



**Impact of Migration on Xenophobic Attacks in
2016: The case of Bankhara-Bodulong, Northern
Cape of South Africa**

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DECLARATION



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I, Boitumelo Ernest Mogohu declare herewith that the dissertation titled, ***Impact of Migration on Xenophobic Attacks in 2016: the case of Bankhara-Bodulong, Northern Cape of South Africa***, which I herewith submit to the North-West University as completion/partial completion of the requirements set for the Master's degree, is my own work and has not already been submitted to any other university.

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19 May 2020

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to examine the impact that migration has had on xenophobia in South Africa. This was explored using the case of Bankhara-Bodulong in the Northern Cape Province which witnessed xenophobic violence in 2016. For the theoretical framework which informed the analysis and discussion, this study draws on the neo-liberalism theory, social network theory, frustration aggression theory and social cohesion theory. This study adopted a qualitative research design and a total of eighteen interviews were carried out with respondents in the Kuruman area in the Northern Cape Province. The study revealed that increase in xenophobic activity which in turn has created negative and strained diplomatic relations between South Africa and other African countries. The results also revealed that the main cause for xenophobic violence in the case study area was due to the death of a South African youth who was reportedly murdered because he stole meat from a foreigner's shop.

Key words: Xenophobia, Foreign nationals, Migration, South Africa

ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

StatsSA- Statistic South Africa

IR- International Relations

WTO-World Trade Organization

UN- United Nations

ANC- African National Congress

SADC- Southern African Development Community

WB- World Bank

IMF- International Monetary Fund

NWU- North-West University

GDP- Gross Domestic Product

CPF- Community Police Forum

SA- South Africa

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1. General background

Since 1990 the overall estimated number of migrants both undocumented and documented in Southern Africa has increased significantly. A large number of these migrants, refugees and alyssum seekers were recorded in South Africa, Angola and Botswana (UNHCR, 2017). The mobility of these migrants came largely from countries with poor economies such as Zambia, Zimbabwe and Malawi. In addition, South Africa registered a large portion of migrants as the hosting state (UNHCR, 2017).

Despite the regular national censuses conducted by Statistics South Africa (StatsSA), recording and maintaining migration data remain a challenge, although it is understood that South Africa has the best data collection systems in this sub region. Segatti and Landau (2011) posit that the national census usually addresses migration in passing. Additionally, due to the influx of undocumented migrants, the process makes it difficult to actually record the total number of migrants entering the country. Furthermore, given the circumstance together with the absence of systematic data collection work, the entire process is subjected to speculations and estimations (Segatti & Landau, 2011).

Since 1990 the estimated migrants living in Southern Africa increased from 3 581 782 to 6 012 610 in 2017, almost doubling the number of foreign nationals in the region. For South Africa, since 1990 the number of registered migrants increased from 1 163 883 to 4 036 696 in 2017 (UNHCR, 2017; UNDESA, 2017). According to Landau (2011:8), in 2011 the number of foreign nationals were approximately 1.5 million. This rapid increase in migration can be attributed to political and economic factors of home states of the migrants.

Correspondingly, illegal migration has also become a concern because undocumented immigrants tend to participate in illicit activities such as smuggling drugs to sustain their lives (Bongo, 2019). According to Hungwe (2013), when people migrate illegally from their home state to host states, they become vulnerable and may be subjected to all kinds of harassment and all forms of abuse and exploitation. Nonetheless, migration is the most multi-dimensional issue with an ability to present both opportunities and challenges (Hungwe, 2013; Landau, 2007). The increasing illegal and legal cross border migration is somewhat a visible reminder of the

new global realities concerning the political, social and economic challenges faced by many countries in the international arena.

Xenophobic attacks that are, according to the Scalabrini Institute for Human Mobility in Africa, as a result from the inflow of migrants are the most disturbing phenomena of the post democratic era in South Africa (SIHMA, 2014). In addition, the triple challenges namely, poverty, inequality and unemployment also lead to the initiation of xenophobic attacks by South Africans who are faced with these challenges (SIHMA, 2014). Landau (2011) argues that societies with a struggling economy accompanied with a poor educational system, high unemployment rate and high crime rate feel marginalized and not heard by the government, thus they tend to turn to violence and xenophobia attacks.

The literature reveals that South Africa has experienced a few xenophobic attacks between 2008 and 2016. In 2008, South Africa experienced an outbreak of xenophobic attacks on black foreign nationals by South Africans and as a result, 60 people died (Wilkinson, 2015). A series of riots started in the township of Alexandra, other parts of Johannesburg and other major cities in the country (Tshetlo, 2008). The xenophobic attacks led to death in some instances, internal displacement, expulsion and loss of property which resulted in many African migrants living in a state of fear till present day (SIHMA, 2014). In addition, in 2015 there was an outbreak of xenophobic attacks in Durban which led to the death of three South Africans and two foreign nationals and many people had to leave their homes due to the civil unrest and violence (Wilkinson, 2015). Furthermore, another xenophobic attack took place in 2015 which led to the death of four people amidst the looting of shops owned by foreign nationals; South Africans were allegedly accusing the migrants for taking their jobs and other opportunities from them (Wilkinson, 2015).

In 2016, another outbreak of xenophobic attacks took place in Bankhara-Bodulong in the Northern Cape Province. The community members urged the foreign nationals to leave the community and they also threatened to boycott the tuck-shops of the foreign nationals (SABC News, 2017). The violence took place after a sixteen-year-old boy was stabbed to death and was accused by a foreign national for stealing meat (SABC News, 2017). The community members looted the shops and also torched the properties owned by the foreign nationals. More than 30 foreign nationals feared for their lives as they were sent out of the community (SABC News, 2017). The xenophobic attacks resulted in a number of families, businesses and romantic

relationships being broken including a huge revenue loss of the township economy. South Africa's unemployment rate in 2016 stood at 26.7 percentage in the first quarter of 2016(Ilesanmi, 2004; Rabkin, 2015).

According to Karimi (2015), some South Africans accuse migrants for taking their jobs, because they are reportedly willing to accept lower wages. Additionally, most instances of xenophobic attacks have erupted in poor and marginalized areas. The case study of Bankhara-Bodulong serves as one example of this reality. Landau (2011) states that xenophobic violence has increased across informal settlements and townships in South Africa. It appears that influx of migrants in South Africa illustrate correlation to the continuous xenophobic attacks in the country. Hence, the study sought to examine the impact of migration on xenophobic attacks using the case study of Bankhara-Bodulong community, Northern Cape of South Africa.

1.2. Problem statement

The literature review reveals that an increase in the numbers of foreign nationals resulted in the outbreak of xenophobic violence and this caused hostility between the locals and the foreign immigrants. Furthermore, another problem is that an increase of migrants in South Africa imposes insecurities in the locals, hence the xenophobic attacks. Therefore, it is important to find a solution to solve these xenophobic attacks caused by an increase in foreign nationals.

1.3. Aim of the Study

This study seeks to examine the impact of migration on xenophobic attacks in South Africa in the case of Bankhara-Bodulong, Northern Cape Province, in 2016.

1.4. Research Objectives

- To identify how migration influences xenophobic attacks in Bankhara-Bodulong, Northern-Cape Province, in the year 2016
- To assess the potential, positive and negative effects of migration on the hosting state (South Africa).
- To establish mitigation methods in light of xenophobia attacks.

1.5. Research Questions

- How did migration influence xenophobic attacks in Bankhara-Bodulong, Northern Cape Province, in 2016?

- What are the potential, positive, and negative effects of migration on South Africa?
- Which methods can be applied to mitigate xenophobic attacks?

1.6. Rationale of the Study

The purpose of this study is to examine the impact of migration on xenophobic attacks in South Africa in the case of Bankhara-Bodulong, Northern Cape Province, in 2016. This research contributes to the existing body of literature through the investigation of how migration impacts xenophobic attacks in South Africa. This study is important because there is a continuous increase in illegal migrants coming to South Africa. This high rate of migration has led to tensions between locals and foreigners who in certain cases have escalated into xenophobic attacks.

It further seeks to examine the phenomena at hand in relation to the South African reality and juxtapose it to similar xenophobic experiences elsewhere in the country, as well as to determine whether there can be any lessons learnt and remedies secured from this one instance, that can be replicated and applied in the country. This study seeks to provide viable solutions to the negative impact of migration in xenophobic attacks as it affects community stability and this oftentimes perpetuates xenophobic attacks on foreign nationals in South Africa. The recommendations of this study may be applied by the South African government and will also educate academics, South African citizens and anyone who is interested in learning about the impact of migration on xenophobic attacks. Most importantly, this study which centres on migration comes at a time when xenophobia is a topical issue in South Africa.

1.7. Relevance to international relations

Generally, International Relations (IR) is described as the interaction of states and none-state actors within the international system. According to Johnson (2017), the study of immigration/migration was developed in a later stage of the discipline of International Relations because in the earlier stage, the focus was on war and maintaining peace in the international arena. Migration is connected to IR in many ways; migration is an element of international community of states (Johnson, 2017). This means that without states, there are no borders to cross, thus migration plays a role in the international community because of movement of people by crossing borders. Therefore, this study is relevant to IR because it addresses the impact of migration on xenophobic attacks.

1.8. Key concepts

1.8.1 Conceptualization of migration

Migration is the movement of people from one place to another destination in the world where living standards are deemed to be better (Gebrewold, 2007). Furthermore, migration refers to a form of movement between two clearly defined geographic units (Skeldon, 1997). According to StatsSA (2011), migration is the movement of people in and out of the South African borders and within the country, it can be either be from one urban to non-urban area or from province to province or state to another.

Therefore, there are two types of migration; namely, the internal and international- cross boarder (Gebreworld, 2007; Skeldon, 1997; StatsSA, 2011). The internal part refers to the movement contained by the territory, while the cross border means the movement of persons from one state to the other through legal territorial boundaries (Klots, 2000). This takes place within a specific jurisdiction. However, the context of migration can be either legal or illegal. The legal part refers to the entrance into state by producing proper documents in accordance with the migration law within that particular state, while illegal immigration refers to undocumented entrance without state immigration law requirements (Klotz, 2000).

Migration is an interesting phenomenon in itself because it is a fundamental indicator of economic and social structural indifferences and differences of areas. The phenomenon is dynamic and only involves two places, the location of origin and destination which would have been influenced either by push or pull factors. For the purpose of this study, the focus is on cross border migration.

1.8.2 Xenophobic attacks

Xenophobia is a multifaceted term. According to Guibernau and Rex (2010), xenophobia is the fear hatred directed towards non-citizens or strangers in the hosting state. Coetzee (2014)purports that xenophobia is driven by negative perceptions of and discriminatory attitudes towards foreigners based on their nationality (Crush &Ramachandran, 2010; Harris, 2002).

Tshitereke (1999)cited by Harris (2002) states that in South Africa, xenophobia is not only restricted to the fear or dislike of foreigners; rather, it is extreme tension, irrational dislike, intense fear and violence by South Africans towards immigrants. Kollapen (1999) posits that

the term xenophobia needs to be rephrased to include practice in South Africa. In accordance with the argument advanced by Kollapen (1999) and Lekaba (2014), in the South African situation, failure to link the historical realities in defining xenophobia might be problematic in finding the solutions to address incidents of xenophobia. The reality is that xenophobia is not just an attitude or fear of dislike, but also an activity.

Furthermore, Lekaba (2014) argues that what appear as xenophobic attacks in South Africa, normally takes place during protests, sometimes in the form of anger and frustration directed towards government. He further argues that these acts can be classified as elements of criminality but not xenophobia. Acts of violence usually emerge during the service delivery protests and as a result, they cause psychological harm, looting of tuck-shop and causing bodily harm to non-citizens. However, prior to any xenophobic wave, the relationship normally among citizens and foreign nationals (including of buyer and seller) is peaceful and harmonious (Lekaba, 2014).

