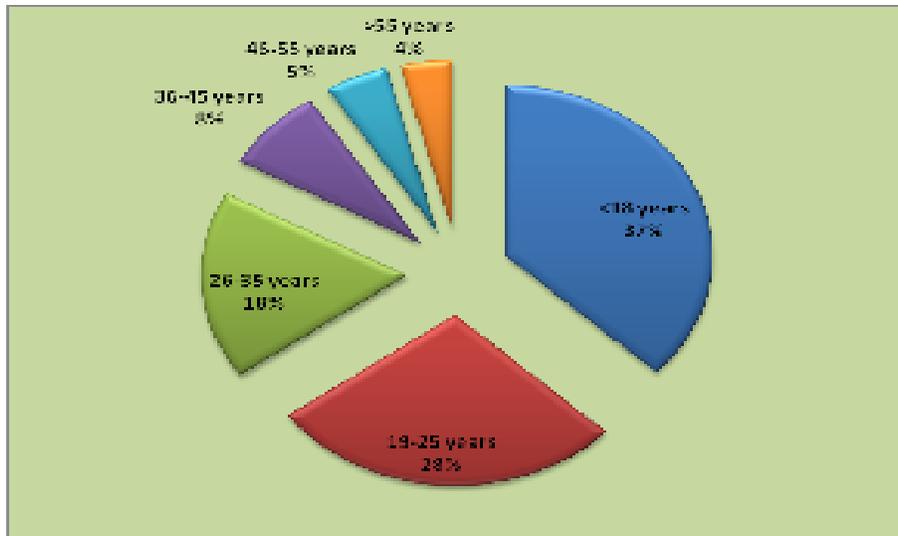


Figure 3 Proportions of survey respondents per age group, Vhembe District of Limpopo Province

6.2 Signs of Xenophobia

Table 1 presents the results on the signs of xenophobia as perceived by the respondents. They fell into the following categories: discrimination; conflicts and tensions; beliefs, misconceptions and allegations; and ill-treatment and abuse.

Overall, the perceptions of locals and foreign nationals on what constituted signs of xenophobia were the same. However, when compared the views of foreign nationals, a significantly higher proportion of locals agreed that one major sign was that *foreign nationals do not respect local community members*. There were no significant differences in perceptions between male and female respondents on all the signs of xenophobia.

An almost equal proportion of locals (93%) and foreign nationals (94 %) agreed that *foreign nationals are given derogatory names* was one of the many signs of xenophobia. Also, they agreed that foreign nationals were discriminated against (90% for locals and 94% for foreign nationals).

With respect to the perception that *foreign nationals are exploited, since they are exposed to dangerous work and are then paid little money*, 89% of locals and 92% of foreign nationals were in agreement. About 82% locals and 84% foreign nationals agreed that *local community members attack foreign nationals*. On the perception that *foreign nationals work and are usually not paid*, the proportions of both groups that agreed were 75% and 82%, respectively. Locals (71%) and foreign nationals (77%) both felt that *foreign nationals are denied jobs because they are non South Africans*. Also, almost three-quarters of locals (74%)

and foreign nationals (72%) reported that *they are chased out of their rented rooms after paying rent*.

With respect to the perception that *foreign nationals are oppressed and used as slaves*, 77% of locals as opposed to 80% of foreign nationals were in agreement. There was a significant difference in perception between locals (60%) and foreign nationals (74%) in the perception that *foreign nationals are accused of taking people's wives*. Regarding *foreigners are given heavy jobs without tools* there was no significant difference in perception between locals (73%) and foreign nationals (74%). Almost 68% of locals and 71% of foreign nationals revealed that *foreign nationals are sometimes given rotten food*. Also, the perceptions of foreign nationals (85%) and locals (83%) with respect to *foreign nationals are excluded from local community meetings* were similar. The proportion of foreign nationals (62%) who agreed with the perception that *foreign nationals do not respect local community members* was significantly lower than that of locals (75%).

Table 1 Perceived signs of xenophobia in some parts of Makhado Municipality in Vhembe District, Limpopo Province

Perception	% respondents agreeing		Significance level
	Locals	Foreign nationals	
1. Discrimination			
Locals discriminate against foreign nationals	90	94	ns
Foreign nationals are excluded from community meetings	83	85	ns
Foreign nationals are denied jobs because they are non-South Africans	71	77	ns
2. Conflicts and tensions			
Local community members attack foreign nationals	82	84	ns
Conflicts and tensions at work place linked to country of origin	82	78	ns
Some people carry dangerous weapons (e.g. fire arms, carry knobs)	82	84	ns
Locals and foreign nationals often fight	82	77	*
3. Beliefs, misconceptions and allegations			
Foreign nationals are accused of taking people's wives	60	74	*
Foreign nationals do not respect local community members	75	62	***
Foreign nationals are accused of committing criminal offences e.g. robbery	86	83	ns
4. Ill-treatment and abuse			

Foreign national are sometimes given rotten food	68	71	ns
Foreign nationals are oppressed and are also used as slaves	77	80	ns
Foreign nationals are given heavy jobs without tools	73	74	ns
Foreign nationals work and are usually not paid	75	82	ns
Foreign nationals are chased out of their rented houses after paying rent	74	72	ns
Foreign nationals are called names	93	94	ns
Foreign nationals are exploited: they are exposed to dangerous work and are then paid little money	89	92	ns
Foreign nationals are usually denied accommodation	76	76	ns

*significantly different perceptions; ** and *** = Highly significant differences; ns= not significant difference

About 82% of local respondents and 77% foreign nationals concurred with the view that *locals and foreigners often fight* was a sign of xenophobia. Further, there was no difference (86% of locals and 83%, foreign nationals) regarding the view that *foreign nationals are accused of committing criminal offences e.g. robbery*. Similar results (82% for locals and 84%, foreign nationals) were obtained for the perception that *some people carry dangerous weapons (e.g. fire arms, knobkerries)*. About 82% of locals and 78% of foreign nationals agreed with the view that *conflicts and tensions at work place are linked to country of origin*. The same proportion (76%) of locals and foreigners confirmed that *foreign nationals are usually denied accommodation*.

6.3 Causes of Xenophobia

The causes of xenophobia identified in this study can be divided into two groups, namely allegations and abuse of immigrants (Table 2). Allegations were further sub-divided into involvement in crime; competition for services and unemployment challenges. Abuse was sub-divided into victims of cheap labour and social issues.

Under the category ‘involvement in crime’, about a third of foreign nationals agreed that *foreign nationals fight to kill*; “*South Africans fear that the foreigners will take away their country*” as well as “*foreign nationals steal the belongings of locals*”. In statistical terms, the observed proportions of foreign nationals who agreed with the three perceptions stated above were very much lower than those for locals. Other perceptions where highly significant differences were detected between locals and foreign nationals were: *crime rates are worsening and are committed by foreigners*; *foreign nationals do not have proper identification documents*; and *locals think that foreign nationals are rapists*. There were yet more significant differences between locals and foreign nationals with respect to agreeing with the perception that: *locals are vandalizing property belonging to foreign nationals*; and

on allegations that *foreign nationals are murdering locals*. A significantly larger proportion of male than female respondents agreed with the perception that *South Africans fear that foreign nationals will take their country*.

