

**An Analysis of Knowledge and Opinions on Xenophobia  
among  
North-West University Students, Mafikeng Campus,  
South Africa (2008-2010)**



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**A Mini-dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for  
the degree of Master of Arts in Peace Studies and International Relations at  
the North West University, Mafikeng Campus, Mafikeng, South Africa.**

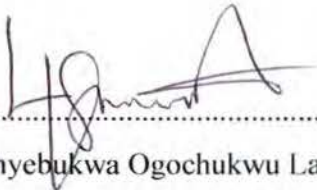
**Supervisor: Prof. Victor Ojakorotu.**

**November 2011**



## DECLARATION

I, Onyebukwa Ogochukwu Laura, hereby declare that the mini-dissertation titled: *An Analysis of Knowledge and Opinions on Xenophobia Among North West University Students, Mafikeng Campus, South Africa (2008-2010)*, has not been submitted at this or any other university. That it is my work in conception and design and that all materials contained herein have been duly acknowledged.



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## ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

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## ABSTRACT

The main objective of this study was to analyze the knowledge and opinions on Xenophobia among Students in North West University, Mafikeng Campus, North-West Province, South Africa.

The hypotheses tested by the research were that negative opinions about foreigners lead to inclination to xenophobia; positive opinions about foreigners lead to non-inclination toward xenophobia and that economic and sociological factors influence negative opinions about foreigners.

The results of the study showed that the major source of opinions about foreigners were mostly through personal contact with foreigners possibly within the university environment as foreign lecturers and students account for a sizable percentage of the university population.

The majority of the respondents knew and understood xenophobia as hatred and dislike of foreigners. Many of the respondents were of the opinion that only a few South Africans were xenophobic. Only 2.5% actually admitted to having hatred and dislike for foreigners.

It was found that whereas the inclination of respondents to xenophobia decreases with increase in friendships with foreigners, it increases with increase in the opinion that foreigners must not be allowed into South Africa. Also while inclination of respondents to xenophobia increases with increase in the opinion that foreigners are a threat to locals securing matrimonial partners; in their own words “taking away their women”, surprisingly it decreases with increase in the view that foreigners are taking the jobs meant for South Africans.

Previous studies have shown that attitudes toward xenophobia are mostly associated with people with very little or no educational exposure and that fear, dislike and hatred, generally result from ignorance. This appears to be the case regarding xenophobia and negative attitudes towards

foreigners in South Africa, the primary challenge identified here is education. Adult education at grass-root level has a role to play.

It is recommended that citizens be given access to accurate information through all sorts of media such as television programmes, radio, newspapers and magazines, to dispel myths and stereotypes about migrants, immigrants and refugees.

In addition, a greater sense of continentalism and internationalism should be developed in the country through adult education and curriculum reform at schools and through the public pronouncements of opinion-makers. Service delivery should also be improved in the rural areas and township settlements which evidently are the areas prone to such incidents of xenophobia. Immigration laws should be revised to provide guidelines regarding the issuance and renewal of permits, as well as implementing more stringent steps to ensure effective border control, thereby limiting and eventually curbing illegal migrants in the country.

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ANC	African National Congress
B.E.E	Black Economic Empowerment
B.B.B.E.E	Broad Based Black Economic Empowerment
G.C.R.O	Gauteng City Region Observatory
N.I.P.S	National Immigration Policy Survey
N.W.U	North West University
S.A	South Africa
S.A.D.C	Southern African Development Community
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## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

#### 1.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a brief overview into the background of the study, the terms of reference for the research, the problem statement and the research hypotheses, the objectives of the research and the importance of the study.

#### 1.2 Background of the study

In this era of globalization, with an increasing advancement in technology, it is impossible for nations to pursue isolationist policies. Although nations are legally independent of each other by virtue of sovereignty, they are by no means isolated or insulated from each other. "States are usually involved in international markets which affect the policies of their government and the wealth of their citizens, thus requiring that they enter into relations with each other" (Jackson & Sorensen, 2007:2).

This incidence of inter-relationship between states has lent credence to the fact that the world has indeed grown to become a global village and all the boundaries as well as territorial limitations are fast crumbling in the face of globalization. With the increase in human mobility being one of the notable experiences of the 21st century, people are pulled and pushed within and beyond their borders by political conflicts, natural calamities or economic opportunities (Yusuf, 2010).

South Africa has not been spared this phenomenon. Since the end of apartheid the country has become a magnet to other African countries due to its economic advancement on the continent.

The country has since become an attractive destination for both documented and undocumented migrants from the continent, with the political and economic problems of neighboring countries, like Zimbabwe and Mozambique, especially increasing undocumented and illegal migration. Estimations about the number of migrants in South Africa vary from 800 000 to an unrealistically high number of 9 000 000 (Blank & Buchholz, 2007).

Harris notes that despite the transition from apartheid to democracy, prejudice and violence continue to mark the image of contemporary South Africa. With the steady increase in migration, came a rise in intolerance and animosity towards immigrants across all social classes. The shift in political power has brought about a range of new discriminatory practices and victims. One such victim is the foreigner, standing at a site where identity, racism and violent practices are reproduced (Harris, 2002:169). Immigrants are treated with great wariness, and are seen as intruders and enemies.

In May 2008, the national mood reached its climax when frustration peaked over spiraling interest rates, recent electricity black-outs endemic in the major centers, soaring oil and food prices, worsening unemployment, increasing complaints and protests about poor service delivery and increase in crime (Nyar, 2008:5).

All lingering hopes and expectations of the common citizens for the “miracle” of the post-apartheid “Rainbow Nation” were fast evaporating. The electricity blackouts in particular shook the confidence of ordinary citizens of all races, suggesting to South Africans that they may indeed be living in “just another African country” instead of an imaginary First World space where services run uninterrupted, smoothly and affordably. “More affluent South Africans of all races spoke increasingly of emigration; and those less well-off blamed foreigners for taking their share of the proverbial national “cake” which included jobs, houses, consumer services and even women (Everatt, 2010 : 6).

This highlights the social divide and inequality between the South African affluent (predominantly Whites) and the poor (mostly Blacks). Whilst the affluent rationalized the solution as moving to better opportunities outside the country, the poor and less well-off turned on the foreigners, making them out as convenient scapegoats to blame for all their economic woes. As Everatt (2010:7) puts it:

“Everything came to be blamed on foreigners, unemployment was blamed on foreigners undercutting locals; lack of housing occurred because foreigners bribed officials; lack of services resulted from the same, which saw foreigners jump to the front of the queue; there were no small-scale market entry opportunities because foreigners had taken them; foreigners were selling drugs to the youths who were increasingly beyond their parents' control; foreigners were committing crime; the ANC government was seen to be “soft on foreigners”; and on and on went the list of complaints through which one can see the process of “othering” foreigners reach its peak as they were accused of “killing our nation”

It is this same process of “othering” that eventually culminated in the xenophobia induced violence directed against foreigners who are seen to be a threat to the people’s economic and social life.

These assumptions are invisibly pressured with the fact that post-apartheid South Africa has in a way failed to deliver what it promised at independence in 1994 (Yusuf, 2010). With the transition from the apartheid regime, which was mainly exclusionary of black South Africans to democracy, came a promise of better living conditions; better paid jobs, free housing, quality education and all what had been denied the citizens by the apartheid regime.

“Despite remarkable achievements in some areas, despite social grants and free basic services, despite development programmes in virtually every sector, despite Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) and its follow-up, Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment (BBBEE), government has significantly failed to address inequality even though poverty levels have slowly but steadily decreased over time” (Everatt, 2010 15).

Non realization of a greater part of these promises 14years later (1994 to 2008) saw the level of dissatisfaction spiraling uncontrollably; service delivery protests were on the increase as the people queried the credibility of their leaders. A fall out of this dissatisfaction with economic conditions is the xenophobia induced violence directed against the foreigners who were seen to have come to compete for already scarce resources to which they had no legitimate claim.