Therefore, this implies that there is no deliberate or intentional violence directed to foreign nationals on a daily basis. The attacks are opportunistic and explain more the underlying economic challenges in the country. Inability to process these realities in an attempt to build the concept of xenophobia can be problematic and run short in understanding the problem. Although the activity is perceived and conceived as hatred, dislike and fear, in other instances, this result in bodily harm, and cause property damage. In South Africa, given that not all foreign nationals are victimized, concepts of xenophobia need to be viewed with more scrutiny.

Many scholars are of the view that South Africans generally display distractive negative reactions towards African foreign nationals more than any other non-South African groups (Crush, 2008a). However, there is variation. Migrants from countries such as Lesotho, Swaziland and Botswana are desirable as opposed to those from Zimbabwe Angola, Nigeria, Somalia and Mozambique (Crush, 2008b:30). Many of the foreign nationals from undesirable countries are referred to by local citizens by famous derogatory terms like Makwerekwere. Crush (2008b) also indicates that foreign nationals from especially Europe and North American are more preferable and desirable.

In South Africa's case for instance, Moosa (2008) is of the view that xenophobia mostly manifests itself through ethnic superiority and tribalism and racism. This process takes place in forms such as discriminatory attitude directed to non-nationals. Furthermore, UNHCR

(2017) stated that xenophobic attacks take place within the broader context of challenges such as poverty, inequality, unemployment and crime.

Most recently in South Africa, most xenophobic violence has occurred during protests. This appears to be anger and frustration that develops intended at foreign nationals, informal traders resulting into what appear or referred to be xenophobic attacks and looting of businesses. According to Meso (2017:132), general hatred, poverty, unemployment and inequality could have direct impact on xenophobic violence.

The outcry by the authorities always appears to be seen as major crisis. Amongst these challenges, is the South African Police inaction. For instance, in 2016 local elections protest, during the violent protest that erupted around Pretoria, where citizens were demonstrating their dissatisfaction about the ruling party (African National Congress) decision to elect senior party member Angela Thoko Didiza as mayoral candidate. It was during this time where one police officer appeared on television looting from these shops while wearing police uniform (Mashupye, 2016). As a result, this demonstration led to the burning of trucks, buses and property destruction. In almost all protests in South Africa, there is one prevailing common thing, “the looting of foreign national shops and business during protest”.

Xenophobic violence in South Africa involves two parties, firstly, black South Africans as perpetrators and secondly, foreign nationals as victims, mostly towards black Africans and the invisible unreported groups such as Somalians and Pakistanis. There are studies conducted which sought to understand xenophobic attitude directed to African foreign nationals, hence the concepts Afrophobia was introduced. For the invisible groups such as Somalians and Pakistanis, there is little done, hence the term Islamophobia is not popular.

In South Africa for instance, there is disconnection between xenophobia as a definition and the realities in the country because there is a sharp contradiction between conceptions of xenophobia in theory versus what is happening in reality. For instance, the definition by Meso (2017) contrasts with reality as captured by Kollapen (1999) and Lekaba (2014).

1.9. Scope of the study

The migrants that the study focuses on are from Bangladesh because they are the only migrants who were attacked during in 2016 at Bankhara-Bodulong. This study focuses on the impact of

migration on xenophobic attacks that took place in 2016 in Bankhara-Bodulong area of the Northern Cape Province in South Africa.

Bankhara-Bodulong is located under Ga-Segonyana local municipality. The municipality is located within the John Taolo Gaetsewe region in the Province of Northern Cape. This municipality is one of the three municipalities within the jurisdiction of the John Taolo Region, with about 16% of the geographical spread in the area. The region originated as a cross-border area largely from North-west Province and Botswana.

Parts of the region are made up of former North West and Northern Cape, this happened during the early 2000 through the amalgamation of the Mothibistad (Former North West) and Kuruman (Former Northern Cape). Two paramount chiefs and mostly headmen administer the traditional authority system (Shee, 1986). Furthermore, larger part of the economy is mainly on mining and agriculture. The area is about 4.42 km square, with a population of about 7.972 made up of 2.325 households.

1.10. Limitation of the Study

The limitation encountered by the researcher was the availability of the police officers because they were busy during the scheduled time of interviews.

1.11. Chapters' Outline

Chapter 1: Introduction

The chapter outlined the research problem, research aim and objectives as well as research questions. It also provided the importance of the study and how it is relevant to International Relations.

Chapter 2: Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

This chapter provides literature review and the theories applied in the research.

Chapter 3: Theoretical Framework

This chapter discusses the four theories which were used in this study.

Chapter 4: Research Methodology

This chapter outlines the research methodology, which provides the methods followed by the researcher during the course of the study

Chapter 5: Presentation of data and data analysis

This chapter presents data collected as well as the analysis of the data followed by the interpretation of findings. The presentation of data is organized in a manner that will answer the research questions of the study.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

The chapter provides a summary for the findings in the form of the aim of the study and the research objectives. The recommendations then follow and the research concludes with a brief summary of the study.

1.12. Conclusion

This chapter provided an introduction of the research. The focus of this chapter was to provide an introduction of the topic followed by the research problem and the study aim, objectives and questions. The following chapter provides the definition of key concepts, the literature review and theoretical framework of the study.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1. Introduction

This chapter focuses on a review of literature on migration and xenophobia in South Africa. The chapter begins by reviewing literature on the international perspective on migration. Furthermore, the chapter then proceeds to highlight the factors responsible for migration. The history surrounding migration in South Africa is reviewed. Other important themes which are reviewed include the negative and positive aspects of migration, factors that lead to xenophobic attacks, reversed xenophobic attacks and migration as subsets of xenophobia.

2.2. International perspective on migration

Akokpari (2000) posits that globalization is a catalyst for migration because of its characteristics. The key feature of globalization is capital. Capital is expanding and it revolves all around the globe from region to region and the movement of capital facilitates the movement of labour as well (Akokpari, 2000). The World Trade Organisation (WTO) promotes free movement of capital investments and businesses, which leads to economic opportunities in a country. Consequently, economic opportunities attract migrants, thus, the movement of capital implies the movement of labour.

In the globe a curious connection sometimes occurs unabated or unobstructive between neoliberalism with the help of globalization in the form of migration. Although there is elusive figures of migration in the world, given that sometime the movement of people from one state to the other is informal and undocumented. The reality is that statistics account for increase in migration with little prospects to be abated or reversed. This causes frustration on the individual states (Akokpari, 2000).

According to the UN (2019), there is an increase of international migrants, which has reached 272 million, and it is continuously increasing. The number has increased by 51 million in since 2010. The UN in 2019 estimated that the global migrants then made 3.5 percent of the global population. The number was expected to increase by 0.7 percent in 2000 (UN, 2019). Based on the UN 2019 statistics, Europe has the largest number of international migrants, which is estimated to be 82 million, the second largest region is Northern America, which is estimated

to have 59 million international migrants, and lastly Northern Africa and Western Asia which both have an estimated number of 49 million international migrants (UN, 2019).

Migration has become an international predicament. Farhi-Rodrig (2016) states that international migration is a problem that requires mitigation through global politics thus, her study sought to search for ethical and practical procedures to mitigate the problem of international migration.

Countries such as Turkey and the United States (US) complain about the overflow of migrants, thus migration is a problem in the international arena. According to the US Department of State (2019), the US hosts more migrants compared to other countries, more than one million people migrate to the US yearly and more than hundred-thousand babies of none-US citizens are born every year. Similarly, Turkey has more than 3 million refugees and approximately 263 000 undocumented migrants (Bayar, 2019).

In Africa, neoliberalism together with globalization account to the increased trend of incidents of migration, which do not only weaken the state, but also the relevance of borders in the continent (Amusan, 2011; Amusan, 2018). Neoliberalism and globalization compounded the economic challenges. This resulted in foreign nationals migrating to host states in search of non-existing opportunities like as jobs. The reality is that Africa has experienced shrinking formal sustainable employment opportunities under the globalized world. However the regimes in several countries account more for increased informal sector and increased cross boarder migration.

In other words, for the fact that states are not equal in terms of capacity to take advantages of globalization or to meet its challenges, this process clearly explains the migration of people from the disadvantaged countries while on the other hand it deepens the inequalities of other states and perpetuates various social classes in the world (UNDP, 1997). This normally causes tensions in the host state, at some instance resulting in violent behaviour against foreign nationals. The following section unpacks the factors responsible for migration.

2.3. Factors responsible for migration

There are various reasons attributed to people's mobility inside and out of the state. Singh, cited by Gautam (2006), states that the reasons for the continuous increase in migration are economic, social, political psychological and geography as well as climate change. There are two categories used to classify factors of migration, namely, the pull and push factors (Amusan & Jegede, 2014; Baruch *et al.*, 2007). The push factors are connected frequently with negative factors, because they are viewed to be motivating people to leave their country of origin (Mattes & Richmond, 2000:32). These factors, among others, include but are not limited to working conditions, poor service delivery and economic and political uncertainty.

Pull factors, on the other hand, refers to positive factors that entice a person to move to another country (Mattes & Richmond, 2000:32). The factors are; better conditions, job opportunities, economic and political stability and improved lifestyle. Because of the dynamics influencing migration, the phenomenon only involves two places, which are the home state and host state. This makes migration an interesting phenomenon because in it there are fundamental indicators of social and economic structural indifferences and differences of areas. The next section reviews the literature on the history of migration in South Africa.

2.4. The history of migration in South Africa

South Africa has a rich history of migration that can be traced back to the apartheid days (Crush, Perberdy & Williams, 2006). According to SIHMA (2014), historically the management of migration was highly politicized throughout the apartheid regime where this was carried out as a method of economic control.

Migration of labour, especially unskilled migrants, has played an important role in developing the economy of South Africa. This is particularly true in the mining sector. Mining sectors recruited a huge labour migration force from neighbouring countries such as Zimbabwe, Lesotho, Botswana, Malawi, Mozambique and Swaziland (Adepoju, 2003). Most migrants were recruited from the above-mentioned neighbouring countries only on two years maximum contracts and they were housed in unbearable conditions of single sex hostels. Given the strict migration control laws, the intention was to prevent families from moving together and this led to the disintegration of many normal family lives (Johns, 2001).

The cheap labour migration was one of the corner stones or economic pillars of the apartheid government. This was all carried out through carefully engineered movement of persons; for instance, through the apartheid system of pass laws and its creation and administration of Bantustans and Homelands was part of this complex system designed to facilitate and control the movement of black labour into the country (SIHMA, 2014).

It was also during this period that the immigration policies were designed specifically alongside racialized lines to further segregate people in support of the regime's goals. To some certain extent, the end of apartheid and first inclusive democratic election in 1994 symbolized an important moment in the history of South African migration, although in many ways, according to other scholars, the old patterns of exclusion and positioning migrants as threats into the country continued to be real in the democratic South Africa (Buzzfeednews, 2009).

New democratic South Africa and the prospects for a booming economy facilitated the opening of border gates. Given what united Africans during the apartheid struggle of South Africa did to topple the then government, currently under the black majority rule in place, there were high expectations from Africans, especially those who contributed in ensuring that South Africa becomes free from oppression (Adepoju, 2003:8). However, these expectations proved to be a fallacy, as the same black South Africans vetted their anger against foreign nationals, especially immigrants from other African countries (Adepoju, 2003:8). Adding to this is the xenophobic attacks against foreign nationals alongside some political leaders calling for deportation and arrests of these African foreign nationals together with those who originate from countries that once sheltered South African freedom fighters and mainly members of the ruling party, the African National Congress (ANC).

The patterns of migration in the Republic of South Africa are very complex. In the post-apartheid period, the trend has continued and increased the number of migrants in the country. The push and pull factors have been the main reason for thousands of migrants to migrate into South Africa. As Tevera (2011) notes, the South African economy is booming within the Sub-Saharan Africa, and therefore attracts more migrants into the country while on the other hand it also weakens the national economy. Sometimes this results to political instability. The South African economy appears to be the main source that triggers movement of foreign nationals into the country. Although there are no exact figures of migrants in the country, nonetheless, a

speculation has gripped the public imagination by vision of threats, fear of dislike and foreign national invasion.