Table 2 Causes of xenophobia in some parts of Vhembe District

Perception	% of respondents		Significance level
	Locals	Foreign nationals	
Allegations			
a) Involvement in crime			
South Africans fear that the foreigners will take away their country	86	68	***
Foreign nationals fight to kill	82	68	***
Belief that crime rates are worsening and foreigners commit them	81	58	***
Foreign nationals do not have proper identification documents	87	77	***
Locals think foreign nationals are rapists	80	62	***
Community members get power from their Chiefs and police to attack foreign nationals	74	69	ns
Vandalizing property belonging to foreign nationals	81	71	**
Allegations that foreign nationals are murdering locals	84	70	**
Foreign nationals steal the belongings of locals	81	68	***
b) Competition for services			
Food prices have increased because of foreign nationals.	72	46	***
Cultural beliefs, people's background and the way we have been raised and treated	80	59	***
Foreign nationals do not pay tax	85	73	*
Foreign nationals are taking RDP houses meant for locals	75	54	***
Overcrowding	83	75	**
Corruption	83	81	ns
Government is not delivering enough services for all communities and locals do not want to share what they have with foreign nationals	83	74	ns
c) Unemployment challenges			
Foreign nationals take jobs meant for locals	85	65	***
South Africans lack jobs yet foreigners are employed	79	59	***
Foreign nationals know too many jobs	85	79	ns
Unemployment	84	75	**
Some local people want money but they do not want to work for it	83	87	ns
Abuse			
a) Victims of cheap labour			
Foreign nationals provide cheap labour since they work for low pay	88	79	*
Foreign nationals are not paid after doing assigned work	78	73	ns
Lack of adequate education	79	76	ns
b) Social issues			
Hunger	86	71	***
Discrimination	85	82	
Locals believe foreigners are witches and wizards	77	56	***
Local communities and foreign nationals fail to understand each other	85	77	*
Foreigners speak languages that are different from ours	85	75	*
Foreign nationals are involved in illicit love affairs with local women	82	75	*

*significantly different perceptions; ** and *** = Highly significant differences; ns= not significant difference

On the sub category of competition for services, highly significant differences were revealed between locals and foreign nationals on the following: *increase in food prices due foreign nationals; cultural beliefs, people's background and the way we have been raised and treated in the past; foreign nationals are taking over RDP houses meant for us* as causes of xenophobia. The proportion of locals (83%) that agreed that *overcrowding caused xenophobia* was much higher than that of foreign nationals (75%). Also, the proportion of locals (83 %) who believed that this perception triggered xenophobic tendencies was greater than that of foreign nationals (73 %). Another perception was that *foreign nationals do not pay tax*.

On the perception that *foreign nationals take jobs meant for locals*, 85% of locals and 65% of foreign nationals concurred with significant difference between these proportions. The proportion of locals (85%) who believed that *foreign nationals take jobs meant for locals* was much higher than that of foreign nationals. A similar pattern was observed for *South Africa lacks jobs yet foreign nationals are employed* (79% for locals vs 59%, foreign nationals). There was a greater proportion (84%) of locals who agreed that *unemployment causes xenophobia* was greater than that of foreign nationals (75%). However, there were no significant differences in perceptions between locals (85%) and foreign nationals (79%) on the view, *foreign nationals know a lot of jobs*. Also, the proportions of locals (83%) and foreign nationals (87%) on the perception that *locals want money but do not want to work for it*, though numerically different, were statistically similar.

With respect to abuse, a significantly higher proportion of locals (77%) and foreign nationals (56%) agreed that *locals believe foreign nationals are witches and wizards*. A similar pattern was observed for *hunger causes xenophobia*. There were also significant differences in levels of agreement between locals and foreign nationals on the following perceptions:

- a) *foreign nationals provide cheap labour since they work for low pay;*
- b) *locals and foreign nationals fail to understanding each other;*
- c) *foreign nationals speak languages that are different from ours; and*
- d) *foreign nationals engage in illicit love affairs with local women.*

However, there were no significant differences in levels of agreement between locals and foreign nationals with respect to *foreign nationals are not paid after doing assigned work;* and *lack of adequate education causes xenophobia*.

6.4 Experiences with Xenophobia

The experiences relating to experiences with xenophobia can be placed into five distinct categories, namely crime-related, discrimination, resources, abuse and health-related (Table 3). Significant differences were detected on the perception that *people were killed*, with 89% of locals and 95% of foreign nationals concurring. Regarding the perception *people carried dangerous weapons*, a lower proportion of locals (78%) compared to 84% of foreign nationals agreed that this was the case. A highly significant difference was detected on the perception that *crime increased because of foreign nationals*, with 80% locals and 67% foreign nationals agreeing. A significant difference was detected for the perception *people are beaten all the time*, where 88% of locals and 94% of the foreign nationals agreed. However, the perceptions of foreign nationals and locals on the other experiences during xenophobic attacks were similar.

Similar proportions (86%) of locals and foreign nationals agreed that *people's belongings were stolen*. Also, almost the same proportions of locals (87%) and foreign nationals (89%) shared the view that *there was a lot of looting and noise (as people shouted)*. It was also reported that *foreign nationals were raped and the few people who led xenophobic attacks were punished*.

On discrimination related issues, 88% of locals and 87% foreign nationals revealed that *foreign nationals were forced to stay in the bush*. They (85% locals and 90% foreign nationals) also agreed that *locals ill-treated foreign nationals, e.g. discriminated against and were called names*. There was no difference between locals and foreign nationals regarding the perception that *foreign nationals were thrown out of moving trains*. Similar proportions of foreign nationals and locals, i.e. 89% and 85%, respectively confirmed that *foreign nationals were chased out of the community*.

On the issue that *tourists stopped coming to South Africa*, there was no significant difference in levels of agreement between locals (77%) and foreign nationals (75%). They (82% locals and 84% foreign nationals) confirmed that *most foreign nationals lost their jobs and accommodation during xenophobia attacks*. During that time, 86% of locals and 85% of foreign nationals agreed that *foreigners were desperate to accumulate money from locals*. About 91% of the locals were in agreement with 94% of foreign nationals that *property (e.g. shacks, houses) was destroyed*. Approximately, 81% of foreign nationals and 82% of locals agreed that *outbreaks of diseases took place may be as a result of foreign nationals eating from dustbins*.