Between May 2008 and late 2009, Black and Asian immigrants were attacked in different parts of South Africa in the worst form of violence since the end of apartheid. “The wave of



violence ripped across Gauteng and then spread like wildfire across the country, and left 62 dead, almost 700 injured, hundreds of thousands displaced from their homes country-wide and many were forced to flee the country and return to their countries of origin” (Everatt, 2010). This was the worst recorded incident of unprovoked violence in the history of the new post-apartheid South Africa.

Even though the use of violence as a problem-solving mechanism and as a tool of political leverage is familiar to South Africans, judging from the history of the apartheid struggle, “the wave of xenophobic violence perpetrated against African nationals in various informal settlements and townships across South Africa in May 2008, was able to shock most South Africans” including those long desensitized to violent social and political crime (Nyar, 2008: 5).

This spate of violence has prompted some people to describe this phenomenon as the new apartheid; by blacks against other blacks after the end of white minority rule (Mwakikagile, 2008). The black South Africans have thus seemingly taken over the reins of apartheid power from their white counterparts and have turned the tables of discrimination on the foreigners who are now seen as illegitimate heirs of the spoils of their hard won democracy.

A lot has been said and done trying to explain this phenomenon, but the fact remains that xenophobia undermines principles of human equality, social justice and social cohesion (Harris, 2002). Recent international forums on migration and development have consistently highlighted the need to tackle xenophobia and the related political, economic, and social exclusion of migrants, immigrants, and refugees (Crush and Jonathan, 2009). Xenophobia induced violence in South Africa as bad blood that runs deeper than what came to fore in

May 2008 and unless it is traced to the roots and addressed, it is very likely that recurrences of greater magnitude would someday become a norm.

This research is one of such efforts aimed at tracing the roots of xenophobia as an anomaly borne out of negative opinions and misconceptions about foreigners by locals and making recommendations on how to limit and possibly eradicate future recurrences.

**1.3 Terms of reference:** Xenophobia, Foreigner, Immigrants, Immigration, Sociological and

#### **Definition of concepts**

**Xenophobia** in this study refers to fear and dislike for foreigners.

A **foreigner** or an **immigrant** in this study refers to a person who is not a South African citizen.

**Immigration** is the process of leaving ones country to travel to or reside in another country.

Sociological and economic factors identified by this study include; inter-personal relationships with foreigners, competition for jobs, houses and matrimonial partners.

#### **1.4 Statement of the problem**

Xenophobic attacks have in recent times, especially between 2008 and 2010, become a recurrent factor in South Africa. Various explanations have been given for this degeneration into violence, but not enough to provide an understanding of the root causes of this phenomenon.

This study focuses on negative opinions and pre-conceptions of people as a factor predisposing them to xenophobia as induced by violence. In the light of the current world trend towards globalization and with immigration being one of the notable incidences thereof, there is a need to address xenophobic issues in South Africa as it poses a threat to social justice and human development. This research is also motivated by a deep seated concern for the levels of inhumanity and suffering inflicted on the victims and survivors, the need to identify the triggers of this violence and to develop recommendations that can be used by policy makers to address the problem and if possible permanently eradicate it in future.

### **1.5 Objectives**

The main objective of this study is to analyse knowledge and opinions on Xenophobia among students in North-West University, Mafikeng Campus.

This study will explore the following:

1. An assessment of the knowledge of the students regarding their understanding and opinions on xenophobia issues in South Africa.
2. An analysis of the opinions of the students about foreigners with respect to: positive contributions of foreigners to the economy; respect for human rights of foreigners; Social relations with foreigners; the conception of foreigners taking the jobs meant for South Africans and the association of foreigners to increased crime rate.
3. An establishment of a functional relationship between pro and non-xenophobic opinions (dependent variable) and sociological and economic factors (independent variables) of the students.

In addition, its sub-objective is to make policy recommendations from the findings of the research that may be available for use by policy-makers and government departments in order to motivate behavioural change based on future policies.

### **1.6 Hypotheses of the study**

This study tests the following hypotheses:

- a) Negative opinions about foreigners lead to xenophobia;
- b) Positive opinions about foreigners lead to non-xenophobic inclination, and
- c) Economic and sociological factors influence opinions about foreigners.

### **1.7 Importance of the study**

The gravity of the xenophobia induced violence experienced in the country in 2008 is not such that can be sufficiently interrogated by a handful of general research as has been the case so far. It requires that all aspects of the root causes of this phenomenon be fully interrogated.

This study presents an analysis of xenophobia purely from the researcher's point of view in a typical South African higher institution. The study area used for this research is a predominantly black populated campus of a higher institution. With black South Africans having been shown to be more susceptible to xenophobia induced violence, this study interrogates their opinions on the subject matter purely from the researcher's point of view in a learning environment.

## **1.8 Relevance for the discipline**

This study is undertaken in the department of politics and international relations. With migration and human mobility being an important incidence of globalization and the need for equality and protection of human rights being a major concern of international relations, policy recommendations from this study will go a long way towards shaping foreign policy on the matter of migration in South Africa. Also, Xenophobia can be viewed as an economic cost factor for South Africa as this country is in need of qualified, skilled and professional labour as well as having the socio-economical need to attract foreign investment. Recommendations from this study can help in the formation and strengthening of new or existing local policies on the matter.

## CHAPTER TWO

### LITERATURE REVIEW

#### 2.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a review of the literature and will focus on: Xenophobia as a concept, xenophobia globally and in South Africa, the socio-economic factors that constitute aggravating factors, opinions about foreigners as determinants of Xenophobia and Xenophobia surveys globally and in South Africa.

#### 2.2 Xenophobia as a concept

The etiology of the word Xenophobia shows that it originates from the Greek words; “*Xeno*” meaning foreign and “*phobos*” meaning fear (phobia), or dislike. Xenophobia is defined as an unreasonable fear, distrust, or hatred of strangers, foreigners, or anything perceived as foreign or different (South African Pocket Oxford Dictionary of Current English, 1994). The Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary defines xenophobia as the “fear and hatred of strangers or foreigners or of anything that is strange or foreign”. Xenophobia as a concept is a form of attitudinal, affective, and behavioral prejudice towards immigrants and those perceived as foreign (Yakushko, 2009). According to Reynolds and Vine (1987), xenophobia is a “psychological state of hostility towards or fear of outsiders”. Its focus is on individuals who come from “other countries” and toward whom native individuals have “an intense dislike or fear”.

The common ground emphasized by the definitions above is that the term “xenophobia” is used to denote a “dislike of foreigners”. It is usually characterized by a negative attitude towards foreigners; a dislike, a fear, or hatred.

Xenophobia may manifest in so many ways: verbal abuse and use of specific terms that undermine other people’s confidence creating a feeling of alienation; discrimination in jobs; refusal of jobs to a group; attacks on property as a result of lack of physical security; physical attacks, assaults on group members, stabs, deaths, resulting from further lack of security; genocide, mass murder, extermination of whole families and cultural groups.

More recent definitions of xenophobia suggest that the fear of foreigners and their impact is linked with ethnocentrism, which is characterized by the attitude that one’s own group or culture is superior to others (Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary). Other people view xenophobia as a multi-dimensional and multi-causal phenomenon intricately tied to notions of nationalism and ethnocentrism, both of which are characterized by belief in the superiority of one’s nation-state over others (Licata & Klein, 2002). These conceptions appear to be true in the South African context wherein foreigners, especially Africans, are looked down upon as being inferior culturally, economically and socially. This attitude of superiority is sometimes manifested in derogatory name calling, the most popularly known being *makwerekwere*.

The same view is expressed by Watts (1996), wherein xenophobia is defined as a “discriminatory potential,” which is activated when ideology, such as ethnocentrism, is connected to a sense of threat on a personal or group level. An example of such threat in the

South African context is an individual or cultural perception that foreigners are taking away jobs from native workers.