The absence of the exact figures for both documented and undocumented migrants in the country can be attributed to the fact that managing migration effectively has been the daunting task for the post-apartheid government. Furthermore, this became apparent to the new democratic government that the apartheid legislation of governing migration was wholly inadequate and lacked the requirements of the new South African (Tati, 2010). Vigneswaran, as cited in SIHMA (2014:16) notes that despite significant pressures on government to develop new initiatives and show results, the defining characteristics of immigration policy making over the past decade have been disorderly, disunity, and despair. These are some of the challenges in the governance of migration.

The peaceful transformation to the ANC led government gave hope of a multi-cultural society. The project of nation building as led by President Nelson Mandela and the ANC renewed hope that the new South Africa will welcome foreign nationals and respect their rights. As mentioned above, the events soon turned out to be worrisome. According to Adepoju (2003:14), South Africa has become more increasingly xenophobic. Sadly, the events of this nature or incident include attacks on immigrants, inhuman treatment by authorities and destruction of properties owned by foreign nationals (Human Rights Watch, 1998). The causes of these attacks arose from the accusations that they are taking the jobs and frustrate efforts intended by trade unions to achieve realistic minimum wages for workers. Foreign nationals are also easy scapegoats for crimes (Adepoju, 2003). This indicates that challenges that South Africa gripped with during apartheid are different from those presented by new Democracy. Post apartheid South Africans regardless of their race shared one view or sentiments about foreign nationals. The sentiment is that foreign nationals were coming into the country at huge numbers and others with undocumented status were pouring into the country too, thus undermining the new nation and depriving citizens of scarce resources (Mattes *et al.*, 1999).

Akokpari (2000) is of the view that globalization informs this migration. In the African continent, this simultaneously creates considerable pull and push factors that promote both voluntary and forced migration. However, Lesetedi (2007) states that arriving in the host states, migrants face fear or dislikes that might be attributed to competition for scarce resource such as employment, housing, health services and even physical space. In addition, immigrants are

wrongfully accused of taking jobs and of being criminals. However, the accusers are not only limited to members of the public and communities, but also at senior government level, including controversial sentiments from political leaders that express the same sentiments (Lesetedi & Moroka, 2007). Additionally, the economic theory links xenophobia to economic factors, among others, but not limited to unemployment and poverty. This theory further indicated that during recession and high level of unemployment, it is times like that when xenophobia is more likely to occur. Additionally, the economic theory indicates that poor and unemployed persons are most likely to engage themselves in acts that suggest xenophobia (Tshitereke, 1999).

However, Akokpari (2000) indicated that along the movement of capital, there are capitalists too. In his study he analyses the impact of migration on Africa's already fragile environment and argues that there is a growing tendency for diminishing environmental resources to generate conflicts between user constituencies, although such conflicts displace people and exert migratory pressure on host countries even more critical under the weight of globalization.

Ultimately, the author is of the view that unless the gains of migration are similar, the effort by affluent countries to successfully stem it out formally remains a permanent impasse (Akokpari, 2000). Ndimande-Hlongwa and Mkhize (2016) uphold a related similar view that the transformation of the country cannot be successful if local communities are continuously discriminated against and their conditions are not transformed for the better.

During the apartheid era, migrants were recruited under the guise of good work conditions, but only to be exploited by the then government. However, what appears to be a new today is the scale and density of patterns of migration and their posture, which might worry South African locals. It is worth noting also that with the opening of borders came floodgates of mostly illegal foreign nationals, ready to participate in the new promising economy. Amongst them, others brought their skills, enterprise and those unskilled mines workers of the apartheid regime recruited from their home through network theory (Bond, 2003; Manson & Mbenga, 2014; Reader, 1997; Rodney, 1972).

The management of international migration poses a challenge for South Africans. Considering the hostility towards foreign nationals in South Africa, both local and foreign nationals may then be exacerbating the perception of being direct in competition with each other for jobs and

limited resources. Although Misago (2012) states that xenophobic attacks are dual results of economic inequalities, he further indicates that neoliberal policies have destabilized South Africa including its neighbouring countries such as Zimbabwe, Malawi and Mozambique.

Due to this economic situation in some parts of the African continent, it is expected of citizens to leave their country in search for greener pastures. However, upon arrival of both documented and undocumented foreign nationals in the host state, the immigrants are confronted with forms of violence. This normally takes place during the protests in the country, but yet there is no deliberate intention displayed by locals to attack foreign nationals. For instance, normally before these kinds of attacks, the relationship between seller (foreign nationals) and Buyer (South Africans) is smooth and cordial to the extent where other foreign nationals have wives and children in these communities (Mangwiro, 2015). The next section reviews literature on the negative and positive aspects of migration.

2.5. The negative and positive aspects of migration

In most cases, for people who live in South Africa, or other countries, societies and communities, the effect of migration has either been positive or negative. Migration also has both positive and negative impact on sending and receiving states of migrants.

South Africa's democratic dispensation granted migrants a new lease of life with secure jobs cutting across all sector of the economy. The potential for economic growth in South Africa led to government eliminating the apartheid legacy restrictions on free movement of people across all borders. As a result, the country-attracted migrants from other countries for better economic opportunities, employment and reduction of poverty (Mudzanani, 2016). Although migration helped to weave the economies of the SADC, it also caused consequences of unequal development and the exploitative relationship. Furthermore, the cross border migration also causes human insecurities of citizens; however, it also benefited South Africa as host state of migration (Anikola,2017).

On the other hand, the negative part is that Southern African economies have co-existed and continue to exist because of international border migration, in the process, they also exhibited considerable imbalances and inequalities. SADC uneven development as well adds to the host state implications on migration and labour market. Furthermore, the movement of migrants also causes insecurities such as food security, health security economic and political insecurity.

For example, on health security, according to McDonald and Crush (2002:), male migrants from parts of African countries brought and spread diseases, given the condition they had to adopt in the host states. Because many African males migrated to South Africa and left agricultural activities in the hands of women and children for mines, this can possibly have relative implication on food and economic insecurity as well.

The insecurity of South African citizens lies with the strong believe that foreign nationals continue to dominate informal business and again, they take away the limited resource belonging to local citizens. Hence, xenophobia in most cases always manifests where there is insecurity, instability and mostly where there is economic competition. As a result, the citizens will then react negatively to the presence of migrants, which appears to be xenophobic attacks (Tshishonga, 2015). The following section unpacks the factors that lead to xenophobia in South Africa.

2.6 Conceptualization of Xenophobia

Anikola (2017) points out that xenophobia can be conceptualized as hostility towards Africans. Furthermore, it is not a new phenomenon,, as literature reveals that in 1990 violent attacks on African migrants were reported in cities such as Cape Town, Durban and Johannesburg (Anikola, 2017). Amusan and Mchunu (2018) and Morapedi (2007) point out that xenophobia can be viewed as a deep fear, prejudice and dislike of non-nationals and is usually depicted through violence. Similarly, ILO *et al.*(2017) argue that xenophobia is not only in the mental state of a person but it is an act. Anikola (2017) states that xenophobia can be referred to all forms of discrimination against people who are different from the local population and do not share the same national identity. However, some scholars such as Harris(2002) argue that xenophobia is a form of violence which is viewed as normal in South Africa. Anikola (2017) highlights an important point by stating that men and women do not experience xenophobia in the same way and do not engage in xenophobic acts similarly.

2.6.1 Factors that lead to xenophobic attacks in South Africa

Many scholars in literature such as Echabe and Castro (1996), Mogekwu (2002) and Muzdzanani (2016) argue that the root cause of xenophobic activity is centred on competition for scarce resources. Socio-economic issues such as unemployment and poverty are also cited as drivers of criminality in South Africa (Mudzanani, 2016). On the other hand, Mogekwu (2002) argues that xenophobia is caused by a weak immigration and border control policy. At

face value, politics and xenophobia as alluded to, are not related. Furthermore, considering all issues involved with xenophobia, the causes and definition of politics as defined by Lasswell (1958) and how it plays, it is apparent to understand the relationship. The following points, through a comparative study, discourses xenophobia in a political sense.

The competition for scarce resources in the global system is apparent, by nature, all men are political animals. Therefore, the competition of public goods and services will always manifest itself as in all domains in the global system. This reality accounts to justify the consistent xenophobic violence directed towards foreign nationals alongside political problems. Anikola (2017) is of the view that the cause of xenophobia can be attributed largely to the struggle for scarce resource. Furthermore, during these attacks, normally politics of power comes to play. In this case, the power is vested in the local citizen's hands. Like politics, they use their power to control the game, similarly like in politics (Hlatshwayo, 2010:10).

The above-mentioned issue raises a myriad of problems, especially when taking into cognizance the fact that during their movement, migrants carry with them both negative and positives aspects. The general perception held by most Africans is that migrants should be stripped off the privilege such as police and legal protection. This perception indicates a sense of self interests which is a political aspect since politics is mostly about competition by individuals and between groups chasing their own interest. In support of this assertion, Valji (2003) notes another aspect of politics that of organisations and inclusive of people who compose and implement their policies.

Like other countries in the world, xenophobic relations in South Africa are much similar with violence situation across. These kinds of conditions are complex due to their difficult setting in addressing the causes, continuation and existence. Nevertheless, other studies have indicated that this persistent occurrence of xenophobic violence is mainly because of the scarcity of jobs, failure of the South African government to implement laws as well as to fulfil key social contract promises to the citizens during elections (CRAI, 2009). In a situation where the state is unable to manage such a situation, politics of scarcity of resources will enter and the questions of “who gets what”, “when”, and “how”, as well as how much will be asked.

Scholars such as Gomo (2008) view the above narrative as an excuse from lazy South Africans, who tend to forget that this is a topical issue that affects both locals and foreign nationals. This

issue is been politicized by some politicians in public discourse for political gains, especially during the elections. For example, it is reported that the 2008 xenophobic wave was intended or directed to South African citizens but yet some locals were affected and some were mistakenly identified as foreign nationals. Nyar (2010) simply indicates that those local South Africans were caught in a cross fire during the xenophobic attack.

It can be deduced from the above that, xenophobia can be justified as a political issue because it has caused confusion amongst the people and possibly influencing them to do things they would find no reason to do in ordinary situation, such as violence with the intention to kill directed to foreign nationals, sometimes justified with scapegoat theory. The scenario further indicates that people participate in acts of xenophobic violence because of prejudices. To some certain extent, these prejudices appear to be manipulative because they force persons to act or react to needs like unemployment and poverty (Miller, 2016).

As alluded to earlier, migration and xenophobic attacks have been a topical issue in South Africa in the past decade and have been part of an ongoing discourse in the international arena. Existing literature, as briefly referred to earlier, is polarized and informed by sides taken by proponents thereof, be either host country or settler view. These are usually discussions that do not emanate from the grassroots experiences but either from political standing or policy formulation standpoints (Anikola, 2017). The next section reviews literature on studies done on xenophobic attacks in South Africa.

2.6.2 Studies done on Xenophobia

The literature reviews that scholars such as Landau (2005), McKnight (2008), Pillay *et al.*(2008) and Steenkamp(2009) have pursued studies on xenophobia in South Africa. Muzarabani (2016) argues that most studies done on xenophobia have not focused on the impact that it has on tourism. The results of the study by Harris (2001) revealed that violence is viewed as the normal way of solving any problem in South Africa. Furthermore, Harris (2001) points out that in post-apartheid South Africa, xenophobia is understood as a product of historical factors which stem from a racism background.

Although the literature is awash with incidents of xenophobic violence against men there is a deficit of studies done on how it impacts women and other minority genders. Likewise, Anikola (2017) argues that most studies have focused on the visible violent forms of xenophobia and

have neglected the subtle and non-violent forms of xenophobia which are mostly experienced by female migrants. Another study by Valji (2003) highlighted that 85% of the sampled South African citizens were of the opinion that migrants should not enjoy police protection, and should have no rights to freedom of speech or movement. Valji (2003) argues that xenophobia occurs as a result of unresolved social tensions, difficulties in transitioning to democracy, a historical racial divided past and an inherited culture of violence. The next section highlights the literature existing on reversed xenophobic attacks.