Table 3 Experiences with xenophobia in some areas of Makhado Municipality, Vhembe District of Limpopo Province

Experiences	Proportion (%) agreeing		Significance level
	Locals	Foreign nationals	
Crime			
People were killed	89	95	***
People's belongings were stolen	86	86	ns
A lot of looting and noise (as people shouted)	87	89	ns
People carried dangerous weapons all the time	78	84	*
Crime increased because of foreign nationals	80	67	***
Foreign nationals were raped	76	77	ns
The few people who led xenophobic attacks were punished	84	85	ns
Discrimination			
Foreign nationals were forced to stay in the bush	88	87	ns
Locals ill-treated foreign nationals e.g. discriminated against and were called names	85	90	ns
Foreign nationals were thrown out of moving trains	84	83	ns
Foreign nationals were chased out of the community	85	89	ns
Resources			
Tourists stopped coming to South Africa	77	75	ns
Most foreign nationals lost their jobs and accommodation	82	84	ns
Foreigners were desperate to accumulate money from locals	86	85	ns
Abuse			
People were beaten all the time	88	94	*
Property (e.g. shacks, houses) was destroyed	91	94	ns
Health			
Outbreaks of diseases	82	81	ns
Foreign nationals ate from dustbins	76	82	ns

*significantly different perceptions; *** = Highly significant differences; ns= no significant difference

6.5 Ways in which Xenophobia can be Prevented

The question asked here was *how can we prevent xenophobia?* The results obtained show that both locals and foreign nationals were in agreement on most of the perceptions than

they disagreed. This was shown by the large proportion of people in agreement, ranging from 77% to 94%. The perceptions were further sub-divided into two sub-groups, namely government interventions and social cohesion (Table 4).

As was the case with most perceptions, the proportions of foreign nationals who agreed with the views in Table 4 were much higher than those of locals. This was particularly so for the following views:

- a) *Foreign nationals should be paid after they complete work assigned to them;*
- b) *Police should help address the problem of xenophobia;*
- c) *Foreign nationals should not break the laws of the country;*
- d) *Foreign nationals should return to their countries of origin;*
- e) *Conduct educational campaigns and workshops for both foreign nationals and South Africans;*
- f) *Church members must address their members;*
- g) *Leaders must make and implement firm decisions;*
- h) *Local people should learn to accept foreign nationals;*
- i) *Foreign nationals should live in peace with patrons or families they stay with;*
- j) *South Africans should respect lives and stop killing foreign nationals;*
- k) *People should be taught that we are all Africans; and*
- l) *Discrimination must be avoided.*

6.6 Re-integration of Foreign Nationals

Both locals and foreign nationals did not differ in virtually all suggested ways of re-integration (Figure 4). *Awareness campaigns, holding workshops and providing food and shelter to affected people* were cited as strategies used to re-integrate foreign nationals. Another measure taken was that *government introduced asylum and work permits*. The respondents were also aware that *refugee camps were opened in Makhado*. Locals (87%) and foreign nationals (81%) were in agreement that *foreign nationals were given back their jobs*. There were no statistically significant differences in all these perceptions between locals and foreign nationals.

Table 4 How xenophobia can be prevented in affected parts of Makhado Municipality in Vhembe District, Limpopo Province

Perception	% of respondents agreeing		Significance level
	Locals	Foreign nationals	
Government intervention			
Foreign nationals should have proper documents	88	92	ns
All people should be paid fair wages or salaries for work done	89	88	ns
Government should intervene	90	91	ns
Foreign workers should be paid after they complete work assigned for them	88	90	**
Police should help to address the problem	89	91	*
Foreign nationals should follow laws of the country	90	92	*
Perpetrators especially those who lead Xenophobic attacks must be punished	88	87	ns
Foreign nationals must be kept in refugee camps, under protection	83	81	ns
Improve political and economic conditions in African countries	84	85	ns
Remove national borders	81	77	ns
Foreign nationals should return to their countries	81	69	***
Laws to protect foreign nationals should be introduced	85	91	ns
Social cohesion			
Give foreigners a place to stay	85	87	ns
Conduct educational campaigns and workshops for both foreign nationals and South Africans	87	89	**
Church leaders must address their members	88	93	***
Leaders must make and implement firm decisions	88	92	*
Foreign nationals should be given separate residential places from locals	78	69	ns
We must living together with foreign nationals in peace	89	94	ns
Foreign nationals should be taught how to live with local people	88	90	ns
Local people should learn to accept foreign nationals	86	92	**
Foreign nationals should live in peace with their patrons or families they stay with	87	93	*
South Africans should respect lives and stop killing foreign nationals	88	92	*
NGOs should play more active roles in prevention of Xenophobia	89	94	ns
People should be taught that we are all Africans	89	92	**
People should forgive each other	88	94	ns
Foreign nationals should be welcomed into the society	88	92	ns
Avoid discrimination	88	92	**

*significantly different perceptions; ** and *** = Highly significant differences; ns= no significant difference