## **2.3 Theories upon which the study is constructed**

### **2.3.1. Sociological theory of prejudice and discrimination**

Xenophobic attitudes are deeply rooted in prejudice and discrimination. Prejudice has to do with the inflexible and irrational attitudes and opinions held by members of one group about another, while discrimination refers to behaviors directed against another group (Farley, 2000 :18). Being prejudiced usually means having preconceived beliefs about groups of people or cultural practices. Although it can either be positive or negative, both forms are usually preconceived and difficult to alter. The negative form of prejudice can lead to discrimination, however, it is possible to be prejudiced and not act upon the attitudes.

According to the sociological theory of prejudice and discrimination, those who practice prejudice and discrimination do so to protect opportunities for themselves by denying access to those whom they believe do not deserve the same treatment as everyone else. This discrimination is usually based on issues of race and ethnicity (Cliff's notes, 2011). Sociologists have identified the following as common causes of prejudice and discrimination:

#### **1. Socialization**

Many prejudices seem to be passed along from parents to children. The media; including television, movies, and advertising, also perpetuate demeaning images and stereotypes about assorted groups, such as ethnic minorities, women, gays and lesbians, the disabled, and the elderly.

## 2. Conforming behaviors

Prejudices may bring support from significant others, so rejecting prejudices may lead to losing social support. The pressures to conform to the views of families, friends, and associates can be formidable.

## 3. Economic benefits

Social studies have confirmed that prejudice especially rises when groups are in direct competition for jobs. This may help to explain why prejudice increases dramatically during times of economic and social stress.

## 4. Authoritarian personality

In response to early socialization, some people are especially prone to stereotypical thinking and projection based on unconscious fears. People with an authoritarian personality rigidly conform, submit without question to their superiors, reject those they consider to be inferiors, and express intolerant sexual and religious opinions.

## 5. Ethnocentrism

Ethnocentrism is the tendency to evaluate others' cultures by one's own cultural norms and values. It also includes a suspicion of outsiders. Most cultures have their ethnocentric tendencies, which usually involve stereotypical thinking.

## 6. Group closure

Group closure is the process whereby groups keep clear boundaries between themselves and others. Refusing to marry outside an ethnic group is an example of how group closure is accomplished.

### **2.3.2. Psychological Theory of Prejudice and Discrimination**

Psychological theories explain prejudice and discrimination as a means through which people express hostility arising mainly from frustration. This theory encompasses a whole lot of theories such as the Power Conflict theory, the Isolation hypothesis and the Scape-goating hypothesis (Osman, 2009).

### **2.3.3 The Power Conflict Theory**

The conflict theory maintains that, in order to hold onto distinctive social status, power, and possessions, privileged groups in see that no competition for resources arises from minority groups. The powerful may even be ready to resort to extreme acts of violence against others to protect their interests. As a result, members of underprivileged groups may retaliate with violence in an attempt to improve their circumstances. In other words, violence is used as a tool to ward off perceived threats. Thus, xenophobic violence may be used as a means of eliminating perceived competition for access to jobs, housing and all other threats represented by foreigners to the locals.

### **2.3.4. The Scape-goating hypothesis of Xenophobia**

According to this hypothesis, the emotionality arising from prejudice comes from the subconscious attitudes that cause a person to ward off feelings of inadequacy by projecting them onto a target group (Cliffs notes, 2011). By using certain people as scapegoats, anxiety

and uncertainty are reduced by attributing complex problems to a simple cause: “those people are the source of all my problems.”

The Scape-goating hypothesis locates xenophobia within the context of social transition and change (Harris, 2002 : 171). Within the South African context, transition in this instance, being the transition from the exclusionary “apartheid” regime to democracy, has created heightened expectations, and when after several years of anticipation these expectations were not met, pent up frustrations and indignation had to be vented. Thus, according to Tshitereke, an “ideal situation was created for a phenomenon like xenophobia to take root and flourish as South Africa’s political transition to democracy has exposed the unequal distribution of resources and wealth in the country” (1999:4, cited in Harris, 2002:171).

Hostility and xenophobia induced violence in South Africa and can therefore be explained in relation to foreigners being made out as frustration scapegoats and convenient targets to be blamed for ongoing deprivation and poverty (Harris 2002:171). They are victimized for being a threat to jobs, housing, education and healthcare.

### **2.3.5. Isolation Hypothesis of xenophobia**

The Isolation Hypothesis attributes prejudice and discrimination to long term isolation between nationals of one country (the in-group) and another (out-group) (Morapedi, 2007: 233).

In South Africa, this hypothesis explains xenophobia as a consequence of “apartheid” and South Africa’s seclusion from the international community.

According to Morris:

“Apartheid insulated South African citizens from nationalities beyond southern Africa..... With the political transition, South Africa’s borders opened up and the country has become integrated into the international community.....bringing South Africans into direct contact with the unknown; with foreigners.....when a group has no history of incorporating strangers it may find it difficult to be welcoming” (Morris, 1998 : 1125, cited in Harris, 2002 : 172).

In other words, foreigners are unknown, and it is this sense of uncertainty that generates fear and dislike, which ultimately produce prejudice and the overt manifestation of violence and aggression.

#### **2.3.6. Bio-cultural hypothesis of xenophobia**

The bio-cultural hypothesis locates the origins of xenophobia in the existence of different physical, biological and cultural traits between nationals and foreigners (Morapedi, 2007). In other words, xenophobia exists because of the visible differences in terms of physical and biological features and cultural differences exhibited by foreigners in a country.

In South Africa, studies have shown that xenophobia is not applied equally to all foreigners (Harris 2002: 173) as some foreigners are at greater risk than others. For instance, West African nationals are more at risk than nationals from Southern African countries, because of their physical features, dress and language accent. Bio-cultural features are therefore significant in generating xenophobia because they identify the targets.

## 2.4. Xenophobia globally

Xenophobia has been identified as a global phenomenon not restricted to Africa or South Africa in particular. On the global level, it is often associated with times of economic and political instability. Economic imbalance pulls individuals toward countries with prospects of higher earnings or sheer survival, whereas political, economic, and cultural tensions push many out toward new lands (Marsella & Ring, 2003). This migration of large groups of people across borders can in return result in the host community's reaction of feeling threatened by the newcomers, either because of perceptions of economic strain or of cultural dissimilarity (Esses et al, 2001).

Scholars from both Western Europe and the United States indicate that foreigners are often targeted as convenient scapegoats during difficult cultural and economic transitions. According to Fritzsche (1994), prejudice against immigrants can offer an emotional outlet for fear when both the internal and external affairs of a country are unstable.

Xenophobic violence has been reported in various parts of the world at different points in time; the first reported incident in Marseille, France dated as far back as 1973, and was predominantly directed against Algerians. Also during the elections in 2002, candidate Jean-Marie Le Pen defeated the incumbent socialist opposition leader Lionel Jospin with his anti-immigration, anti-crime election campaign.

Similar attacks on foreigners in Russia are reportedly on the increase, with the target victims being not just ordinary immigrants only, but also influential political figures. "In separate incidents, former ambassador Sidney Makana and Minister Mpendulo Khumalo were

assaulted by groups of young men. Kiba Kekana and William Baloyi, members of Mayor Smangaliso Mkhathshwa's delegation, were saved by the municipal police from violent attacks" (Burton, 2002).

In Holland, the List Pim Fortuyn Party has championed a similar xenophobic cause (Burton, 2002). Its assassinated leader Pim Fortuyn is best remembered for labelling Islam, and by implication labeled Muslims as "backward". His assertion that "Holland is full!" found fertile ground as voters elected the party to second spot in parliament, in addition to its spot in the Rotterdam municipality. Similarly, rightwing parties with a xenophobic character enjoy parliamentary presence in 13 European Union states (Burton, 2002). Following the September 11 attacks in the United States, negative sentiments towards Arabs/Muslims have significantly increased, giving vent in some instances to violence.

All these xenophobic manifestations in various parts of the world ignore historical immigration patterns and their benefits for recipient states. The education and skills of many refugees have boosted economic development, apart from diversifying the social and cultural character of recipient states. Migrant workers have contributed to the industrial and agricultural development of the states over many decades. Despite their invaluable contribution, immigrants continue to be victims of physical attacks, racial abuse, exploitation and extortion on the global scale.