2.7. Reversed Xenophobic Attacks

Reversed xenophobic attacks are caused by the xenophobic attacks that took place in South Africa. Reserved xenophobia is generally described as the retaliation of citizens from the home state of the migrants affected by xenophobic attacks. This may be caused by misinformation regarding the events that takes place in the host state of the migrants. In 2019, several reverse xenophobic attacks took place in South Africa as well as in Zambia (Kazeem, 2019). According to Kazeem (2019), Nigeria boycott the World Economic Forum which was held in South Africa and it also recalled South African ambassador to Nigeria because of the alleged burning and looting of the Nigerian properties in South Africa. South African multinational corporations such as Shoprite and MTN in Nigeria were negatively affected by the xenophobic attacks that took place in South Africa (Kazeem, 2019).

In addition, Madagascar and Zambia cancelled their friendly football games with South Africa and South African multinational corporations in Zambia were also attacked because of the xenophobic attacks. Furthermore, flights from Tanzania to Johannesburg by Air Tanzania were suspended (Turkewitz, 2019). The xenophobic attacks in South Africa led to a political solidarity among other African countries. These attacks affected the politics and economics of South Africa negatively. Mangwiro (2015) argues that xenophobia can lead to reprisal attacks on South Africans living in other African countries and this could isolate the country from the entire continent. The following section unpacks migration as a subset of xenophobia.

2.8. Migration as a subset of Xenophobia

The general dislike, prejudice and general hostility towards those regarded as foreigners is related to migration, which is also a general term describing movement of people from one area to another, as its subset. Migration is often referred to as a global merger of economic and political systems and structures. Both concepts have been topical issues on the South African

political, social and economic agenda in recent times whose discourse are pertinent and require rising to as a matter of urgency for peace in the continent as well as global peace (Adepoju, 1984).

Not only have migration and related xenophobia been topical issues in South Africa especially in the past decade, it has oftentimes been polarized from angles informed by the side taken by the proponents of each view and whether each is either from the host country or not. As a result, from the literature, the emerging view is the sentiments that xenophobic activities are in no way, not unique to the South African situation. For instance, in greater Africa the expulsions of Nigerians in huge numbers from Ghana during the early 1960s similarly with the Ghanaians from Nigeria in the mid-1980s appears to be clear examples government together with citizens who had become increasingly intolerant of foreign nationals across African continent (Adepoju, 1984; Grivil, 1985; Peil, 1974).

The nature of the globalized economy and its market structure are likely to engage in the prevailing discourse on the probable instigation of xenophobic violence in South Africa particularly on the rural communities (Amisi, Bond, Cele & Ngwane, 2011). It is worth noting that economic globalization as facilitated by neoliberal policies generates other forms of disempowerment, which has potential to perpetuate acts of violence in the form of xenophobic attacks.

Therefore, the movement of foreign nationals often attributes to social behaviour. The situation is highly exacerbated by the South African historical migration patterns in the post-apartheid planning, and the lack of coherent socio-economic policies, government leaders' response and attitude to xenophobia. Furthermore, the rise of xenophobia in South Africa since the 2008 wave is the result of a combination of most complex factors, which, however are not to be disconnected from the flow of migrants, specifically from the neighbouring countries (Rushubirwa *et al.*, 2015).

Tefera (2013) is of the view that this characterizes the democratic migrations patterns into South Africa. It appears that xenophobic attacks are not just about economic issues between foreign national and citizens' competition, but they are also a manifestation of intolerance of diversity in the new world order for growing multicultural communities. It is also with noting the narrative that seeks to suggest that, South African communities remain largely

unassimilated and exclude many foreign nationals. These views on their own contribute to the question of nation building and raises challenges surrounding the notion of citizenship and belonging under the condition of multicultural communities.

2.9. Gaps in the literature

Most literature regarding migration and xenophobic attacks focuses on how xenophobic attacks affect the rights of migrants as opposed to how migration impacts to xenophobic attacks. Similarly, other studies focus on understanding xenophobia; how migrants can be protected from periodic xenophobic attacks as well as how migrants flowing from less developed regions to developed/developing regions are affected by xenophobic attacks. There is scanty of literature that focuses on the impact of migration on xenophobic attacks.

2.10. Conclusion

This chapter commenced by defining the concepts of both migration and xenophobia. Many authors hold diverse views on migration; however, the study adopted one definition for the purposes of this study, similarly with xenophobia. Again, the chapter has reviewed the literature on migration and xenophobia in South Africa. In addition, the concepts, historical context, background of the pre-migration, migration and post-migration experiences of in the country and many other factors linked to the topic at hand were discussed. This was done whilst illustrating the conceptual link arising from challenges of contextualizing the two phenomenon in a post-apartheid reality. Furthermore, the theoretical framework guiding the research, by means of four theories, neoliberalism, social network theory, Frustration Aggression theory and Social Cohesion theory were also used to diagnose the problem. The following chapter discusses the methodology used in this study.

CHAPTER THREE

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1. Introduction

The previous chapter presented key literature on migration and xenophobia in South Africa. It also revealed the key debates surrounding the concept of migration at an international perspective. This chapter focuses on highlighting the theoretical framework which underpins this study. This study adopted a multi-dimensional theoretical approach, where a combination of theories was used to help understand the research findings. These four theories are namely; the neo-liberalism theory, social network theory, frustration aggression theory and the social cohesion theory. In the human behavioural science, there is no general theory per se but partial theories. This serves as a justification as to why this study adopted more than one theory to understand the impact of migration on xenophobia in South Africa using Bankhara-Bodulong as a case study.

3.2. Neo Liberalism Theory

For the purpose of this thesis, neoliberalism in the first instance will be treated as a economic political theory which intends to propose that human well-being can best be highly developed by promoting individual freedoms and skills within an institutional framework that is highly characterized by strong free markets, private property and free trade (Amusan, 2016). By doing so, the state role then servers to create and preserve an institutional framework appropriate to such practices in the process within the system.

This theory points out that the state has a role to set up basic services such as the defence, police, military, legal institutions and functions that are required to secure private property rights. However, the state has a responsibility to ensure that the functioning of the markets is running smoothly without interference. Furthermore, the theory discourages state intervention, especially in the market prices. For example, those who are powerful will inevitably be dishonest, distort and influence the state to be bias in the quest to intervene in their interest (Harvey, 2005:2).

This theory argues that migration is a continuous process of capitalist development. Furthermore, the neo-liberalism theory views migration as an integral component of global

expansion of capitalists which mostly forces individuals from continents such as Africa, Asia and Europe to emigrate at a larger scale. Migration is further compounded by globalization which has made it easier for people to acquire information on areas where they desire to relocate. However, the literature reveals that this approach fails to recognize the class dynamics involved in the process of migration at the larger scale (Canterbury, 2010). Petras and Henry (2005) provide clarity to the above assertion by stating that the direction of flow of migration is guided by the global context.

Therefore, this theory finds relevance in the study because it assists in exploring ways in which neo-liberalism contributes to migration and xenophobia in South Africa. Migration is a complex phenomenon, hence the use and application of four themes in this study. Most importantly, neoliberalism is a political economic theory and it does not address the drivers of social unrest and conflict. The following section highlights the social network theory.

3.3. Social Network Theory

The social network theory can be used to explain the concept of migration because it is mostly motivated by the desire of all persons who wish to migrate to reach a specific destination, in the search for better living conditions (Pellegrion, 2004). As a result, it is apparent that those who safely reach their destination normally facilitate the migration of new migrants such as family members or friends to desired place of destination (Pellegrion, 2004).

In the context of this study, the social network finds relevance in line with the impact of migration on xenophobic attacks. Massey *et al.* (1998) argue that there has been continued progress on migration, especially with the people from Bangladesh. Furthermore, Massey *et al.* (1998) argue that the movement of Bangladeshis to South Africa is largely as a result of close migrant networks and the use of interpersonal ties between prospective migrants and individuals who have already settled in the receiving destination. The social network theory argues that shared community origins, friendship and family relations are key to facilitating migration. For example, information and opportunities can be sent home to relatives who can use this to their advantage.

Scholars such as Krissman (2005) have also critiqued this theory in the literature. Krissman (2005) argues that the social network theory only recognizes relationships such as shared kinship, community origin and friendship and fails to take into account factors such as human

trafficking, job seekers, business ties and state deployment to another country. The literature reveals that a major shortcoming of the social network theory is that it fails to consider the extent to which illegal migration is rapidly occurring. The next section unpacks the frustration aggression theory.

3.4. Frustration Aggression Theory

The aggression theory is defined as an action that occurs with the intention to harm and this can result in physical and non-physical injury (Baron & Richardson, 1994; Bryant&Zillmann, 1979). Many have witnessed the manifestation of aggression in the form of domestic violence, school bullying, road-rage, abuse and war. This propelled many social science scholars to use this theory to explain the phenomenon. Additionally, frustration is defined as the blocking of ongoing goal directed behaviour, often leading to aggression. Tshitereke (1999:84) indicates that the theory explains that there is a causal link between relative deprivation and collective violence in the form of xenophobia. It appears to be evident that the theory can be forged through the scape-goating attitude towards foreign nationals. For instance, if a man is frustrated at work and as result of fear of possibility losing the job, he might not retaliate and redirect the frustration to his household. The reality is that the South African government post-1994 might have underestimated unforeseen or unknown challenges. All may be subsequent to the government of the day which has made numerous promises which they have failed to honour. However, this suggests that a globalized world is more complex than ever imagined, thus leading to citizens to be frustrated at the government because of its inability to deliver on promises made to them. Scholars such as Landau (2011) argue that frustration has created a situation whereby South Africans redirect their anger towards immigrants especially Africans living in informal settlements and townships.

However, the frustration theory does not always lead to aggression as it suggests, because other people deliberately suppress it either with full knowledge that it is wrong or the fear of the social consequences of being aggressive in South Africa. For example, people fear being charged by the law, losing friendships and criticism from other community. Barker *et al.* (1941) argue that some people are more disposed in relation to aggression and they will find it difficult to contain themselves. For them when they become frustrated they are more likely act in a form of aggression than for other persons who are calm and disposition or greater self-control (Barker *et al.*, 1941). This theory is important because of its ability to respond to the topic under investigation. However, the theory still has its own restrictions, although it was initially

accepted with much modification (McNeill, 2005), there were much critics made universally and expressed to the theory (Maslow, 1941). The following section highlights the social cohesion theory.

3.5. Social Cohesion Theory

Existing literature offers a wide range of understandings of social cohesion as a theory and concept. For instance, according to Woolcock (2011), it is the capacity of societies, not merely networks to facilitate peace and manages collective actions. Easterly (2006) indicates that the failure to properly manage social cohesion because it is mostly based on the nature of the degree of economic and social divisions within societies results in cleavages.

Generally, the interest in social cohesion as a theory is directly linked to the connections of social bonds and solidarity. This can be a concern in the new political economic reality if the old structures of political economies are in crisis. The inability to cope with such complex reality given the new framework of ethnic and social structures are conflicted sometimes, given the migration in the global system. In this emerged context, the application of social cohesion theory concepts is as a result of structural changes that emerge in the situations with the hope of keeping the social ties within the societies together or intact.

Scholars such as Modood (2010) argue that migration brings, among others, multiculturalism and identity politics with some negative impacts on social activities such as xenophobic attitudes. On the other hand, migration must not only be seen as a movement of people across borders, but a change that entails political community in the globe. This calls for the inclusion of social cohesion theory in the debate so that the available social cohesion strategies will be adopted in resolving the problem of xenophobia. This is because economic approaches which were embarked upon during the age of liberalization have failed.

Social problems entrenched, among others, in this reality, such as unemployment, the weakening of labour unionism and lack of minimum wage for workers usually bring into existence collision between foreigners and locals. While the former are ready to take any employment at any price, the latter will demand for more wages. The literature review reveals that this scenario requires government intervention with all relevant stakeholders.