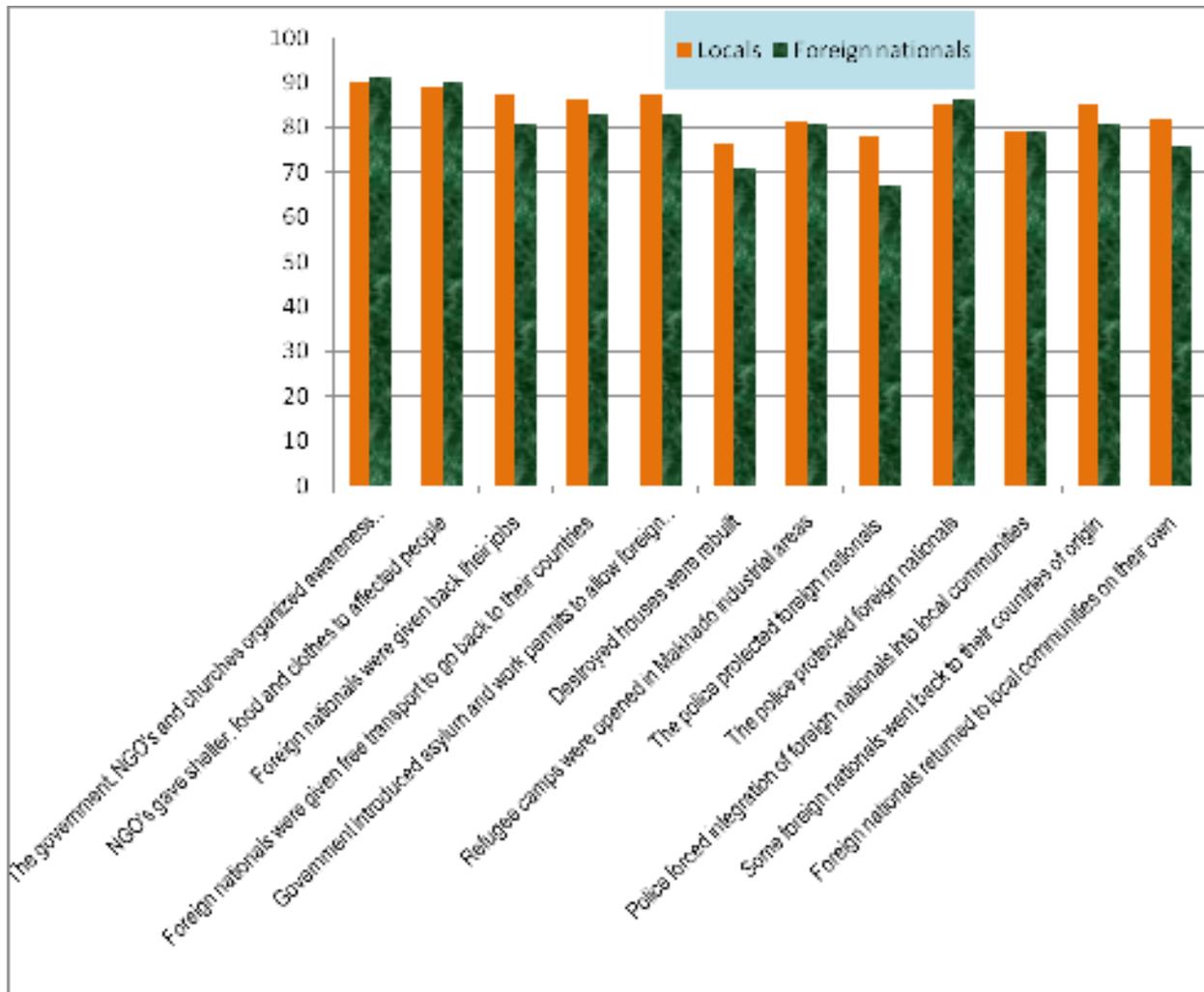


Figure 4 Measures taken to re-integrate foreign nationals in Vhembe District, Limpopo Province

On the role of the police in re-integration, both groups (85% locals and 86% foreign nationals) agreed that *police protected foreign nationals*. Seventy-nine percent of locals and the same proportion of foreign nationals revealed that *the police forced integration of foreign nationals into local communities*.

It was also revealed that *foreign nationals returned to local communities on their own*. In statistical terms, there was no difference between foreign nationals (76%) and locals (82%) in the extent to which they agreed with this view. With respect to *destroyed houses were rebuilt*, 76% of locals and 71% of foreign nationals were in agreement. More than 80% of locals (86%) and foreign nationals (83%) agreed that *foreign nationals were given free transport to go back to their countries of origin*.

6.7 Was Integration Successful?

Mixed answers (Table 6 and Figure 5) were obtained for the question, *was integration successful?* In general, foreign nationals believed to a lesser extent than locals that re-integration was successful. For example, 94% of foreign nationals as opposed to 80% of locals argued that *people are still missing*. Additional evidence to support the view that re-integration was not successful was that *foreign nationals continue to live in the bush and are not yet accepted in the community and foreign nationals were not compensated*. A significantly higher proportion of foreign nationals (92%) compared to locals (80%) noted that *looting of property belonging to foreign nationals is still taking place*. Another significant difference between locals and foreign nationals was detected with respect to *people are still missing*. However, there were no statistically significant differences in the perception that *no enough awareness was created within communities about integrating foreign nationals after the attacks, some foreign nationals' property was not returned; and differences still exist and there is need for improvement*.

Table 5 Evidence of unsuccessful re-integration of foreign nationals post-xenophobic attacks?

Perceptions	% of respondents agreeing		Significance level
	Locals	Foreign nationals	
Locals and foreign nationals still fear living together	89	87	ns
Some people say attacks will start again after the World Cup	78	76	ns
Foreign nationals are still being killed	78	76	ns
Foreign nationals are still underpaid	81	86	ns
Looting of property belonging to foreign nationals is still taking place	80	92	*
No enough awareness was created within communities about integrating foreign nationals after the attacks	86	88	ns
Some foreign nationals' property was not returned	87	90	ns
People are still missing	86	94	**
Differences still exist and there is need for improvement	85	91	ns
There were no attempts made to integrate them	86	79	ns
Foreign nationals were not compensated	83	88	ns
Foreign nationals continue to live in the bush	81	80	ns
Foreign nationals are still being called names and foul language is used against them	86	90	ns
People are still being treated badly because they are foreigners	84	89	ns
Foreign nationals are still being looked down upon or undermined	83	91	ns
Foreign nationals are not yet accepted in the community	80	81	ns

*significantly different perceptions; ** and *** = Highly significant differences; ns= no significant difference