## **2.5. Xenophobia in South Africa**

Xenophobia is not a phenomenon that is limited to Western countries. Attitude studies and countless assaults against foreign Africans show that a climate of xenophobia has been

penetrating the South African society since the end of the Apartheid Era (Blank & Buchholz, 2007). Ironically, the first recorded incident of xenophobia occurred a few months after the 1994 elections. "In January 1995, the Alexandra Land and Property Owners Association organized a march of about 400 residents to the police station to demand the immediate eviction of foreign residents" (Neiftagodien in Hassim ed. 2008 : 73).

In May 1997, it was reported that residents of the Maputo section in Setswetla squatter camp, consisting of mostly Mozambican families were attacked by groups of youths from the Alexandra Township (Neiftagodien in Hassim ed. 2008 : 73). There was also yet another incident in 2000, amongst the local progressive movements, seeking to exclude foreigners in the process of allocation of flats on the East bank. These earlier occurrences point to the fact that such sentiments have been prevalent and that the events of May 2008 was a culmination and climax of it all.

The history of South Africa has been plagued with discrimination and oppression in the form of apartheid. From 1948 when apartheid was formally introduced to 1994 when it ended, the white minority discriminated against the black majority. This racial discrimination came to be reflected in virtually all sectors of the South African economy; education, health, housing, employment and job creation, thereby leaving a perpetual legacy of inequality and poverty amongst the blacks.

Since the end of apartheid, officially in 1994, South Africans have made significant progress towards building a free and democratic society that is based on respect for the rights of all citizens. In the words of the new constitution "South Africa belongs to all who live in it". However, foreigners, especially black foreigners from other African countries have not fully

benefited from this new found freedom as they continue to experience discrimination from the hands of their black South African brothers with whom they joined forces in the struggle for freedom from white oppression. Most black South Africans perceive foreigners as people who have come to take away their hard earned opportunities towards a better economic and social life. This animosity has manifested in the overt acts of xenophobia induced violence.

In the South African context, xenophobia as a term must be reframed to incorporate practice. It is not just an attitude; it is an activity. It is not just a dislike or fear of foreigners; it is a violent practice that results in bodily harm and damage (Harris, 2002:170). The origin of xenophobia in South Africa can be traced back to the transition from apartheid to democracy in 1994. With the end of apartheid came the ideology that the country must be protected from outsiders. To encourage it, the country had to put its citizens first for this change to be effective (McConnell, 2009). Unfortunately, outsiders here was read to include both the whites responsible for apartheid as well as black opportunists from other African countries who would come to exploit opportunities for the new found freedom, hence the animosity to the perceived threat represented by foreigners.

More particularly, the violent practice that comprises xenophobia must be further refined to include its specific target, because, in South Africa, not all foreigners are uniformly victimized; rather, foreigners from African countries comprise the majority of victims. Also pertinent to note is the fact that not all racial groups are the perpetrators, rather it is predominantly the black South Africans who are the major actors in his regard.

Another fact worthy of noting in terms of the xenophobia experience in South Africa is the fact that xenophobia is profoundly democratic, albeit in the majoritarian-popular sense, rather

than the liberal-constitutionalist one (Glaser in Hassim ed, 2008:53). It is not coming from the elites or from the major political parties or organized civil societies, instead it comes from the people at the grass root level; the poor fighting against the poor, even if only for the right to occupy a dilapidated shack. There seems to be a disconnect between the popular and the elite common sense on the issue of foreigners in South Africa, with the urban people occupying a different universe of meaning to the people who subscribe to internationalist ideologies and enjoy some insulation from daily struggles for material survival faced by the poor (Glaser in Hassim ed, 2008 :53).

African migrants have been blamed for the existing social and structural ills in the South African community, including unemployment, poverty, disease and crime. Xenophobia induced violence against African migrants and there is the assumption amongst South Africans that the migrants are responsible for the increasing incidences of unemployment in the country; African migrants are accused of stealing jobs that, allegedly, would have otherwise been taken by the local population.

Instead of intervening, many South African politicians as well as the media, would rather intensify the atmosphere of xenophobia, quoting unrealistically high migration numbers and using metaphors like “floods” and “waves” to describe the extent of migration, indirectly implying that migrants are a drain on scarce public resources (Mwakikagile, 2008).

Nyar (2008) contends that “xenophobic violence may be seen as a deeply institutionalized legacy of South Africa’s apartheid past and has to be specifically contextualized against a broader pattern of attacks conducted against African non-nationals since the beginning of 1994”.

This “culture of violence is so firmly embedded within the fabric of society”, considering their history with the struggle against apartheid, so much so that it is still perceived as a legitimate means of conflict resolution in South Africa. African non-nationals are more susceptible to suffer “public violence by South Africans who blame them for crime and unemployment and see them as unfair competitors in the struggle for jobs, demand for houses and other resources deemed ‘deserving’ for the South Africans whose citizenship makes them legitimate heirs to the spoils of democracy” (Nyar, 2008).

“Even though the use of violence as a problem-solving mechanism and as a tool of political leverage is familiar to South Africans, the wave of xenophobia induced violence perpetrated against African non-nationals in various informal settlements and townships across South Africa (Nyar, 2008).

By blaming immigrants for the nation’s problems, the media and a number of government officials have stoked the flames of xenophobia in a country where many people, particularly black South Africans, already have a hostile attitude towards foreigners, accusing immigrants of increasing the crime wave, draining social resources, taking away jobs and houses from locals and in some cases, their women.

This resurgence of intolerance and xenophobia in South Africa present a formidable challenge to policy-makers and a threat to the economic prospects of the state especially with regard to attracting foreign investments as a means of promoting and sustaining economic growth. This is because investors will not be comfortable investing in a country where the safety of foreigners and their assets are suspect to frequent attacks and violence. To address this anomaly, an understanding of the triggers and determinants of xenophobia are key.

## **2.6. Socio-economic factors as determinants of xenophobia in South Africa**

The socio-economic dimensions of xenophobia can be explained by the Scape-goating Hypothesis, the isolation hypothesis and the Bio-cultural Hypothesis as earlier discussed.

Though these theories and hypotheses may provide a reasonable insight in the South African context, a holistic explanation of the phenomenon, xenophobia, would be incomplete without an evaluation of existing economic conditions in the country. This is because economic frustration plays a role in the hardening of attitudes that ultimately manifest themselves in xenophobia.

### **2.6.1. Other contributory factors aggravating xenophobic violence in South Africa**

Though the urban poor (who are the perpetrators in the main) have made their version of a rational diagnosis of their problem as being the presence and threat posed by foreigners in relation to access to scarce resources, it is not the only explanation for the degeneration into xenophobia. Economic factors remain the root of the South African xenophobia malaise.

Other possible diagnosis include: poverty, inequality, unemployment, corruption, and relative deprivation.

#### **2.6.1.1. Poverty and Inequality**

The apartheid regime may have ended but their oppressive policies have left a legacy of poverty and inequality in South Africa. “Despite the wealth of the country, with South Africa’s average level of per capita income ranking amongst the world’s upper middle

income countries...” (Malan, 1998: 109), a large number of the population; particularly the black majority are yet to benefit from South Africa’s resources.

There is a huge divide between the haves and the have nots. In 2001, approximately 57% of individuals in South Africa were living below the poverty income line, unchanged from 1996. Limpopo and the Eastern Cape had the highest proportion of poor with 77% and 72%, respectively, of their populations living below the poverty income line. The Western Cape had the lowest proportion in poverty (32%), followed by Gauteng (42%) (Schwabe, 2004). In 2005, 47 % of the population was found to be in poverty using the poverty line of R322 per capita income per month (Gelb, 2008:79).