3.6. Conclusion

The chapter highlighted the four theories which were used in this study to better understand and interpret the research results. The neo-liberalism theory argues that migration is a continuous process of capitalist development and views this process as a strategy on how capitalism is expanding throughout continents. The social network theory tries to explain migration from the perspective that individuals migrate on the basis when they have immediate family, friends or relatives in the receiving country. The frustration aggression theory argues that xenophobia could be as a result of citizen dissatisfaction with their central government because of poor service delivery. This anger and frustration is wrongly misdirected to innocent immigrants who bear the brunt of the government's failure to honour its promises to its locals. Lastly, the social cohesion theory tries to advocate for multiculturalism and multinationals between locals and foreigners.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1. Introduction

The previous chapter highlighted the theoretical framework which guided the study. The previous chapter also unpacked the neo-liberalism theory, social network theory, frustration aggression theory and the social cohesion theory which are all but important to this thesis. This chapter outlines and describes the methodology which was employed in this study. This chapter begins by providing a background context to the community of Bankhara-Bodulong and justifies its selection as a case study. The chapter then provides the research design and the research methods which were used in this study. The chapter then proceeds to highlight the data collection methods which the researcher used, sampling techniques and provides clarity on how the collected data was analysed. Lastly, the chapter comes to a conclusion through the discussion of ethical guideline considerations which were adhered to by the researcher. The following section highlights the research context to this study.

4.2. Research context

The main aim of this research was to capture the subjective lived experiences of the victims and perpetrators of the xenophobic incident that took place in the community of Bankhara-Bodulong, Kuruman of Northern Cape, South Africa in 2016. This was done by recording and helping to construct participants' narratives or life stories – of their subjective and interpreted experiences and thereby adds new knowledge to the existing body of literature.

4.3. Research Objectives

As previously stated in the introduction, the following are the research objectives which guided the study:

- To identify how migration influences xenophobic attacks in Bankhara-Bodulong, Northern -Cape Province, in the year 2016
- To assess the potential, positive and negative effects of migration on hosting state (South Africa).
- To establish mitigation methods in light of xenophobia attacks.

4.4. Research Design

The study employed a case study research design. Creswell (2014) describes a case study research as a design of inquiry that is used in different disciplines as an instrument to assist the researcher to develop an in-depth analysis of the subject matter. The case study can be an activity, a process or an event that took place within a specified period (Creswell, 2014). The researcher employed this method because the study focuses on a xenophobic attack; an unpleasant event that took place in 2016 at Bankhara-Bodulong, Northern Cape Province in South Africa.

4.5. Research Methodology

A qualitative research design approach was employed in the study. According to Mohajan (2018), qualitative approach is an effective research approach in that it provides in-depth data by making use of interviews, books, journals, open-ended and questionnaires. It does not rely on numbers unlike quantitative research approach. Marvasti (2003:07) further explains that qualitative research approach has an advantage to provide detailed description and analysis of the subject matter. The next section highlights the data collection methods used during the fieldwork.

4.6. Data Collection Methods

Data was collected through primary sources and secondary sources. Primary data refers to data collected by the researcher for the first time (Ajayi, 2017). Semi-structured interviews were used to capture the qualitative views of the respondents. The researcher used semi-structured interviews to collect primary data. Semi-structured interviews were used to cover the research questions and topics regarding the problem statement. The researcher conducted the interviews face-to-face. The researcher used an interview guide which contained a list of questions and this was used as the main data collecting instrument. A total of eighteen interviews were carried out in the Kuruman area in the Northern Cape Province. Ajayi (2017) describes secondary data as data that already exists, which has been collected and analysed by other people or institutions. Secondary data was collected from journals, books and articles on migration and xenophobic attacks in South Africa. The following section highlights the sampling technique and criteria which were used to select the participants.

4.7. Sampling and Population

According to Grinnell (1993), sampling is conceptualised as the selection of some units to represent the entire set from which the units were drawn. This study used a non-probability sampling technique whereby not every participant has an equal opportunity to be selected into the study. Purposive sampling can be defined as the deliberate selection of participants who in the researcher's opinion are the most suitable for the study (Yin, 2011). When selecting participants, the researcher looked for individuals who were present during the 2016 xenophobic incident and also looked for individuals who had a decent understanding on how migration negatively impacts on xenophobic behaviour. The research participants were made up of victims and perpetrators of the community violence and local authority officials.

For this study, purposive sampling was chosen based on its ability to allow a researcher to select units that are familiar with the subject matter (Babbie, 2010). The participants were selected for a purpose, they were there during the xenophobic attack and they know and understand how migration influences xenophobic attacks. The participants were deduced from the following population: victims and perpetrators of the community and local authorities. The researcher recruited sixteen community members who are victims and perpetrators aged 18-and above, one local mayor; one ward councillor, one immigration officer, one police officer and one community police forum member as participants in the study. The overall sample-size is twenty-one participants.

The selection criteria of participants in the current study follows the criteria suggested by Kelly (2006) who suggests that the selection of participants should be based on the good judgment of the researcher as to which subjects would best suited the process of responding to the research questions.

4.7.1 Inclusion criteria

The following inclusion criteria applied:

- Youth community members who took part in or witnessed xenophobic attacks;
- Xenophobic attack victims;
- Both males and females older than 18 years of age;
- Participants who will be able to engage in discussions about their experiences in the 2016 xenophobic attacks;
- Government officials (mayor and ward councillors);

- Police officers; and
- Migration Specialist (Department of Home Affairs).

4.7.2 Exclusion criteria

The following inclusion criteria applied:

- Youth community members who neither took part nor witnessed xenophobic attacks;
- Non-victims of xenophobic attacks;
- Those aged less than 18 years;
- Participants who will not be able to engage in discussions about their experiences in xenophobic attacks; and
- Government officials who are not office bearers, like, mayors and ward councillors.

The next section unpacks the various strategies that were used to analyse the data.

4.8. Data analysis

Data was analysed using thematic analysis. Hsieh and Shannon, cited by Zhang and Wildemuth (2017) define content analysis as a research method of analysis used to interpret the content of data collected through a systematic categorization which is conducted through coding, identification of themes or patterns. The researcher identified themes from the semi-interview questions.

The purpose of this analysis was to explore the impact of migration on xenophobic attacks that took place in community of Bankhara-Bodulong in 2016.

Textual data was analysed using thematic analysis to allow themes to emerge as described by Braun and Clarke (2006). The following steps were followed by the researcher:

Step 1- The researcher read through all the materials to get a sense of the whole and ideas are written down data will be organized according to themes.

Step 2- Data was read and re-read to get a sense of it as a whole. During this process, the researcher listed the data available, performed some necessary editing to make field notes retrievable and generally clean up the data by discarding irrelevant data. This stage also involved writing memos in the margins of field notes or transcripts.

In step 3- Themes were generated. The researcher identified salient themes, recurring ideas or language and patterns of belief relevant to the focus of the study. A fellow student co-coder also conducted the same procedure to avoid biasness of research results.

In step 4- Data was evaluated for its usefulness and centrality in illuminating the questions being explored and how central the data might be to the story that unfolds about the phenomenon being studied. Research questions were used to constantly confirm the relevance of the themes. The overseeing academic leader did further confirmation of the research results.

Step 5- This is the final phase where results of the research are reported on and analysed. The model of trustworthiness was applied in order to reduce biasness in the processing of analysing data. According to Denzin and Lincoln (1994), Guba and Lincoln indicated that the quality of the research inquiry could be judged by its trustworthiness and authenticity. Furthermore, Denzin and Lincoln (1994) stated that four indicators closely linked to validity and reliability, namely credibility, transferability, dependability and formability, determine trustworthiness in qualitative study.

According to Trochim and Donnelly (2007), credibility involves establishing that the research results of qualitative research are credible or believable from the perspective of the participants in the study. Transferability on the other hand means the degree to which the results of a qualitative study can be generalised or transferred to other contexts or settings (Trochim & Donnelly, 2007). Dependability, similar to the concept of reliability in qualitative research, is concerned with whether it would obtain the results if it can observe the same thing more than once (Trochim & Donnelly, 2007:149). Conformability means the degree to which results are normally confirmed or corroborated by others (Trochim & Donnelly, 2007).

4.9. Ethical considerations

The Ethical approval was obtained from the research ethics committee of the faculty of Humanities of the North-West University (NWU), Mafikeng campus. Permission was also obtained from the community members who were selected to participate in the study. In the process of conducting research, the researcher fully understood the sensitive nature of the research topic and its subject. It is in this regard that the study complied with all necessary ethical considerations and guidelines from NWU ethics committee from the proposal stage to data collection and analysis. It is important that the ethical aspect of the research be handled in the most professional manner. Vorster (2002) stated that ethical guidelines provide a foundation for the researcher to evaluate his/her own conduct thus, the researcher followed and

applied all the ethical guidelines. The researcher also followed the NWU research code of conduct.

At first it was difficult to secure a sample as proposed by the study (Perpetrators and Victims). However, the ethics committee advised the researcher to network with relevant gatekeepers, which assisted the researcher to get hold of participants for the study. In line with research guidelines which state that in the event when finding it difficult to seek permission to recruit participants, it is therefore viewed a good protocol to seek permission from stakeholder, gatekeeper and groups within the community to conduct the study.

This study was granted permission through networking with ward councillor, President of Bangladesh community, South African Police services and Department of Social Development, all mentioned stakeholders mentioned above served as gatekeepers for recruiting the sample. In the process of seeking and following the ethics committee advice, the researcher provided adequate information about the study objectives and went through the study methodology. The researcher was in contact with gatekeepers to gain trust and encourage their participants.

Finally, when the permission was granted, the prospective participants were identified and the dates were shared and discussed with the social worker involved to schedule for the interviews. However, for security and safety of victims, venue was communicated on the day of the scheduled interview.

Throughout, the social worker assisted the researcher with obtaining consent from participants, as a results, the consent form was read and explained the purpose of the study to the participants in the language they understood better, namely in Setswana and English. After indication that the participants understood the research and its objective, procedurally they were requested to sign the consent form to give permission to start the interview.

At the end, all efforts were directed in eliminating all possible harm, as the subject of the study was sensitive in nature. The researcher understood that the issue might evoke emotions, hence there was social worker on standby should such arise. This clearly indicates that the researcher was empathetic and sensitive towards the participants.

4.10. Conclusion

This chapter focussed on providing a detailed presentation of the methodology which was used in this study. The chapter also highlighted the research design, data collection instruments which the researcher used to capture the qualitative responses from the research participants. The chapter also highlighted the steps which were taken to analyse the data and this included using techniques such as coding, thematic analysis and content analysis. Finally, the chapter also provided the ethical guidelines which the researcher followed throughout the study. As previously stated, the researcher tried by all efforts to minimize risk and harm to all participants and ensured transparency due to the sensitivity of the topic under investigation. The following chapter provides the presentation and discussion of the research findings.

CHAPTER FIVE

PRESENTATION OF DATA AND DATA ANALYSIS

5.1. Introduction

The previous chapter highlighted the research methodology which was used in this study. The chapter also discussed the difficulties which the researcher encountered when trying to identify possible participants and also highlighted the ethical protocols which were observed. This chapter aims to present and discuss the results of the interviews which were done in Kuruman.

5.2. Themes that emerged from the study

The study revealed only ten (10) thematic categories with regard to the xenophobic attacks that took place in Bankhara-Bodulong. These categories are: contributory factors, the influence of migration, mixed experience of migrants and locals, Murder, Case handling, Bangladeshi unwelcomed in Bankhara, impact of attacks, lack of conflict resolutions strategies, the effects of migration in Bankhara-Bodulong and assimilation of Bangladesh people in the community. The findings are discussed below. The study firstly outlines an overview of the community of Bankhara-Bodulong before migration, especially cross-border migration. This assists the study to some certain extent to examine the impact of migration in the above-mentioned community.