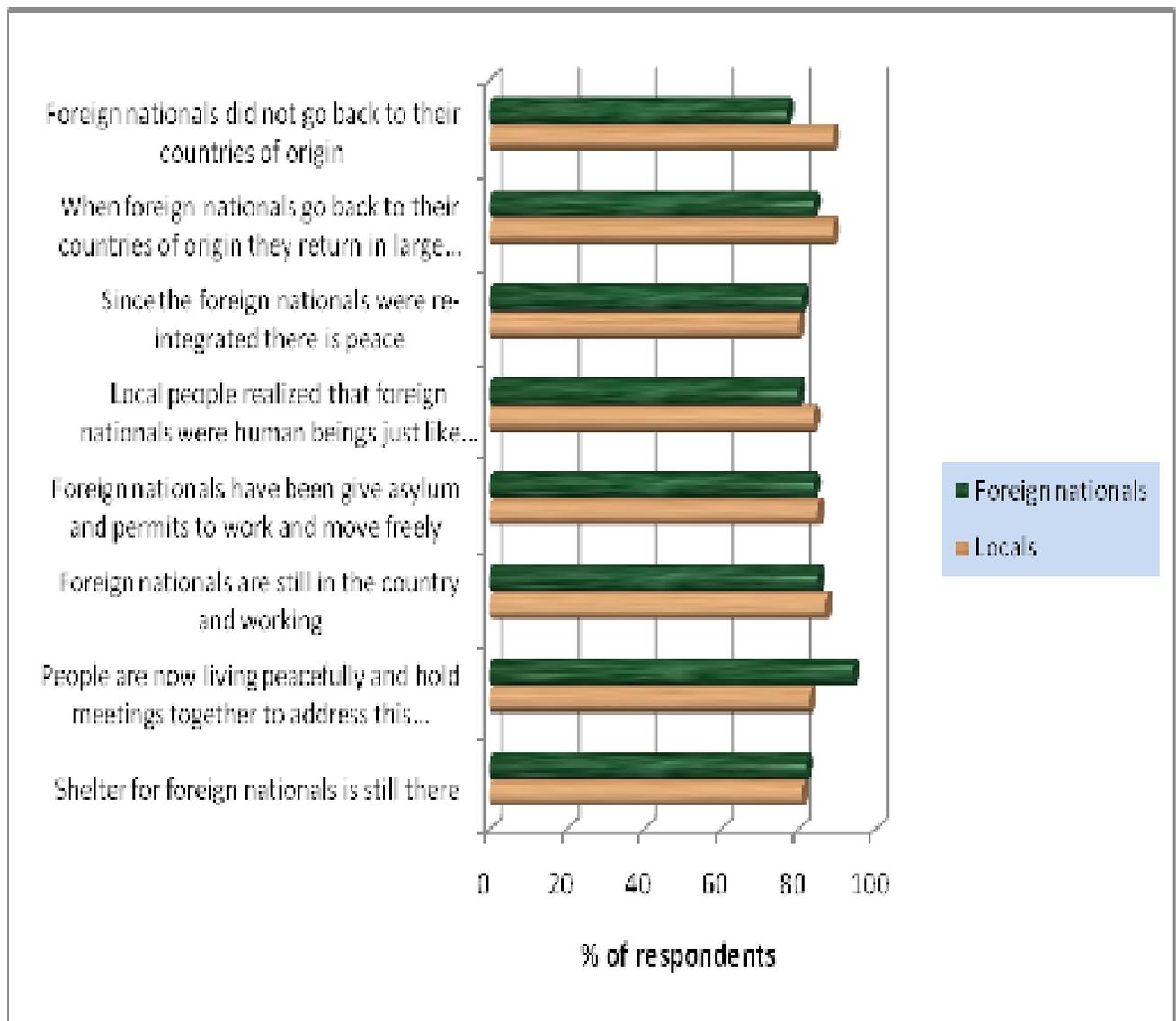


Figure 5 Evidence of successful re-integration of foreign nationals in some parts of Makhado Municipality in Vhembe District, Limpopo Province

Regarding the success of re-integration, the proportions of both foreign nationals and locals agreeing that re-integration was successful were very high. There were no significant differences in perceptions between males and females. A considerably higher proportion of foreign nationals (94%) revealed that *people are now living peacefully and hold meetings to address this problem*. There were no significant differences on all the other remaining items. Other views expressed in support of successful integration were:

- a) *locals have realized that foreign nationals were human just like everyone else;*
- b) *foreign nationals are still in the country and working;*
- c) *when foreign nationals go back to their countries of origin, they return in large numbers;*
- d) *foreign nationals did not go back to their countries of origin;*
- e) *since the foreign nationals were re-integrated there is peace;*
- f) *foreign national have been give asylum and permits to work and move freely; and*
- g) *foreign nationals are still there.*

Other views which reflected persistence of discrimination of foreign nationals were expressed. Male and female respondents concurred. It was revealed that *foreign nationals are not yet accepted in the community; foreign nationals are still being called names and foul language is used against them; and people are still being treated badly because they are foreigners*. There was also unanimous agreement between locals and foreign nationals regarding the fact that *foreign nationals continue to live in the bush*.

6.8 What else should be done to Improve Re-integration?

Table 7 shows the responses to the question: *What else should be done to improve re-integration?* The responses were categorized into three groups, namely the roles of government, society and foreign nationals. As was the case with the perceptions presented in earlier sections of this report, the proportions of both locals and foreign nationals who confirmed the views were very high. A much higher proportion of foreign nationals (94%) compared to locals (89%) believed that *leaders of countries where foreign nationals come from should create jobs for their citizens*. Other perceptions on the role of government

where significant differences were detected between locals and foreign nationals were: *foreign nationals must be chased away*; and *only foreign nationals with relevant skills that are not common in the community should be integrated into the South African society*.

Regarding the role of society, in re-integration of foreign nationals, a significantly large proportion of foreign nationals (90%) as opposed to locals (86%) supported the view that *as Africans we should be united and live in harmony*. Nor were differences detected between male and female respondents for all the other perceptions on the roles of government, society and foreign nationals. Perceptions of locals and foreign nationals on the roles of the latter in ensuring proper re-integration into society were not statistically different.

7 COMMENTS ON FINDINGS OF THE SURVEY

This study has confirmed that the causes of xenophobia are complex and varied. Unfounded myths and stereotypes fuel negative perceptions of foreigners. There are many theories on xenophobic sentiments in the country. They include links to South Africa's racist and segregationist history and extreme levels of poverty. In the following paragraphs these are highlighted.

7.1 Perception that Foreigners are a Physical Threat

Many South Africans fear foreigners because of an assumed link between non-nationals and high crime rate. There is evidence in literature that the media and some politicians have been promoting the assumption that non-nationals are inherently inclined towards criminality. Stories of Nigerian drug lords, Chinese mafia and Zimbabwean car thieves populate public discourse. Empirical data however, suggests that foreigners are a disproportionately small criminal threat in the country. In addition to crime, non-nationals are blamed for the high HIV and AIDS rates in the country, are seen to be 'stealing' South African women and contributing to declining morality. This study has confirmed almost all the perceptions cited above. However, no one blamed them for high HIV and AIDS rates.

Table 6 Ways of improving re-integration of foreign nationals

Perception	% of respondents		Significance level
	Locals	Foreign nationals	
Roles of government			
Conduct campaigns, workshops and imbizos involving the community and foreign nationals	90	94	ns
Establish a refugee office that is accessible to foreign nationals.	89	92	ns
Leaders of countries where foreign nationals come from should create jobs for their citizens	89	94	*
Governments in foreign nationals' countries of origin must play a role in solving the problem	89	92	ns
Government should intervene and arrest perpetrators of xenophobia attacks	88	90	ns
Completed work should be paid for fully and fairly	88	89	ns
Foreign nationals should be paid the same salaries as locals	81	82	ns
Foreign nationals should be given jobs	82	82	ns
Foreign nationals should be given equal rights as those of South Africans	82	86	ns
Foreign national should no be arrested or deported	78	70	ns
Foreign nationals must be chased away	73	60	**
Improve infrastructure to match increasing population	87	88	ns
Foreign nationals must be allowed to join Trade Unions in South Africa	86	89	ns
Foreign national must be allowed to form their own Committees which participate in community decision making forums	86	88	ns
Compile a database for foreign nationals so that they are known	88	87	ns
Only foreign nationals with relevant skills that are not common in the community should be integrated	76	62	**
Role of society			
Locals and foreign nationals should discuss and solve problems together	89	91	ns
As Africans we should be united and live in harmony	86	90	*
Forums involving foreign nationals should be established	89	90	ns
People must respect the law	86	86	ns
There is need for better communication among leaders, the community and foreign nationals	83	82	ns
Different stakeholders must play a role in solving this problem	86	88	ns
Role of foreign nationals			
Foreign nationals must cultivate friendship with locals despite the discrimination	86	89	ns
Foreign nationals should be registered so that their names and numbers are known	82	88	ns
Only professionals should come to South Africa and settle in local communities	75	67	ns

*significantly different perceptions; ** = Highly significant differences; ns= no significant difference

7.2 Perception that Foreigners are an Economic Threat

Quite often, xenophobia is linked to insecurity and fears that uncontrolled migration negatively impacts on the distribution of limited resources and create unwanted economic competition. This study has revealed that foreign nationals are viewed as a threat to South Africans' access to jobs, grants and social services. Given the high unemployment rate of about 30 %, which is likely to be even higher in the studied areas, it is not surprising these fears exist. These fears were even heightened by the perception that migrants were better educated, more experienced and willing to work for lower wages.