Inequality, on the other hand is even worse. South Africa is ranked amongst the two or three highest levels globally (Gelb, 2008: 80). As at 2006, the richest, 10 %, of the population received 51 % of total household income, while the poorest 10 % received a mere 0.2 %, with the ratio of the average income between the two groups amounting to 255:1. (Gelb, 2008:80). Relating this factor as a determinant of xenophobia, xenophobia induced violence is linked to the economic circumstances of the poor. Not necessarily poverty *par se*, but also inequality. It is not just that people are attacking foreigners because they are poor, but instead it is the sense of unfairness caused by inequality and the feeling of being discriminated against in the distribution of resources that creates resentments and hostility towards those who are perceived whether rightly or wrongly to be better off or to have received preferential treatment (Gelb, 2008: 79). A confirmatory factor of this, is the fact that xenophobic violence is usually prone to occur in poverty stricken areas such as Alexandra Township where the May 2008 mayhem originated and is usually preceded by incidents of unrests resulting from service delivery protests.

### **2.6.1.2. Relative deprivation**

Relative deprivation is a determinant factor of xenophobia in the sense that, whilst a number of insiders are getting none of their basic needs met, a tiny minority out of the same insiders are getting filthy rich at the supposed expense of the poor. The un-favoured insiders in this case are the unemployed and marginalized poor. The perceived sense of unfairness and helplessness felt by the poor at their fate generates discontent. Though their discontent is subdued most of the time, there is deep seated resentment beneath the surface.

According to Pillay (2008:100), “where there is rising expectations, growing inequality and relative deprivation, in the absence of a coherent political movement to channel that energy into effective mobilization for social change, this anger can be woefully misdirected”. This deep rooted resentment and frustration at their economic deprivation, fuelled by negative tabloid press that is anti-foreigner, might well explain what gave rise to the events of May 2008.

### **2.6.1.3. Corruption and service delivery failure**

There is no direct evidence that the marauding crowds on that fateful day in May 2008 were taking their cue from government immigration policies or from corrupt cops who extort bribes from immigrants. Although South Africa does not have a strong anti-xenophobic leadership, the leaders are not directly mobilizing and manipulating anti-immigrant sentiments as seen in France under Jean-Marie Le Pen (Glaser, 2008:54), the government and the country’s leaders. However, the government bears the indirect responsibility through policy failure and acts of commission.

The xenophobia induced violence of May 2008 was manifested in particular locations such as shack settlements, hostels and inner city suburbs; all of which are housing environments that have been neglected by the government. "These locations are characterized by severe overcrowding, deteriorating services, high levels of poverty, rampant unemployment, ongoing racial segregation and the daily struggles of poor people forced to compete with one another for increasingly scarce resources" (Silverman & Zack, 2008:147).

This is confirmed by the fact that xenophobic attacks are usually preceded by service delivery protests gone wrong. An important feature or focal point of such protests is the issue of housing.

The issue of failed housing projects is an inexhaustible political discourse of particular importance to the South African blacks as the majority of the black population is still living in shacks and informal settlements. The problem is not that the state has neglected housing delivery, but that it has grossly misinterpreted and underestimated the housing need, creating high expectations in the minds of the people and they have limited capacity to match these expectations.

The few beneficiaries out of poverty and the need to realize the asset value of the house to solve pressing problems, have resorted to people selling their houses, in many instances to foreigners who would otherwise be denied access to this form of housing, thus fueling the anger and suspicion of shady deals amongst housing officials by the people who are less fortunate, thus linking the housing crisis to the xenophobia crisis. Notwithstanding the economic determinants of xenophobia, this discourse will be incomplete without reference to psychological attitudes as contributory factors to xenophobia.

## 2.7. Opinions about foreigners as determinants of Xenophobia

The xenophobia induced attacks in May 2008 raise crucial questions about the attitudinal state of the South African nation. While knowledge and opinions form behavior, they are also the outcome of a complex social, political, and economic process, shaped through the engagement of individuals in social and economic life and influenced by public discourse and the media. Natives often say that immigrants worsen their country's standard of living; they exacerbate crime and they take jobs away. This might be because of racist and discriminatory attitudes and opinions, because of dire economic hardship, because the economy cannot accommodate the influx of legal and illegal immigrants or due to selection issues as the country might attract adversely selected immigrants.

Negative opinions and attitudes toward immigrants have been researched by many. In Europe, Gang et al (2002) found that more than 80 % of rising anti-foreigner feeling is related to behavioural changes among the population. Young people, the higher educated and more skilled, are more favorable towards ethnic minorities and supportive of immigrants, while the permanently sick or disabled, the discouraged workers, the unemployed and the retirees have more hostile attitudes.

Because attitudes about immigration often relate to national economic stability, several theories have attempted to delineate how perceived feelings of threat contribute to the creation of negative views toward those who seem to challenge the economic well-being of the citizens.

According to the Economic Theory, if immigrants, as factors of production, are seen as substitutes to natives, they will cause displacement and unemployment. This threat, coupled



with non-flexible and stagnant labour markets, can easily trigger negative attitudes towards immigrants (Constant et al, 2008).

The Realistic Group Conflict Theory (Sherif, Harvey, White, Hood, & Sherif, 1961) suggests that competition for access to limited resources results in a conflict between groups. Competition for these limited resources between groups leads to prejudices against the out-group, whose members are viewed by the in-group as a source of competition. This appears to be the case in South Africa, where xenophobic attacks are usually preceded by dissatisfaction with limited resources and service delivery protests.

Expanding the view of threat outside the economic area, the Integrated Theory of Prejudice (Stephan et al, 1999) suggests that there are four types of threats that lead to prejudice: realistic threat, symbolic threat, inter-group anxiety, and negative stereotypes. The realistic threat concerns both the economic and political power of the in-group that is perceived to be challenged by the out-group (e.g., jobs being given to the members of the out-group, in this case the foreigners).

The symbolic threat stems from differences in values, beliefs, morals and attitudes between the in-group and out-group members. These threats are directly related to conflicts in worldviews between the members of the in-group whose values, beliefs, and attitudes are being challenged by the newcomers (an example here would be anti-semitic and anti-Arab/Muslim attitudes prevalent in the United States).

The final two types of threats, inter-group anxiety and negative stereotypes, focus on the avoidance of unpleasant interactions with others and the meanings thereof. This attitude of

stereotyping holds true in the South African context where this manifests in derogatory name calling. Stephan and Stephan (2000) suggest that individuals in the in-group experience feelings of threat when interacting with members of the out-group in ways that challenge their self-image (e.g., being embarrassed when in contact with something unfamiliar), and this threat perception results in anxiety.

## **2.8 Xenophobia surveys so far**

Various surveys have been done on Xenophobia both globally, in the African continent and in South Africa, all with diverse and interesting findings. In the western world, studies have shown that the perceived threat from immigration is increasing in the United States. Immigration, whether legal or undocumented, is construed by many US citizens as a threat in the competition over jobs in a decreasing labour market (Larsen et al, 2009). A recurring theme in the U.S. debate over immigration is the assertion that immigrants, legal or illegal, are taking jobs away from native-born workers. This has been a potent argument over the last decades as more and more jobs are shifted overseas as factories have closed in the United States (Larsen et al, 2009).

Polls are increasingly reporting a hardening of attitudes against immigrants, even those who arrive through legal channels (Espenshade & Hampstead, 1996). Almost half of U.S. respondents when asked what bothers them about immigration, cite threats to customs and values.

Not all are equal in the competition for jobs and the weight of social dislocation has fallen disproportionately on the less educated and skilled. It should not be a surprise that people

with higher education, higher incomes, and higher social status see less threat from current policies and continued presence of immigrants.

Perceived economic competition is also a determinant of negative attitudes toward immigrants. In an experimental study of Canadian respondents those who read an article on job competition were more negative toward a fictitious immigrant group and toward immigration in general (Esses, Jackson, Nolan, & Armstrong, 1999).

Economic threat alone does not determine attitudes toward immigration. Education has also been identified as the major intervening variable (Larsen et al, 2009). Studies have found that respondents with more education and higher socio-economic status hold more favourable attitudes toward increasing immigration (Simon & Alexander, 1993; Sorensen & Krahn, 1996). It has also been found that those with more education also have more favourable attitudes toward immigrants (Day, 1990; Hoskins & Mishler, 1983). For example, in one study 81 % of those with a grade 12 school education favoured putting a stop to immigration compared to only 44 % of college graduates who felt that way (Simon, 1985).