5.3. Demographic Profile of the Sample

Table 1 below highlights the demographic breakdown of the sample. The table reveals that eight participants made up the sample and were all South Africans. The average mean age of the participants was 34 years. The table reveals that 75% of the sampled participants were unemployed whilst 25% of the rest of the sample were employed. Table 1 below also illustrates that 25% of the participants had post-matric education, 25% had matric, 13% had a diploma, 13% had a grade 9 qualification and 13% had a grade 10 qualification. Only one participant had no formal education.

Table 1: Demographic Profile of Respondents

Participant	Age	Nationality	Education level	Employment status	Marriage status	Domicile in 2016
Perpetrator1	34	South African	Gr.9	Unemployed	Single	Bankhara
Perpetrator2	39	South African	Post Matric	Employed	Divorcee	Bankhara
Perpetrator3	38	South African	Post Matric	Employed	Single	Bodulong
Perpetrator4	32	South African	Diploma	Unemployed	Single	Bodulong
Perpetrator5	31	South African	Matric	Unemployed	Single	Bodulong
Perpetrator6	29	South African	Matric	Leaderships	Single	Bankhara
Perpetrator7	26	South African	Gr.10	Unemployed	Single	Bodulong
Perpetrator8	42	South African	No formal education	Unemployed	Single	Bankhara

(Researcher, 2019)

Table 2 below shows the demographic profile of the Bangladeshi victims. Table 2 reveals that a total of eight Bangladeshi foreigners made up the sample. Their average mean age was 33 years old and was slightly lower than the South African perpetrators. Sixty-two per cent of the sample were employed whilst thirty-eight per cent were self-employed. Fifty per cent of the participants had a formal matric qualification whilst another fifty per cent did not have such a qualification.

Table 2: Demographic Profile of the Victims

Victims	Age	Nationality	Education	Employment Status	Marital Status	Location
Victims 1	45	Bangladesh	No Matric	Self-employed	Married	Bodulong
Victim 2	38	Bangladesh	Matric	Self-employed	Married	Bankhara
Victim 3	26	Bangladesh	Matric	Employed	Singles	Bankhara
Victim 4	31	Bangladesh	Matric	Employed	Single	Bankhara
Victim 5	29	Bangladesh	No Matric	Employed	Single	Bodulong
Victim 6	30	Bangladesh	No Matric	Employed	Single	Bodulong
Victim 7	41	Bangladesh	No Matric	Self-employed	Single	Bankhara
Victim 8	27	Bangladesh	Matric	Employed	Single	Bankhara

(Researcher, 2019)

Table 3 below reveals that four individuals were interviewed from the local authority and they were all of South African nationality.

Table 3: Demographic Profile of Local Authority Officials

Participants	Nationality	Educational Level	Employment status	Marital Status	Location
Official 1	South African	Matric	Employed	Single	Bankhara
Official 2	South African	Degree	Employed	Married	Kuruman Town
Official 3	South African	Diploma	Employed	Single	Kuruman Town
Official 4	South African	Diploma	Employed	Married	Kuruman Town

5.4 Population and Group distribution

The purpose of this section, census 2011 Municipal report of Northern Cape, was used to give an indication on general broader perspective of the region where the community in question is located. Because of limited specific accurate data on the community, the municipality report then provided room for analysis.

Table 4: Population and Race

Race	People	Percentage
Black African	7.313	91.73%
Coloured	611	7.66%
Indian and Asian	28	0.35%
White	2	0.03%
White	18	0.23

(Census, 2011)

Table 4 provides statistics on the population and race in the community of Bankhara-Bodulong. Based on the statistics, black Africans are dominant in the community in terms of numbers followed by coloured people then Indians-Asians and lastly, whites. This means that, the foreign nationals are less dominant with only about 0.35% of the community. However, this number only accounts for Asian foreign nationals.

Table 5: Gender Distribution

Gender	People	Percentage
Female	4.074	51.10%
Male	3.898	48.90%

(Census, 2011)

Table 5 shows that there are more females than males in the community. Females account for 51.10% of the community while males accounts for 49.19 %. The difference between the two genders is 2.2 %.

Table 6: Ethnicity Groups

Ethnic groups	People	Percentage
Setswana	6.271	84.32%
Afrikaans	653	8.19%
English	126	1.58%
IsiZulu	112	1.41%
IsiNdebele	98	1.23%
Sesotho	61	0.77%
XiTsonga	61	0.77%
IsiXhosa	51	0.64%
Sepedi	20	0.25%
SiSwathi	7	0.09%
Tshivenda	2	0.03%
Other	32	0.40%

Source: (Census, 2011)

Table 6 above shows the level of community diversity. Almost if not all the languages in South Africa are represented and recorded. The table indicates the domination of the Setswana speaking people and at the bottom of the column with ‘Other’ as representation of unknown people. This is subjected to speculation; it can mean representation of foreign national in the community. The next section highlights the reasons for migration to Bankhara-Bodulong.

5.5. Reasons for migration: the case of migrants in Bankhara-Bodulong

The massive increase in mobility geographically are the results of unemployment, poverty, and unstable economic conditions. These factors have been associated with the neoliberalism theory. Host countries face a number of challenges and these include a bulging unemployed population and a declining standard of living. On the other hand, migrants are accused of taking job opportunities which are meant for South Africans. Labour migration has been identified as a strategy out of poverty by people from under developed countries (Fonta, Onyukwu & Nwosu, 2011). In addition, Fonta *et al.* (2011) argue that labour migration is one factor that has an impact on the welfare of households, the sending community and its economy.

For the context of the study, the reasons for migration as identified are business interest, employment and marriage. The results also indicate that only male foreign nationals visited or migrated to the community while education was not identified as a reason for migration. The following direct quotations are some of the reasons for migrating according to the participants.

“Me I arrived in Bodulong and I opened a shop, but I arrive earlier and I was staying in Mafikeng, then my brother called me to come this side, I then came, since 2008, I have been here, all was going good my friend, I was buying stock with taxi when arrive, we bought car later, and we were using it all of us for business in this area.” (Victim 2)

“I am working for my brother, I only have matric, I arrive here 2017.” (Victim 1)

“We came here, there only about four shops in Bankhara-Bodulong, two in Bodulong and two in Bankhara, others were closed, now we had more than 12 shops including supermarket, we have assisted the community, we even gave stock on credit, since then we have been happy in the community, now we can enter the community to see our children and wives.” (Victim 5)

During the interview, he was hiding tears throughout, and he kept on insisting that he is fine. He mentioned that they are now struggling to survive and find employment. However, he keeps on saying that he hopes that the community will reconsider and allow them back in the community. Like many others, he also mentioned that the brother was currently looking after him, providing food and shelter.

Although, the above victim made claims that he was still unemployed, I had to wait for victim 2 for interview who had indicated that he was delivering grocery stock to one of his shops in Kuruman area and many others, who were already working in Kuruman, especially from main supplier of the stock grocery in the area. The president of Bangladesh community as well had made his contribution by hosting and assisting others with employment and re-establishing themselves in other areas.

This is in line with network theory which states that relationships among actors are central to human advancement. Furthermore, the network takes into account the web relationships in which individuals are embedded that both constrain and create opportunities. For example, from the above it can be deduced that foreign nationals in the community were mostly called by their brothers for opportunities in the community, such as business – informal tuck-shop or either to start as an employee of those tuck shops with future prospects of owning one.

5.6. Theme 1: contributory factors

5.6.1 Sub theme 1: Push Factors

Generally, a number of factors such as political, economic and socio-economic issues influence all migration types. These factors are classified into two categories, that is push and pull factors (Baruchet *al.*, 2007). Push factors are linked with negative factors associated with migration, for the reason that they motivate persons to leave their place of birth or origin. These factors shield comprehensive matters, and include but not limited to economic uncertainty, poor service delivery, unfortunate working condition and low returns.

For instance, migrant victims who participated in the study are victims from Bangladesh. Although Bangladesh experienced a robust economic growth of about 6 percent in the last two decades, the country still suffers from a widespread corruption and poverty, poor infrastructure, lack of rule of law adhesion and sluggish economic reforms thus the movement of Bangladeshis to South Africa (Heritage Foundation, 2019). The country is also regarded as one of the world's most densely-populated countries (BBC News, 2019).

Migration of most Bangladeshis started in post 1971 because of the political and economic factors (Datta, 2004). From 1996 to 2001, migration from Bangladesh occurred due to economic factors and from 2001 onward, people migrated from Bangladesh because of the political instability that threatened their safety and security as well as property (Datta, 2004).

According to Neoliberalism theory, for nation states in the globe, neoliberalism mostly entailed the contraction of welfare states and restricting of the national economics alongside exploitation of the realities of global competition. Although neoliberalism is viewed and examined through the lens of nations or states competing in the globalized economy, it should be noted also that it has impact on different class, individuals including culture. Furthermore, business and political elites accumulate wealth while there is a huge decrease standard of living accrued by the poor working class and the lower class (Harvey, 2007). In the process, there is discouragement of state intervention. In simple terms, these are ought to be the driving force of the economy and not the government.

In reality, uneven states development within neoliberalism context facilitates movement of people of new types of migration that can be referred to as forced. In fact, the dynamics of uneven states development has resulted in the structural condition that forces migration or the marginalised, excluded population and dispossessed. This means that the situation forces people to leave their country of origin in the search for better opportunities. People migrate for so many reasons, but not limited to exclusion and unemployment, dispossession, human traffic and smuggling of people, climate change and environmental degradation and migration due to conflict and violence (Wise, 2013).

“I left my country because of I wanted to make business and change my life in the country, I have matric only but do business, back at home is not nice my friend.” (Victim4)

“I was not doing anything at home, then the other time my brother called me to come and work for him, I couldn’t even drive, but I learned to drive here.” (Victim 7)

Due to neoliberalism, which has dislocated the states economies, people find themselves in situations unbearable to live in. As a result, the push factor comes into play, hence the movement of people from country of Bangladesh to South Africa in the quest for greener pastures.

5.6.2 Sub theme 2: Pull factors

On the contrary, migration also results from forces that pull individuals to leave. The act of migration will take place if the negative factor associated with migration out-weights the positive factors (Lee, 2009). Pull factors are mostly associated with positive part of migration and it entices people and provides them with an alternative destination. In the context of this study, the identified pull factor that attracted foreign nationals to the community of Bankhara-Bodulong was mainly to run informal businesses, especially small groceries store, known as ‘Tuck-shop’ in South Africa. Additionally, it was employment in the similar tuck shops, as indicated above, by the network theory was responsible to facilitates such. For instance, the following words from participants 3 stood out, indicated how this network grew in the community in numbers, and all foreign nationals were employed or either running a business in the community where majority of the people are unemployed and poor.

“When I first came here in Bankhara, I was called by brother, I worked for him and stayed with him for a while, after two years I then owned my shop, since then, I have been here for more than five and I have wife and kids here.”(Victim 2)

In the context of this study, neoliberalism finds relevance in line with the issue of migration, which tends to have an impact on xenophobic attacks as discussed above. It is proven that the continued inflow of migrants from Bangladesh to community of Bankhara-Bodulong is entrenched in neoliberalism and speed of movement is facilitated by globalization. It is also worth noting the realization of social network theory, though the use of interpersonal ties that connect migrants from the country of Bangladesh including former migrants and non-migrants to their destination areas through their links of friendship, family and shared community origin (Massey *et al.*, 1998).

In addition, the theory states that once migration is started, social network will develop and multiply and thus it contributes to the increase of migrants in a host state. However, in the end this kind of networks develops to the point of sustaining migration freely. This is evident through the community of Bankhara-Bodulong, during the early year 2000. As stated by the participants, it starts with one brother then he creates a network for his other brothers thus the increase of the migrants in the community. It started with one shop, later as time went by, he had his brothers in the community all involved in many different in other businesses.

In the situation of the community of Bankhara-Bodulong, Mattes and Richmond (2000:32) assert that push factors encourages the movement of persons from Bangladesh to South Africa, Northern Cape, community of Bankhara-Bodulong, and also they add that these push factors are complimented by the relative pull factors, for instance, high earnings and market stability.