7.3 Foreigners as a Service Delivery Scapegoat

South Africa is currently facing invariably violent service delivery protests. Affected communities are increasingly frustrated. Claims that foreigners are burdening the government, as revealed in this study, provide a ready excuse for these shortcomings. This serves as a distraction from the underlying constraints inhibiting service delivery and poverty alleviation.

7.4 Perception that Foreigners might take over the Country

Most migrants coming to South Africa choose the cities as their destination. During the apartheid era, towns and cities were exclusively White. Now there is a 'White flight' to the suburbs, with Black internal migrants replacing them. The convergence of black South African and foreign migrants in densely populated and poor urban areas is giving rise to demands for excluding those without South African citizenship. In this study, this sentiment was echoed.

7.5 Lack of Information on Foreigners and their Rights

That many South Africans lack both knowledge of and contact with foreigners is an underlying cause of xenophobia in South Africa. Ignorance of the different types of foreigners, root causes of migration and unfamiliarity with different cultures were eloquently articulated as causes of the development of myths relating to foreigners. The numerous myths highlighted in this study perpetuated xenophobia. Repeatedly, foreign nationals were regarded as a burden on social services and an economic threat. For these reasons, people with xenophobic tendencies in Mpheni, Shirley, Vleifontein and Waterval argued that foreign nationals should be ejected and only those with skills that the country needed should be allowed to stay.

7.6 Ethnic Mistrust

South Africa's history, especially the apartheid era carefully and systematically nurtured an environment of distrust among the various ethnic, tribal and racial groups within the country. This situation has not changed much. Foreign nationals are most despised because they are seen as most 'different', since they are darker, speak different languages, dress differently, are taller and shorter, among many others. This survey produced evidence to support this argument.

7.7 Role of the Media in Heightening Xenophobic Tensions

A report published by the South African Migration Project (SAMP) in 2000 in which newspaper articles on xenophobia were analysed, suggested that coverage of international migration by the South African press remained largely anti-immigrant and not at all analytical. An overwhelming majority of the newspaper articles, editorials and letters to the editor surveyed for this research were negative about immigrants and immigration. A large proportion of the articles reproduced racial and national stereotypes about migrants from other African countries, depicting for example Mozambicans as car thieves and Nigerians as drug smugglers (Suzan Moeng: Drum, October 7, 1999:6). This "criminalization" of migrants from other parts of Africa was usually made worse by the more subtle use of terms such as "illegal" and "alien", despite their being roundly criticized by the United Nations and other institutions for contributing to misconceptions of an otherwise law-abiding group of people. Survey participants also singled out the media as a cause of xenophobia. It is imperative for media houses to re-orientate their employees covered stories with xenophobic inclinations.

7.8 Manifestation of Xenophobia

After transition from Apartheid South Africa faced a massive increase in the migrant population from African countries. At the same time, substantial growth of xenophobia and attacks on foreigners increased. That xenophobia in South Africa has irreversible roots in the apartheid past has already been reported elsewhere in this report. It is common knowledge that inequality in this country was institutionalized, and the country's resources were heavily skewed towards the White minority. This affected the psyche of some local population. Now there are a deep-seated people's value expectations such as getting the goods they believe they are entitled to and their value capabilities e.g. getting the goods they think they are capable of getting and keeping, viz. clean water, electricity, health services, welfare, jobs and housing. Under the new South Africa the former 'have nots' have developed high expectations both in social and economic terms. It was revealed in this study that locals regarded foreign nationals as their competitors with respect to accessing these basic services, which they are entitled to. In order to have more of them, it was vital

to push foreign nationals out of the country. Such xenophobia resulted from the people's belief that they deserved what they considered theirs and should not compete with an alien for them. Their expectations remain unfulfilled, forcing the locals to take out their frustrations and bitterness on foreign nationals. Also, the locals seem to be now more aware of their rights, a fact which creates a solid basis for xenophobic sentiments and expression. Some South Africans have a subjective feeling of discontent, an emotion that is based on the belief that they are not reaping what they sowed. All these collectively precipitate xenophobia. Considerable evidence has been generated in this study which supports these facts.

It was revealed that foreign nationals were called derogatory names and faced abuse and discrimination. The term, *amakwerekwere*, is often used to refer to foreigners in South Africa (Mnyaka, 2003). Sociologists describe the racial dimension of South African xenophobia as a colonial legacy of internalised oppression and Afro-pessimism.

South Africans' attitudes towards foreigners differ according to whether the foreigners come from Southern Africa, West Africa, Europe or North America, and whether the South African is Black or White. Black and White South Africans regard Southern and West African foreigners as unfavorable and Europeans and North Americans more favourably (Fatima in Mail & Guardian, October 29 to November 4, 1999). Racism impacts on xenophobic practices, with Black African foreigners bearing the brunt of xenophobic discrimination, both at the public and institutional levels. In some cases, South African citizens have fallen victim to xenophobia because they are perceived to be too dark to be South Africans.

A SAMP study in 1999 compared the attitudes of South Africans to immigration. The study found that 76 % of White respondents were more antagonistic. Black South Africans, on the other hand, seemed to be more generous to undocumented migrants, with only 40 % opposing it. Overall, the response was negative, since the majority of South Africans stated that immigration and migration impacted unfavourably on the country. Nearly 60 % of locals believed that foreign nationals weakened society and the economy. A similar proportion (60 %) believed that foreign nationals put strain on South African resources.