Studies in European countries equally tend to support the importance of education as more positive attitudes are found among those with higher level of education (Pettigrew, 1998). Nevertheless, it is not unsurprisingly that there is a common trend that those who object to immigration come from social sectors low in skill level and who competes directly with the undocumented immigrants. Whereas those respondents who perceive their skill level to be superior to immigrants favor a continuation of current immigration levels. Those who view immigration as a threat to their livelihoods oppose (Meyda, 2006).

On the African continent, studies are mostly limited to the Southern region as these constitute the most volatile areas on the issue of Xenophobia. The National Immigration Policy Survey (NIPS), designed to measure citizen knowledge of migration, attitudes towards non-citizens, and immigration and refugee policy preferences, conducted by Southern Africa Migration Project (SAMP) in 2001 in the 14 countries that consist of the SADC region, found that citizens across the region consistently tend to exaggerate the numbers of non-citizens in their countries, to view the migration of people within the region as a “problem” rather than an opportunity, and to scapegoat non-citizens (Crush, 2002). According to the survey, the intensity of these feelings varied significantly from country to country, with the harshest sentiments expressed by the citizens of South Africa, Namibia and, to a lesser extent, Botswana. The citizens of Swaziland, Mozambique and Zimbabwe were considerably more relaxed about the presence of non-citizens in their countries (Crush, 2002).

The NIPS survey also found that within countries where there is greater tolerance, a more classic pattern pertains; those with the most to lose from the presence of non-citizens - the unskilled and the unemployed - exhibited much more negative attitudes than other groups. The most significant and consistent finding of the survey was the fear that migrants steal rather than create jobs. Although the majority of people in all countries see immigrants as a threat to jobs, very few have personal knowledge or experience of such an occurrence. Over 60% of respondents in South Africa, Namibia, Zimbabwe and Mozambique have never heard of anyone being denied a job because the opportunity was given to a foreigner. In Swaziland and Botswana the percentage drops to 34% and 50%, respectively. Even fewer people know from their own experience of someone being denied a job because it went to a foreigner. Almost 90% of respondents in all six countries have no personal experience of being denied a job because it went to a foreigner (Crush, 2002).

In another survey conducted in 2005 by Jens Blank and Stefan Buchholz on the “Determinants of Xenophobia among South African Students in the Self-Declared Rainbow Nation”, a total number of 411 participants aged between 18-30 years drawn from students from Cape Town, were interviewed. It was found that blind and positive patriotism lead to different outcomes on xenophobic attitudes; A patriotism which emphasizes citizenship and therefore values such as diversity and tolerance lead to more positive attitudes towards foreign Africans. This kind of patriotism is not interlinked with inter-group comparisons and out-group derogation, rather with before and after apartheid-time comparisons. By contrast, undifferentiated patriotism is associated with xenophobic attitudes against foreign Africans. It was also found that perceived competition is a relevant predictor of prejudice whereas direct egoistical competition is irrelevant (Blank & Buchholz, 2007).

A South Africa literature search revealed a good number of research and surveys on xenophobia, but most of them were unpublished work. Information gathered by these surveys are very relevant and worthy of mentioning. In a recent survey, conducted in June 2010 by Gomo Tapiwa on “The Role of Media Reporting and Xenophobic Violence among Youths in South Africa”, with particular focus on Alexandra Township, (an over-crowded and poor settlement in Johannesburg, South Africa), content analysis of 36 news reports were examined to determine how they might have contributed to xenophobia inclined attitudes. It was found that the media content showed a very strong stereotyping and bias against African immigrants which is enough to feed the xenophobia inclined attitudes (Gomo, 2010: 44). However, both qualitative and quantitative findings do not confirm a link between this bias and xenophobic attitude in the study area, instead competition for resources, their experiences with foreigners, myths, social prejudice and bad behaviour by some African immigrants were

found to be the main sources of influence. Thus suggesting that the society was influencing the media content and not the other way round as is commonly the case (Gomo, 2010: 39). The study also revealed that while the media in South Africa have little effect on xenophobic attitudes there is a chance that if there is a positive shift in media reporting in favour of African foreigners, some respondents indicated that it may change their views on African foreigners (Gomo, 2010: 42).

Finally, it is worth noting that attitudes have not changed much over time, between the periods when the first incident was reported in 2008 till now (2010). In late 2009, the Gauteng City-Region Observatory (GCRO) commissioned a large sample survey in the Gauteng city-region (including the whole of Gauteng province and key economic footprints beyond its borders which are fully integrated into the Gauteng economy, such as Sasolburg or Rustenburg). During the survey, respondents were given a 5-point scale (from strongly agree through agree, a neutral midpoint to disagree and strongly disagree) with the statement: "Foreigners are taking benefits meant for South Africans". The statement was a Likert item, in which deliberately provocative statements were read to respondents, who responded against a scale permitting a more nuanced analysis.

A shocking 69% of respondents agreed or strongly agreed with the statement. There was no significant difference between those living in a house and those in shacks, or those with a degree and those who had never been to school at all. Across the race/class divide, one point seemed to unite respondents, namely their dislike of foreigners. We can argue that this does not equate with xenophobia, that the question could have been better phrased, and so forth, but the bottom line remains: South Africans, black and white, do not seem to like black African migrants.

## 2.8 Conclusion

Escalated levels of xenophobia towards migrants and refugees directly contribute to the vulnerability and exploitation of these groups leading to marked inequalities in the long-term between migrant and non-migrant populations. This trend no doubt destabilizes and seriously undermines the potentially beneficial relationship between international migration and human development. It acts as one of the major obstacles to maximizing the economic and social benefits of international migration, affecting both migrant and host populations adversely in many different ways.

Recourse to European research findings and the adoption of recently developed concepts like group-based enmity is not sufficient as it would merely give further insight into the mechanisms that lead to xenophobic attitudes. Within the South African society more research needs to be undertaken to clarify the degree and determinants of xenophobic attitudes (Blank & Buchholz, 2007). This would also make it possible to analyze inter-racial relations within the South African society and help formulate policies to deal with this societal ill. This research is one of such effort at providing a more in-depth knowledge from a purely students point of view.

## CHAPTER THREE

### MTEHODOLOGY

#### 3.1 Introduction

This chapter presents details of the study area, study population, sample size, sampling procedure, instrument for data collection, method of data collection, and ethical consideration.

#### 3.2 Study area

The study was conducted at the Mafikeng Campus of the North-West University, Mafikeng, in the North-West Province of South Africa. Mafikeng campus is one of three campuses that form the North-West University, with others being: the Potchefstroom and Vaal campuses. The Mafikeng campus has an estimated total number of eight thousand, three hundred and one (8 301) students enrolled for various programmes ranging from short courses to undergraduate, post-graduate and doctoral. The campus is a predominantly black community, with Asians, whites and other ethnic groups in the minority. Though multi-lingual, the predominant language of communication appears to be Setswana, other languages include: Afrikaans, English and various other local languages, notwithstanding that the medium of instruction is English.

The student population on campus consists of students from various parts of the country as well as foreigners from other countries. Information from the International Office of the NWU Mafikeng campus shows that the total foreign student population is four hundred and seventy nine (479). Amongst these, students from other parts of the African continent are in the majority from Botswana, Lesotho, Zimbabwe, Swaziland, Zambia, Nigeria, Cameroon and Uganda in the majority.

The relationship between the foreign and local students appears to be cordial. There is seemingly no form of institutionalized discrimination against foreigners. Both foreigners and locals have equal access to university facilities, academic funding, educational bursaries, membership in campus associations and other rights and privileges accruable to students of the university.