The major sources of economic activities in John Taolo Gaetsewe are mining and agriculture (mainly cattle and farming) supporting the thriving economy in the area. Furthermore, minerals mined in the area, include but not limited Iron Ore and Manganese. This is evident through the thriving informal businesses in the area.

One of the victims, during the interview, expressed and shared his experience about his stay in South Africa, in the community of Bankhara-Bodulong. Amongst the things he cherished was the fact that he had made family in South Africa, he further expressed his love for the family. He indicated that his in-laws were very loving and accommodating, although it was difficult from the beginning, especially with language barrier, with time he learned how to speak Setswana. Later, everything was fine and he felt part of the community.

“I have more than 12 years in Bankhara, I have wife and children here, although it is difficult to see them now, but I love them. My in-laws also assist my wife to make it possible for me to see the children, we are no longer wanted in the community, but we hope the community will call us again.” (Victim 7).

Another identified pull factors in the study is hope of finding a partner in the host state and improved better living conditions (Wise, 2013). It is evident through data collection that other foreign nationals were settled and married in the community others with children. Due to their successful business, they were able to support their families. Furthermore, it is clearly that their lives had improved for the better as they wished from their destination.

5.7. Theme 2: The influence of migration

Generally, the international investment and trade results into the cross-border movement of factors of production, such as capital, labour to participate in the foreign economies. However, due to neoliberalism, economic policies of the countries are complex in nature and this affect population and economies and social dynamics of the host state.

5.7.1 Sub theme 1: Economic

Migration of Bangladeshi has both negative and positive effects on the economy of South Africa. From the information on the table, it is clear that the community is diverse, although with majority of African speaking Setswana followed by Afrikaans. However, only about 0.35 percent of the population owned tuck-shop businesses; the Bangladeshi had control of the supply of goods and services within the community. The ownership and control of the local businesses were entirely in the hands of the foreign nationals, upon their arrival in the community, perpetrator 4 stated that:

“Makula came here in Bankhara, they took all the shops, I mean everything, just the other time, they were even supplying grocery food for learners at school, I wonder why and how possible is that, how did they get that one right, because we know that the laws requires only local supply goods to schools and registered company for that matter, so they are in control.”
(Perpetrator 4).

All local owned businesses either were surrendered to the foreign nationals or closed due to competition of retail goods prices. Akokpari (2000) stated that the fear of competition among or between foreign nationals and locals generates tension, especially in situations whereby foreign nationals are viewed to be successful. He further stated that, even in situations where migrants have successfully integrated themselves into host states, societies or communities. Sometimes religion and ethnicity become source of tension or conflicts in the community.

This shows that migration in the area impacts on small business in the area. Although, local citizens might have tried to stay in business, their survival was more reliant of market of the retail goods shop prices. As a result, till to date, local informal business are found wanting when coming to the running of small businesses.

Nonetheless, migrants also contribute positively on the economy. They supply labour and they contribute to the GDP. The migrants in Bankhara- Bodulong contributed positively to the economy of South Africa through their informal businesses. According to Bech (2018), an informal sector contributes to the economic growth of a country through circulation of money, and purchase of goods and services. Neoliberalism supports the movement of labour and capital as it advocates for capitalism. It also focuses on the development impact of migration through the influence of economic and social policies thus the linkage between migration and neoliberalism (Canterbury, 2010).

5.7.2 Sub theme 2: Social

Although migration remains the important action through which people can move with the hope to improve their lives, similarly, the movement of foreign nationals from Bangladesh was propelled to migrate for the same reasons. While there are overall effects which are beneficial for migration for both host and sending states, fear of worker taking jobs, resulting into increased unemployment rate, and sometimes-domestic lower wage. As such, domestic workers, as part of their reaction, adopt violent actions against foreign nationals to deter migration.

The spatial incidence of xenophobic attacks in Bankhara-Bodulong can be associated with community challenges such as poverty and unemployment. The economic insecurities of the violence perpetrators my account to extreme dissatisfaction and anxiety, but it does not explain only why a single group of people was singled out of the community. Additionally, it appears that, the economic competition of migrants and local community members of the community of Bankhara-Bodulong provoked the underlying aggressive hostility.

According to the Frustration Aggression theory, for instance, anyone who feels threatened or blocked one way or the other in process of trying to achieve certain goals, often results into aggressive behaviour. Members of the community viewed foreign nationals as being successful, while they are not progressing, in the midst of this concoction, government is inaction is visible. As a result, this concoction led to local citizens directing their frustration to foreign nationals in the area. However, like any other place in South Africa, this action normally takes place during protest. There is no deliberate action in South Africa intended to direction violent behaviour to migrants.

It is an instance whereby vicious attacks on migration are mainly on as the outcome of material condition and economic conditions, among foreign nationals and citizens, then the frames of reference can be attributed to neoliberalism.

5.7.3 Sub theme 3: Demographics

According to Gautam (2006), migration influences demographics because it changes the gender ratio and availability of labour force. This is evident in the demography of Bankhara-Bodulong, the number of available labour force for skilled, semi-skilled and non-skilled increased due to the number of migrants, hence people were complaining that the migrants are taking their jobs. The gender ratio changed as well because all the Bangladeshi in Bankhara-Bodulong are males. Due to lack of statistics available, it is difficult to determine the impact of migration on marriage statuses as well as the impact of migration on reducing the number of active population.

5.8. Theme 3: Mixed Experiences of migrants and locals

Both victims and perpetrators revealed their experiences in the community of Bankhara-Bodulong. However, their experiences differ, hence the categorisation as mixed experiences. This section reports about both positive and negative experiences of participants in the community inclusive of residents and foreign nationals.

5.8.1 Sub theme 1: Bangladeshi helped community members

While South Africa has provided Bangladeshi men with economic opportunities, the success of their businesses relies on their hard work that includes long hours of labour (Munshi, 2011). However, in Bankhara, before the experience of the attacks, Bangladeshi were more than generous as they used to also afford community members an opportunity to purchase on credit which is seen as a generous gesture to community members.

“I had trust and hope in these men and especially a man called Khan, they were very helpful people in the community since we have disadvantaged families here in Bankhara-Bodulong, in case of funerals whereby the family did not have insurance or any problems I would go to them and ask donations and they would help, he was child to us, he was a loving person, he was a very helpful person.” (Official 1)

“They were very helpful when we do not have enough money and sometime without any money at all but they would just help us.” (Perpetrator 2)

“Before the 2016 incident we were living ok, because they were even helping our elders – they were able to give them goods in credit and then pay them when they get their pension, life was easy and we did not have any problems.” (Perpetrator 5)

“The relationship was fine in a way that we were taking them as our own as we all know that we even call them ‘My friends’ and they were very helping towards our elders in terms of being accessible, affordable and also giving goods in credit when needed.” (Perpetrator 6)

“They were even helping in the community for instance giving goods with credits.” (Perpetrator 7)

5.8.2 Sub theme 2: Bangladeshi lived in fear

Post the attacks and evictions, the Bangladeshi lived in fear as some community members kept an eye on them and threatened to burn their houses. This in turn, meant that they were denied an opportunity to see their children.

“Sometime my children’s father would come at home but in a sneaky manner just to see the children until the community realized that because there were people in the community who were observing the visitors during the night so they ended up going to my home and telling my parents that they will burn our house.” (Perpetrator 7)

5.8.3 Sub theme 3: Marriage

The romantic relationship between foreign nationals and local citizens in host state resulted in few getting married and having kids. The perception of marriages by locals is that the marriages are done just for business transactions, which guarantee citizenship. However, this incident has left families at destitute and broken, as foreign national were not allowed to visit their families in the community.

“According to me they must just go away because they only got married for nationality, they do not have any love for our sisters.” (Perpetrator 6)

5.8.4 Sub theme 4: Elements of criminality

The business of foreign nationals were targeted regularly through burglary. However, on the eve of the xenophobic violence, property was destroyed and shops belonging to Bangladeshi individuals were raided.

5.8.5 Sub theme 5: Derogatory term “Makula”

It appears that in the community of Bankhara-Bodulong, all foreign nationals seem to be labelled or are referred to in a particular names. Mostly, as known, foreign nationals from African countries are referred to as “Makwerekwere” but in Indians case, especially the ones from Bangladesh, they are referred to as “Makula”. What makes this term derogatory is the fact that the Indians do not like to be referred to as such.

5.9.Theme 4: Murder

5.9.1 Sub-theme 1: knowledge about murder

Following a peaceful shared experience between Bangladeshi and Bankhara community members, the experience turned unpleasant after claims of a young boy who was stabbed to death by a Bangladeshi. The memories still resonating in community members’ minds are as follows:

“The child was murdered for the meat, the meat that Mokula was braaiing on the braaistand so Mokula stabbed the 15 years old child.” (Perpetrator 3)

“The issue is not clear, but it is something like his friend stole the meat and ran away so they chased him, but they could not catch him, so when they came back, they stabbed this one.” (Perpetrator 4)

“The one who was inside the shop got stabbed with a knife when he came out.” (Perpetrator 6)

5.9.2 Sub-theme 2: lack of knowledge about murder

While some community members could recall the incident of murder, some community members are still unaware of what caused the murder that led to attacks against the Bangladeshi.

“Even today we are still not sure of what led to the murder because even the people who were there during the even cannot come forth and tell the real story so we cannot know who is wrong.” (Perpetrator 5).

“I still do not understand what really happened and I have not even asked till today.” (Perpetrator 7)

5.10. Theme 5: Case handling

5.10.1 Sub-theme 1: Poor law enforcement

In South Africa, courts are responsible for administering justice for civil and criminal acts for the administration of justice. They ought to apply the law of South Africa and are established under the *Constitution of South Africa* (1996) or under Acts of the South African Parliament. However, following the murder case mentioned above, community members felt that the South African court of law has failed them as the case was dropped.

“I think they failed us, but I was not present at court so I would not know how he was defended but for all I know is that you cannot kill somebody and win the case, especially if it was not self-defence and you cannot also stab someone twenty-seven(27) holes and say it was a mistake, maybe if it was 1 hole.” (Perpetrator4)

“I would say the investigators were not investigating well and then it seems like the magistrate is letting people go.” (Perpetrator 5)

“According to me, the police took it seriously, but we are not Satisfied on the way they dealt with the case, including the court.” (Perpetrator 1)

5.10.2 Sub-theme 2: Police bribery

While community members are of the view that the court of law failed them, some believe that this was culminated by bribes received by police officers.

“It impossible that there could be a murder and then suddenly the Mokula is being taken back home so it means that some police were paid by the Makula and that is why we are still after this matter.” (Perpetrator1)

“Yes, they bribe the police.” (Perpetrator 5)

5.11. Theme 6: Bangladeshi unwelcomed

The attacks have left the community members raving with anger as they averred that they no longer want to see the Bangladeshi in their community as some hold the perception that they reduce their chances to be business owners.

“Up to now they are not welcoming any other residence out of Bankhara” (Official 4)

“We do not want Makula in Bankhara.” (Perpetrator 3)

“I think the guys who were evicted from our village, they must just stay wherever they are because there is peace and harmony at moment.” (Perpetrator 4)

“In the community they say that they do not want those people in the communities...community was saying these people are taking our sector, whereby this sector used to work under them so when they came in numbers to flood the sector, because the prices were lower and the prices of the local businesses were a bit high so the community started to support the lower prices tuck shops for they had to compare prices and they had to support a business where they can products cheaper.” (Official 4)

5.12. Theme 7: Impact

5.12.1 Sub-theme 1: Children skipped school

The impact of having Bangladeshi in the community of Bankhara varied by situations experienced. During their period of stay in the community, parents were unhappy with having their shops as they indirectly affected the education of their children since they used to spend more time at these shops and bunk classes, thereby skipping school. However, this does not seem to be a problem anymore since their eviction.