Constitutional provisions with regard to trade and occupation exist which apply to citizens. However, many migrants have legal work permits (Muller, 1999). Also, refugees and asylum seekers are permitted to work. The Refugees Act provides a framework for asylum determination. However, it fails to explain how they are supposed to realize their socio-economic rights. Refugees and asylum seekers are not accorded any material assistance from the government and are required to meet their own socio-economic needs. Although usually well educated and skilled, foreigners arrive in a country where there is a high

unemployment rate. In addition, the following obstacles inhibit their entry into the economy:

- a) *Lack of identity documents:* Identity documents serve as the key to securing employment. Foreigners in the country legally are often unable to secure usable or recognizable identity documents.
- b) *Recognition of qualifications:* Many highly educated and skilled non-nationals are doing unskilled work because their qualifications are not recognized or because of requirements to undertake additional training. Illegal immigrants prefer to be employed as “unskilled labour”. This deflects the attention of law enforcement agencies away from them.
- c) *Discrimination and exploitation:* Many discriminatory practices of locals were identified. It was reported that undocumented migrants were particularly vulnerable to exploitation by unscrupulous employers who preferred to pay cheaper wages than what would be expected from South Africans. Allegations were made that the foreign nationals were made to work and were never paid. Employer always threatened to call the police to deport them.
- d) *Physical security:* Both foreigners and locals felt particularly vulnerable and physically threatened. The need for defusing the tensions was evident during the study where the foreign nationals were reluctant to come out in the open due to fear of victimization.
- e) *Accommodation:* Most refugees and migrants lived in overpriced and overcrowded urban settings. This is a common practice throughout the country. Evidence presented to the Parliamentary Portfolio Committee on Foreign Affairs hearings on Xenophobia in January 2005 revealed that migrants paid more for accommodation than South Africans. A University of Witwatersrand survey found that in Johannesburg 59 % of non-South Africans paid more than R800 per month for accommodation compared to 37 % of South Africans.

8 CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This study has unraveled and distilled the numerous issues that define the state of xenophobia in South African society, specifically within some parts of Makhado Municipality in Vhembe District, Limpopo Province. The fact that the situational analysis was so deeply engaging and traced the problem of xenophobia from a basic understanding to interrogation of current realities before suggesting how to integrate the foreign nationals, deserves recognition. Also, local leaders and the police were said to be promoting xenophobic attacks. This is a major cause for concern and highlights how deep-seated this problem is. The need for urgently implementing the

suggested solutions cannot be overemphasized. It is evident that advocacy campaigns are urgently needed, including educating local leadership and policing institutions on the centrality of playing responsible roles.

There is need for the following:

- a) Preparing simplified information/fact sheets using the results of this study;
- b) Using information sheets to give feedback to affected communities and providing them with space and opportunity to deliberate on the issues. External facilitation is needed, which focuses on 'handing over' responsibility for resolving the problem to them;
- c) The same information sheets should be used to engage policy makers at all levels in Vhembe District so that a more lasting solution can be found. However, the discussion needs to start at local community level, involving respective Ward Councillors, Ward Committees, Civic Associations, Community Policing Forums, Schools, faith-based organizations and traditional leaders. Relevant local NGOs should be given the responsibility of leading these efforts;
- d) Other avenues that must be pursued are both electronic and print media. In this respect, it will be necessary to introduce radio talk shows, debates and other education platforms. It is unlikely that this will ever succeed if the mindsets of journalists is not sanitized since irresponsible reporting can do a lot of damage;
- e) The possibility of holding a Makhado Municipality level or even Vhembe District-wide indaba focusing on xenophobia should be seriously considered. This report can be presented followed by intense reflection and passing of resolutions or declarations that will be implemented post-summit;
- f) A series of seminars can be presented at the University of Venda and other fora such as Schools and Colleges within the District. These will be designed to enlist the services of young people to lead the anti-xenophobia crusade. Added to this is the need for churches to include this as a standing item during all their services;
- g) We are of the view that introducing 'shame the perpetrator' initiative can go a long way in dissuading those fanning the problem. Well-respected and trusted local institutions such as NGOs or CBOs can be entrusted with running this initiative.

9 REFERENCES

Human Sciences Research Council, 2008. *Citizenship, Violence and Xenophobia in South Africa: Perceptions from South African Communities*. Cape Town, Nelson Mandela Foundation

Muller, H.P. 1999. Encountering recent African migrants and immigrants to South Africa: Towards understanding the role of religion and culture in the reception of recent African migrants and immigrants in *Scriptura* 68: 67-73.

Mnyaka, M.M.N. 2003. *Xenophobia as a response to foreigners in the post-apartheid South Africa and post-exilic Israel: a comparative critique in the light of the gospel and ubuntu ethical principles*. Doctoral thesis, University of South Africa, Pretoria

Government publications

Refugees Act 1998. Pretoria: Government Printers

Drum October, 7, 1999

Mail and Guardian October 29 to 4 November 1999

Appendix 1 Questionnaire on Xenophobia in some parts of Vhembe District of Limpopo Province

1. Name of area _____

Background information of respondent

2. Age: 18 and below

19 – 25 yrs

26 – 35 yrs

36 – 45yrs

46 – 55 yrs

56 yrs and above

3. Sex: Male Female

4. Highest level of education:

None

Primary School

Sec. Schooling but not Matric

Matric

Tertiary

5. Are you the head of household? Yes No

Instruction: For each of the following, please tick (✓) in the box that corresponds to what you believe is the truth

Items	Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat	Disagree	disagreeStrongly
1. What are the signs of xenophobia?					
1. Foreign nationals are called names					
2. Locals discriminate against foreign nationals					
3. Foreign nationals are exploited: they are exposed to dangerous work and are then paid little money					
4. Local community members attack foreign nationals					
5. Foreign nationals work and are usually not paid					
6. Foreign Nationals are denied jobs because they are non-South Africans					
7. Foreign nationals are chased out of their rented houses after paying rent					
8. Foreign nationals are oppressed and are also used as slaves					
9. Foreign nationals are accused of to taking people's wives					
10. Foreign nationals are given heavy jobs without tools					
11. Foreign nationals are sometimes given rotten food					
12. Foreign nationals are excluded from community meetings					
13. Foreign nationals do not respect local community members					
14. Locals and foreign nationals often fight					
15. Foreign nationals are accused of committing criminal offences e.g. robbery					
16. Some people carry dangerous weapons (e.g. fire arms ,carry knobs)					
17. Conflicts and tensions at work place linked to country of origin					
18. Foreign nationals are usually denied accommodation					

Instruction: For each of the following, please tick (✓) in the box that corresponds to what you believe is the truth

2. What are some of the causes of xenophobia?	Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat	Disagree	disagreeStrongly
1. South Africans fear that the foreigners will take away their country					
2. Foreign nationals take jobs meant for locals					
3. Foreign nationals provide cheap labour since they work for low pay					
4. Food prices have increased because of foreigners					
5. Cultural beliefs, people's background and the way we have been raised and treated					
6. Belief that crime rates are worsening and are committed by foreigners					
7. Foreign nationals do not have proper identification documents					
8. Foreigners do not pay tax					
9. Foreigners speak languages that are different from ours					
10. Foreign nationals know a lot of jobs					
11. Foreign nationals are not paid after doing assigned work					
12. South Africans lack jobs yet foreigners are employed					
13. Locals think foreign nationals are rapists					
14. Locals believe foreigners are witches					
15. Foreign national are taking RDP houses meant for locals					
16. Community members get power from their chiefs and police to attack foreign nationals					
17. Foreign nationals have love affairs with local women					
18. Local communities and foreign nationals fail to understanding each other					
19. Government is not delivering enough services for all communities and locals do not want to share the little they have with foreign nationals					
20. Foreign nationals fight to kill					
21. Foreign nationals steal the belongings of locals					
22. Vandalizing property belonging to foreign nationals					
23. Hunger					
24. Discrimination					
25. Corruption					
26. Allegations that foreign nationals are murdering locals					
27. Unemployment					
28. Overcrowding					
29. Lack of adequate education					
30. Some local people want money but they do not want to work for it					