#### **a. Instrument for data collection**

For the purposes of this research, both primary data in the form of questionnaires (Annexure 1) and secondary information from review of literature were used. This research took the form of a descriptive and quantitative study involving a sample of 208 participants drawn from students enrolled at the North-West University, Mafikeng campus. Economic and sociological themes were incorporated into a heuristic xenophobia model which was used to draw up questionnaires that were filled out by respondents. Questions were formulated to evaluate the knowledge and opinions of participants towards foreigners. The questionnaire

had open ended questions, with close ended questions mostly used to elaborate on the section dealing with the opinion of respondents.

The questionnaires were divided into four different sections: The first section dealt with issues relating to the demographics of the respondents, section two dealt with questions regarding the source of knowledge and exposure of the respondents to foreigners and xenophobia in South Africa, section three dealt with questions on the opinion of respondents about foreigners, whereas the last section; section four dealt with the respondents' views on how relations could be improved between South Africans and foreigners.

#### **b. Study population and sample size.**

The sample for the interviews consisted of two hundred and eight (208) students. Stratified sampling procedure based on year of study was used viz: first year, second year, third year, fourth year, honors and post-graduate. At least thirty five students were randomly selected from each level of study to make the study sample of 208 respondents.

#### **c. Method of data collection**

The questionnaires were administered by the researcher to the respondents (students) at vantage contact points within the campus premises. This enabled the researcher to explain the questions thoroughly to the respondents without any bias. The respondents were considered anonymous for security purposes. The period for data collection was two weeks with daily collection of at least 10 to 15 questionnaires.

#### **d. Ethical consideration**

Participants were adequately informed of the purpose of this study and the choice to either consent or decline to participate. The interviews also focused only on questions for the research devoid of personal issues. The duration of the interviews was reasonable in order not to affect the students' time for studies.

#### **e. Data analysis**

After the data collection, questionnaires were coded and captured using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) computer programme. Qualitative and quantitative analyses were performed of the collected data. Descriptive statistics, including frequency counts, means and standard deviations were used to summarize the socio-economic data. Charts were also used where necessary. A qualitative choice model (logit) which is dichotomous or binary was used for the regression analysis to establish the factors that influenced the students' inclination as pro - or non xenophobic. The model was specified and the parameters were estimated.

The use of qualitative models in explaining socio-economic phenomena have been shown to be more precise and appropriate in analyzing relationship involving a discrete dependent variable and a set of independent variables (Bagi, 1983). This model was chosen over the other available alternative specifications of qualitative choice models, the Probit and Tobit models because of its less restrictive underlying assumptions (Caps and Kramer, 1985:

McDonald and Moffit, 1980). The hypothesis of the model was that there is some probability of an incidence (pro xenophobic inclination) at any given circumstance of socio-economic variables within the students on the NWU campus. The empirical model used for the analysis was specified as follows:

$$P_i = P_1 (Y_i=1) = Q (X_i, e) \quad (i=1, 2, \dots, n) \dots\dots\dots (1)$$

The model assumed that the probability of a student being pro xenophobic inclined  $P_1 (Y_i=1)$ , is a function of explanatory or independent variables,  $X_i$  shown in and the unknown parameter vector,  $e$  (Table 3.1).

The functional specification is as follows:

$$\text{Pro xenophobic } Y_i = \beta_0 + \beta_1 X_1 + \beta_2 X_2 + \dots\dots\dots \beta_i X_i + e_i \dots\dots\dots (2)$$

**Table 3.1 Definition and explanation of variables used in the empirical logit model**

Variable	Type	Description and value
Justification of attacks( $Y_i$ )	Binary	Xenophobic inclination of student: Pro-xenophobic=1, non-xenophobic=0.
Awareness of xenophobic attacks ( $X_1$ )	Binary	Respondent's awareness of xenophobic attacks in South Africa. Aware=1, not aware=0
Friendship with foreigners ( $X_2$ )	Binary	Have foreign friends=1, No=0.
Equality ( $X_3$ )	Binary	Should foreigners in the country be given equal treatment as locals? Yes=1, No=0.
Positive contribution of foreigners ( $X_4$ )	Binary	Opinion on foreigners' contribution to the economy. Positive=1, Negative=0.
Ban immigration( $X_5$ )	Binary	Should foreigners be chased away from South Africa? Yes=1, No=0.
Jobs( $X_6$ )	Binary	Opinion on the common assertion that foreigners are taking jobs meant for South Africans. Yes=1, No=0.
threat( $X_7$ )	Binary	Are foreigners a threat to your ability to secure a partner (boyfriend/girlfriend)?

		Yes=1, No=0.
Crime (X <sub>8</sub> )	Binary	Belief that foreigners are responsible for majority of crime in the country. Yes=1, No=0.
Gender (X <sub>9</sub> )	Binary	Gender of respondent Male=1. Female=0.
Nationality (X <sub>10</sub> )	Binary	South African=1, Other nationals=0.
Age (X <sub>11</sub> )	Range	Age of respondent: <18 years=1, 18-25=2, 26-30=3, 31-35=4, 36-40=5, >40=6.
Educational level (X <sub>12</sub> )	Range	Educational level of respondent: 1 <sup>st</sup> years=1, 2 <sup>nd</sup> years=2, 3 <sup>rd</sup> years=3, 4 <sup>th</sup> years=4, honors=5, postgraduates=6.
Source of knowledge (X <sub>13</sub> )	Number	1=Television, 2=Radio, 3=Internet, 4=Personal contact, 5=Interpersonal relationship.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

#### 4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the results and discussions of findings from the study. The discussion draws a comparison with what has been found from previous studies. The results are presented using tables and charts. The results are presented in four sections: Demographics of respondents, Knowledge of Xenophobia, Opinions of students about foreigners in South Africa and Sociological and economic factors that influence negative opinions about foreigners. Each section is divided into sub-sections followed by a detailed analysis.

#### 4.2 Section 1: Demographics of respondents

The demographics of the respondents of the study are presented in Table 4.1. The respondents were mostly South African students, with students from other nationalities accounting for 16.6%. This is statistically representative of the number of foreign students on campus as they constitute only 6% of the student population on campus. Regarding gender, the results show that the majority of the respondents 61.5% were females.

**Table 4.1 Demographics of the respondents of the study. N= 208**

<b>Variable</b>		<b>Frequency</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Gender	Male	80	38.5
	Female	128	61.5
Nationality	South African	171	83.4
	Other nationalities	34	16.6
Age	18-25	148	71.8
	26-30	41	19.9
	31-35	9	4.4
	36-40	5	2.4
	Over 40	3	1.5
Educational level	First year	46	22.2
	Second year	42	20.3
	Third year	52	25.1
	Fourth year	34	16.4
	Honors	16	7.7
	Post graduate	16	7.7

From the table above, the predominant age range of the respondents is 18-25 year (71.8%), with the age range of over 40; constituted of post graduate and doctoral students taking up the rear at 1.5%. The results also show an even distribution of respondents across the various educational levels with first years represented by 22.2%, second years 20.3%, third years 24.9%, fourth years 16.3% and 7.7% for both honors and post graduate students respectively.

Notwithstanding the different levels of study of the respondents and gender, their understanding and responses to the issues being interrogated appeared to be very similar in all aspects.

### **4.3. Section 2: Knowledge of Xenophobia**

In this section the participants' knowledge of the concept of xenophobia was tested. Questions were asked relating to the definition of xenophobia, participants knowledge about

foreigners, whether or not participants see themselves as being as individuals and collectively as South Africans, awareness of the xenophobia induced attacks and whether or not these attacks were justified.

The results of the analysis are presented in Table 4.2 below.