“There were people who always had a problem with Pakistanis since most kids were spending a lot of time there at their shops instead of going to school.” (Perpetrator 1)

“I was not satisfied because our children were missing school and spending their time at Makula shops.” (Perpetrator 3)

5.13. Theme 8: Lack of conflict resolution strategy

The community together with its leadership lack conflict resolution strategy on how to defuse the tension inherited in this diverse and dynamic community, in terms of culture and spoken language as also indicated in the census municipality report in 2011 (Census, 2011). The community does have structures in place together with the South African police service, but structures are not actively involved for this purpose. Noting that generally South African has a history of using violence as a means of resolving conflicts, what happened in Bankhara-Bodulong bares testimony to this (Landau, 2011). Nevertheless, this normally takes place when relevant institution and exiting conflict mechanisms appeared to have failed adequately to address the issue or concerns at hand.

This research revealed that many meetings took place in the community, including the police where residents discussed their issues and requested community leaders to address them, this emanated after the allegation that one foreign national killed a young boy in the community for meat. The community members were not happy with the reaction by both the local community leaders and the police.

“I believe that the community leaders, especially those leading political structures took bribe and promised to convince us, but we refused and we believe they are frustrated because they ate the money, hence they inaction.” (Perpetrator 4)

“The police eat with Makula.” (Perpetrator 7).

“The ward councillor, eat with Makula, they even call her Mama, when you talk to them about anything else, is Mama this, Mama that... everything Mama.”(Perpetrator 6)

Respondents pointed out that after the meetings, there were other meetings without the community where they believe promises were made to the concerned stakeholders. All political party leaders were involved and present in these meetings and were working together on this issue, especially after the foreign nationals were evicted from the community. This process took place in an attempt to bring them back into the community. However, this angered the community who ended up resolving that they would not negotiate and would not hold any meetings to discuss the re-integration of foreigners. In the end, the perceived inaction or inability of the community leader together with local authorities led to residents to resort violence attack against foreign nationals from Bangladesh. However, in the absence of legitimate leaders seen leading, other political configurations always emerge to provide direction for articulated interest at hand. Sometimes they operate under no rules and are untouchable (Landau, 2011).

5.14. Theme 9: The effects of migration in Bankhara-Bodulong

The ever-growing inequalities, poverty and unemployment have resulted from neoliberal policies leading to many protests in the country. In the process of rising community discontent, Jacobsen and Landau (2003) argue that elites also mobilise people against foreign nationals and this in turn fuels xenophobia by deflecting attention and frustration from the real causes of the declining standard of living.

5.15. Theme 10: Assimilation of Bangladesh people in the community of Bankhara-Bodulong

Against the background of social cohesion theory, the theory is enriched in the capacity of the societies but merely networks to manage contradiction and facilitate peace. In support, Easterly (2006) points out that the failure to properly manage and realise social cohesion in a community as it is based on the nature including the degree of social and economic division within the societies tend to result in cleavages.

As indicated above, few foreign nationals in the community made it in the community through network theory. However, upon arrival they became part of the community, learning the culture of the locals to the extent of marrying the community of Bankhara-Bodulong including children. Although there are accusations in the community that these marriages took place under false pretence, the reality remains that, both local and foreign nationals' failure to properly manage their contradictions resulted in this situation. As the theory of social cohesion required, the foreign nationals even went further to the extent of learning Setswana, as the dominant language in the community.

“According to me they must just go away because they only got married for nationality, they do not have any love for our sisters.”(Perpetrator 5)

The strength of this theory is primarily based on the crisis of social bonds and social solidarity. However, in the context of this research, the use of the concept of social cohesion is a response to the consequences of the structural changes produced in terms of keeps social ties connected together in the society.

This attack saw a number of families and, business and romantic relationships broken without forgetting the huge revenue estimated to be ten million rands this impact on the community local economy. However, the attacks can be directed to frustration aggression theory, whereby citizens are frustrated over service delivery issues, as results foreign national, especially people of Bangladesh where seen to be flourish in the community of Bankhara-Bodulong, since they are nearby, hence the anger was directed to them.

However the aftermath of the attack, the community of Bankhara-Bodulong saw the foreign nationals from Bangladesh leaving the area. In turn, this departure left a massive number of the community who were dependent on their retail store goods and others supplies with no other options but to rely more on the nearest town for major supplies like milk and bread including airtime.

Democracy as witnessed in 1994 in South Africa, which opened its borders for migration, did not necessarily led to regional cooperation or peace. As a result, there is unabated rise of xenophobic sentiments against the influx of both undocumented and documented foreign nationals. This creates barrier and confusion to reforms in immigration policies. Evident to this

fact is the ever-changing migration policies of South Africa. Surprisingly at the face value, it is not the failure of the citizen's inputs into public policy process, but rather the quality of parliamentary debates witness in the country seems to be the challenge. While on the other hand, this might be attributed to quality of research production and thinking capacity.

5.16. Conclusion

This chapter highlighted the results of the fieldwork which was carried out by the researcher in Bankhara-Bodulong. The findings revealed that the main cause of the xenophobia event that occurred in Bankhara-Bodulong was the argument between foreigners and a local who was accused of stealing meat from one of the shops. The victims of the xenophobic violence were all Bangladesh males who were self-employed and owned spaza shops in the community. The main reason that drives Bangladeshi foreigners to migrate is mostly economic factors associated with the desire for a better life. The findings revealed that factors such as corruption, poverty and a lack of rule of law were cited as push factors to migrate from Bangladesh. The social cohesion theory proposes that in order to reduce lack of trust between foreigners and locals, community activities should be a priority. Using this platform, foreigners would be able to introduce themselves to the community upon arrival and would be able to participate in local cultural events and gatherings.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION

6.1. Introduction

The purpose of this study was to examine the impact of migration on xenophobic attacks in South Africa in the case of Bankhara-Bodulong, Northern Cape Province, in 2016. This was achieved through the collection of primary and secondary data. This chapter highlights the summary of findings and provides recommendations for the subject matter, which is done through revisiting the study objectives and linking them to the findings.

6.2. Research Questions

- How did migration influence xenophobic attacks in Bankhara-Bodulong, Northern Cape Province, in the year 2016?
- What are the potential, positive, and negative effects of migration on South Africa?
- Which methods can be applied to mitigate xenophobic attacks?

6.3. Procedure taken to answer the research questions

The fieldwork for this study was carried out in Bankhara-Bodulong, Kuruman, Northern Cape province of South Africa because this is where cases of xenophobic violence were reported in 2016. The study used a semi-structured interview to gather data from participants. An interview guide was the primary data collecting tool which the researcher used to ask questions to the respondents. A total of eighteen interviews were carried out for the entire fieldwork of this study. A non-probability technique called purposive sampling was used to select participants in this study. This is because of the sensitivity of the topic under study and the fact that the researcher is a South African investigating an issue which is of great concern to migrants. To locate participants for this study, the researcher was assisted by the President of the Bangladesh community.

6.4. Outcome of the Literature Review

A number of gaps were identified in the existing literature on migration and xenophobic attacks. The first gap is that literature focuses on how xenophobic attacks affect the rights of migrants as opposed to how migration impacts to xenophobic attacks. Secondly, other studies focus on understanding xenophobia; how migrants can be protected from periodic xenophobic attacks as well as how migrants flowing from less developed regions to developed/developing regions are affected by xenophobic attacks. Thus, the study sought to achieve three objectives and fill in the gaps identified in the literature.

6.5. Summary of the Research Findings

The study identified two research problems. The first problem is that, the increase of foreign nationals resulted to the outbreaks of xenophobic attacks and these xenophobic attacks have a negative impact on diplomatic relations with other African countries. The second problem is that an increase of migrants in South Africa imposes insecurities on the locals, hence the xenophobic attacks. Thus, it is important to find a solution to solve these xenophobic attacks caused by an increase in foreign nationals. The study also identified literature gaps that have not dealt with the problems stated.

The first objective that the study sought to achieve was to identify how migration influences xenophobic attacks in Bankhara-Bodulong, Northern -Cape Province, in 2016. This objective was achieved through interviews. The data revealed that the people from Bankhara-Bodulong attacked migrants from Bangladesh because the tuck-shops owned by Bangladeshi posed as threat to that of South Africans. In addition, the Bangladeshi tuck-shops created a competitive market in the community, which affected the tuck-shop businesses of the locals. The Bangladeshis were also comfortable to a point of supplying grocery food packages to learners at school.

In addition, the interviews revealed that the xenophobic attacks were prompted by the death of a young boy who was stabbed by a foreign national. This incident infuriated the locals because the boy was killed for meat. The locals took matters into their own hands because of the perception that the law enforcement agency accepts bribes from foreign nationals hence they will delay to investigate the matter.

The second objective that was set out was to assess the potential, positive and negative effects of migration on hosting state. This objective was achieved through the examination of the positive and negative impact of migration on the host state, which is South Africa. Migration has a social, economic and political impact on South Africa. With regards to the social impact, migration has a positive impact in societies because it provides goods and services; however, due to social challenges such as poverty and unemployment, migrants are deemed to have a negative impact on the social aspect because community members see them as a threat. Migrants sometimes also participate in illicit activities, hence they are considered to have a negative impact on the social aspect. For example, the Bangladeshi that killed the 15 year old boy because of a piece of meat.

Migration has both negative and positive impact on the economy of South Africa. Firstly, migration contributes positively to the South African economy through the economic activities played by migrants. They contribute to the informal sector and they also contribute towards the circulation of money which affects the economic growth positively. In addition, migrant Bangladeshis contribute to the economy by supplying goods and services to the community of Bankhara-Bodulong. On the negative side, migrants affect the budget plan of South Africa, because they have to be accommodated as well. For example, the health services, they have to also receive health care services.

Due to the impact of migration on xenophobic attacks, migration has a negative impact on the international politics of South Africa because the xenophobic attacks that were caused due to migration led to reverse xenophobic attacks. Based on the secondary data that was collected, countries such as Nigeria, Zambia, Madagascar and Zimbabwe retaliated. Nigeria recalled South Africa's ambassador and the Nigerian citizens attacked South African businesses in Nigeria.

Furthermore, Madagascar and Zambia cancelled their friendly football game with South Africa and South African multinational corporations in Zambia were also attacked. In addition, flights from Tanzania to Johannesburg by Air Tanzania were cancelled. This shows that the impact of migration on South Africa had a negative impact on the politics of South Africa in the international arena.

6.6. Recommendations

The recommendations are drawn from social cohesion theory, and the forces that can bond members of the community of Bankhara-Bodulong together can either be negative such as things lost for leaving the members or positive- community or collective based rewards. Furthermore, it is revealed through the study that factors that influence community member's cohesiveness, for instance, are but not limited to, member's similarities, entry difficulty, group success, competition, community size, and threats. More so, the factors above often enhance the identification of persons within the community or group they belong to as well as their belief orientation and how they can fulfil their personal desire.

Therefore, it is important for foreign nationals of the community of Bankhara-Bodulong to work together with the local South Africans by reducing business competition and, most importantly, supporting each other to succeed. This suggests that foreign nationals in the community must think of using community structures to share business ideas, their strategies, methods etc. This is because they have been deemed to be successful in running small businesses.

Government also needs to play an important role and reduce red tape when coming to the development of small businesses. However, the responsibility of full implementation of social cohesion remains with each and every individual in the community, because it is necessary to build the society that has been destroyed by hate and suspicion. The community of Bankhara-Bodulong, through identified structures such as community police forum, youth against crime, political structures, church groups, and local authorities, must set high performance goals to address these kinds of incidents so that history does not repeat itself.

Although economic competition was revealed as a major cause for xenophobic violence, it is important to identify persons within the community. One group of participants mentioned that unknown members in the community can also act as threats and other members can take advantage of their unknown status for the wrong reasons. One suggestion is that upon entry of all new members in the community, including foreign nationals, the first entry point must either be the ward councillor or local chiefs. This process must be followed by a community meeting where new members will be introduced to the community. This process on its own will strengthen social cohesion. Furthermore, all members of the community should participate in community programs such as community meetings and sports activities.

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