Instruction: For each of the following, please tick (✓) in the box that corresponds to what you believe is the truth

3. What are some of the experiences during xenophobic attacks	Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat	Disagree	disagreeStrongly
1. People were beaten all the time					
2. People were killed					
3. Property (e.g. shacks, houses) was destroyed					
4. People's belongings were stolen					
5. Outbreaks of diseases					
6. A lot of looting and noise (as people shouted)					
7. Foreign nationals were forced to stay in the bush					
8. Foreign nationals ate from dustbins					
9. People carried dangerous weapons all the time					
10. Tourists stopped coming to South Africa					
11. Crime increased because of foreign nationals					
12. Foreign nationals were raped					
13. Most foreign nationals lost their jobs and accommodation					
14. The few people who led xenophobic attacks were punished					
15. Foreigners were desperate to accumulate money from locals					
16. Foreign nationals were ill treated by local people, e.g. discriminated against and were called names					
17. Foreign nationals were thrown out of moving trains					
18. Foreign nationals were chased out of the community					

Instruction: For each of the following, please tick (✓) in the box that corresponds to what you believe is the truth

4. How can xenophobia be prevented?	Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat	Disagree	disagreeStrongly
1. Living together with foreign nationals in peace					
2. Foreign nationals should have proper documents					
3. All people should be paid fair wages or salaries for work done					
4. Give foreigners a place to stay					
5. Conduct educational campaigns and workshops for both foreign nationals and South Africans					
6. Foreign nationals should be taught how to live with local people					
7. Local people should learn to accept foreign nationals					
8. Foreign nationals should live in peace with their patrons or families they stay with					
9. South Africans should respect lives and stop killing foreign nationals					
10. Government should intervene					
11. Church leaders must address their members					
12. NGO's should play more active roles in prevention of xenophobia					
13. Foreign workers should be paid after they complete work assigned for them					
14. People should be taught that we are all Africans					
15. People should forgive each other					
16. Foreign nationals should be welcomed into the society					
17. Police should help to address the problem					
18. Foreign nationals should follow laws of the country					
19. Perpetrators especially those who lead xenophobic attacks must be punished					
20. Leaders must make and implement firm decisions					
21. Avoid discrimination					
22. Foreign nationals must be kept in refugee camps, under protection					
23. Foreign nationals should be given separate residential places from locals					
24. Improve political and economic conditions in African countries					
25. Remove national borders					
26. Foreign nationals should return to their countries					
27. Laws to protect foreign nationals should be introduced					

Instruction: For each of the following, please tick (✓) in the box that corresponds to what you believe is the truth

5. How were foreign nationals re-integrated	Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat	Disagree	disagreeStrongly
1. The Government, NGOs and churches organized awareness campaigns and workshops					
2. NGOs gave shelter, food and clothes to affected people					
3. Foreign nationals were given back their jobs					
4. Foreign nationals were given free transport to go back to their countries					
5. Government introduced asylum and work permits to allow foreign nationals to work and move freely					
6. Destroyed houses were rebuilt					
7. Refugee camps were opened in Makhado industrial areas					
8. The police protected foreign nationals					
9. Some foreign nationals went back to their countries of origin					
10. Police forced integration of foreign nationals into local communities					
11. Nothing was done					
12. Foreign nationals returned to local communities on their own					
6. Was the integration successful?					
1. Locals and foreign nationals still fear living together					
2. When foreign nationals go back they return in large numbers					
3. Foreign nationals did not go back to their countries					
4. Government protected them					
5. Foreign nationals are still being called names and foul language is used against them					
6. People are still being treated badly because they are foreigners					
7. Some people say attacks will start again after the World Cup					
8. Foreign nationals are still being killed					
9. Foreign nationals are still underpaid					
10. Foreign nationals are still being looked down upon or undermined					
11. Looting of property belonging to foreign nationals is still taking place					
12. Shelter for foreign nationals is still there					
13. People are now living peacefully and hold meetings together to address this problem					
14. Foreign nationals are still in the country and working					
15. Foreign national have been give asylum and permits to work and move freely					
16. No enough awareness was created within communities about integrating foreign nationals after the attacks					
17. Some foreign nationals' property was not returned					
18. People are still missing					
19. Differences still exist and there is need for improvement					
20. There were no attempts made to integrate them					
21. Local people realized that foreign nationals were human just like everyone else					
22. Since the foreign nationals were re-integrated there is peace					
23. Foreign nationals continue to live in the bush					
24. Foreign nationals are not yet accepted in the community					
25. Foreign nationals were not compensated					

Instruction: For each of the following, please tick (✓) in the box that corresponds to what you believe is the truth

7. What else do you believe should be done to improve integration?	Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat	Disagree	disagreeStrongly
1. Conduct campaigns, workshops and imbizos involving the community and foreign nationals					
2. Establish a refugee office that is accessible to foreign nationals					
3. Leaders of countries where foreign nationals come from should create jobs for them in those home countries					
4. Foreign nationals should pay tax					
5. Locals should teach foreign nationals how to live with other people					
6. Locals and foreign nationals should discuss and solve problems together					
7. Governments in foreign nationals' countries of origin must play a role in solving the problem					
8. Government should intervene and arrest perpetrators of xenophobic attacks					
9. As Africans we should be united and live in harmony					
10. Completed work should be paid for fully and fairly					
11. Forums involving foreign nationals should be organized					
12. Foreign nationals must cultivate friendship with locals despite the discrimination					
13. People must respect the law					
14. Foreign nationals should be registered so that their names and numbers are known					
15. Only professionals should come to South Africa and settle in local communities					
16. Foreign nationals should be paid the same salaries as locals					
17. Foreign nationals should be given jobs					
18. Foreign nationals should be given equal rights to South Africans					
19. Foreign nationals should not be arrested or deported					
20. There is need for better communication among leaders, the community and foreign nationals					
21. Foreign nationals must be chased away					
22. Locals must ask for forgiveness from foreign nationals					
23. Different stakeholders must play a role in solving this problem					
24. Improve infrastructure to match increasing population					
25. Foreign nationals must be allowed to join Trade Unions in South Africa					
26. Foreign nationals must be allowed to form their own Committees which participate in community decision making forums					
27. Compile a database for foreign nationals so that they are known					
28. Only foreign nationals with relevant skills that are not common in the community should be integrated					