**Table 4.2 Results of the frequency analysis of knowledge of Xenophobia of the respondents.**

<b>Knowledge of Xenophobia</b>		<b>Percentage</b>
Source of information about foreigners	TV	29.30
	Radio	3.40
	Newspapers	9.30
	Internet	2.00
	Personal Contact	38.00
Heard of Xenophobia?	Inter-personal relationship	18.00
	Yes	97.60
Definition of Xenophobia	No	1.00
	love of foreigners	1.40
	fear of foreigners	13.90
Have hatred and dislike for foreigners	dislike of foreigners	82.20
	Yes	2.40
Are South Africans Xenophobic?	No	95.10
	all South Africans	2.90
	non	8.20
	Few	64.70
	majority	24.20
Aware of xenophobic attacks South Africa?	Yes	94.20
	No	5.30
Attacks justified?	Yes	23.30
	No	76.70

#### *4.3.1 Sources of knowledge of students in NWU about foreigners*

The results of the analysis (Table 4.2) indicate that the most common sources of information of the respondents about foreigners are personal contact (38%), TV (29.3%) and interpersonal relationships (18%). Only 2% of the respondents indicated the internet as a source of knowledge about foreigners.

This result is not surprising as the study area is located in an academic environment which hosts a diversity of foreign students from different countries across Africa. With most of the students living on campus, the chances of interactions and personal contact amongst both foreign and local students are higher than would have otherwise been the case were the study conducted in a different setting where interactions and contacts are limited. This explains why personal contact forms the major source of knowledge and information of the respondents about foreigners.

Television as a major source of knowledge is also to be expected as it is ordinarily the most popular form of recreation, entertainment and current affairs education amongst youths. This finding is compliant with the study by Gomo (2010), “The Role of Media Reporting and Xenophobic Violence among Youths in South Africa”, where the majority of the respondents (60%) were of the view that media reporting, especially television, fuels and feeds stereotypes, and that a positive change in media reporting in favour of African foreigners will lead to a more positive attitude towards foreigners.

#### *4.3.2. Knowledge of students regarding their understanding and opinion on xenophobia issues in South Africa.*

From the results shown in Table 4.2, almost all the respondents (97.60%) have heard about the word “xenophobia”, with the preferred definition being hatred and dislike of foreigners (82.20%). Whereas most (95.1%) of the respondents profess not to bear any animosity towards foreigners, 2.40% of the respondents actually admitted to having hatred and dislike for foreigners.

This shows a huge improvement in attitude towards foreigners, compared with findings from a 2009 survey by the Gauteng City-Region Observatory, which found that xenophobic attitudes have not changed much overtime, with 60% of the respondents across the race and class divide (both those living in a house and in shacks, or those with a degree and those who had never been to school at all) seemingly united in their dislike for foreigners.

When asked about the general xenophobic status of South Africans, 64.70% of the respondents said that very few South Africans are xenophobic, 24.20% were of the view that majority of South Africans are xenophobic, whilst the rest either agreed that all South Africans are xenophobic (2.90%), or that no South Africans are xenophobic (8.20%). The predominant view that only few South Africans were xenophobic most likely was influenced by the learning environment which has provided a platform for the respondents to shape and revise their opinions through personal encounter with foreign students as well as foreign lecturers (which accounts for a greater percentage of the university staff on campus). Thus this exposure could be a relevant factor limiting prejudice and promoting positive attitudes based on tolerance and acceptance of differences.

On the issue of whether or not respondents were aware of the xenophobia induced attacks in South Africa, the majority (94.20%) of the respondents answered in the affirmative, with 23.30% of the respondents saying that these attacks were justified. Adverse economic and sociological conditions were cited by the respondents who were of the opinion that these attacks against foreigners were justified, with their reasons being that the presence of foreigners has resulted in competition for already scarce resources and the attacks were a way of locals trying to fight them off and reclaim what was rightfully theirs. This finding is consistent with the study by Larsen et. al (2009) which found that foreigners, whether documented or legal, were construed by many US citizens as a threat in the competition of resources (particularly jobs, in a decreasing labour market) and better living conditions.

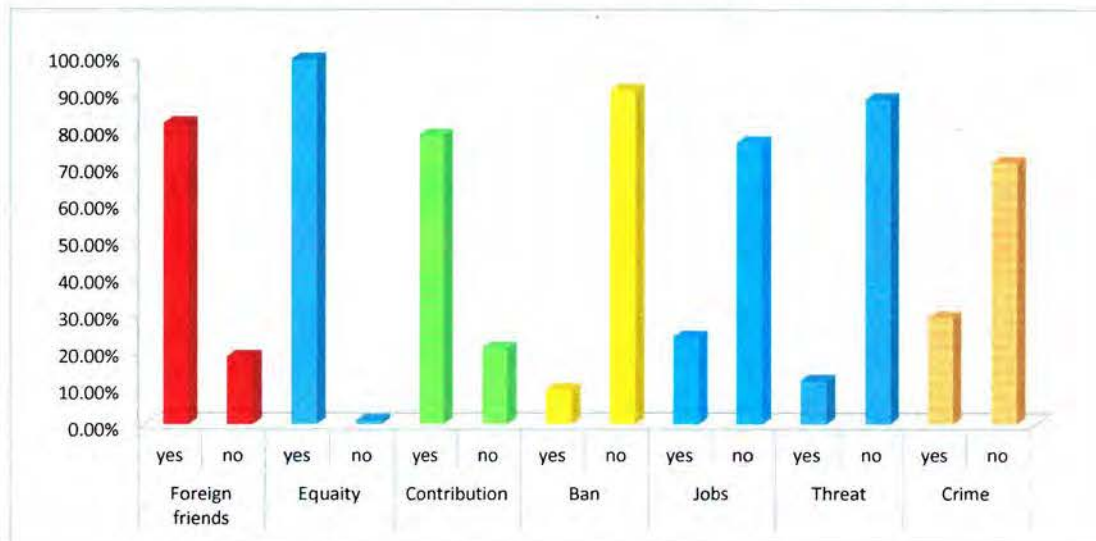
Also this majority finding that the Xenophobic attacks were justified and can be explained by the Power Conflict Theory wherein the privileged groups (locals) perceiving the exclusionary groups (foreigners) as threats in their competition for scarce resources are ready to resort to extreme acts of violence to protect their interests.

#### **4.4. Section 3: Opinions of students about foreigners in South Africa**

This section tests the opinions of participants about foreigners in South Africa. Questions were asked regarding whether or not foreigners deserve equal treatment with locals, whether or not they contribute positively to the South African economy, whether they are a threat to locals securing employment and sexual partners, whether or not foreigners are responsible for increase in crime in the country and whether there should be a ban on immigration in South Africa.

The figure below presents the findings of the study with regard to opinions of the respondents on the various aspects of the existence of foreigners in South Africa.

**Figure 4.1. Results of the opinions of respondents about foreigners in South Africa**



#### *4.4.1.1 Positive Contributions of foreigners to the economy*

From Figure 4.1, the majority (78.4%) of respondents were of the opinion that foreigners are contributing positively to the South African economy, while 20.6% disagreed.

This high rate of response in the affirmative may also have been informed by the fact that being students at an institution of higher learning, respondents are able to put aside their pre-conceived stereotyped views about foreigners, to look beyond their prejudices and actually appreciate foreign input into the South African economy. Starting from their own environment, for instance, where foreign lecturers account for more than half of the lecturers on campus; as well as constituting the top academic echelon, being mostly professors and doctors in their various areas of specialization. Thus, the students are able to recognize that

the pool of skilled and specialized knowledge of their foreign lectures is an immeasurable contribution to the South African economy.

#### *4.4.1.2 Equality of human rights*

The respondents seem to unanimously agree that foreigners are equal human beings deserving equality of treatment with South African citizens, with an overwhelming majority of 99.0%. This is a very positive finding and a reflection of the influence of education on making informed decisions and sound judgments.

#### *4.4.1.3 Social relations with foreigners*

With regard to the issue of social relations between foreigners and South Africans, the number of respondents who do not have friends who are foreigners are in the minority (18.3%). This is not surprising as studies (Stephan et al, 1999, Stephan & Stephan, 2000) have shown a similar drift that when a particular in-group feels threatened by an out-group, their reaction is usually one of avoidance.

Few of the respondents (11.8%) consider foreigners to be a threat to their ability to secure a partner. This could be explained by perceived economic threat, as in the opinion of these respondents, most foreigners are able to afford luxurious lives that lure their women away from them towards the foreigners whilst they are unable to compete as they are economically disadvantaged.

The results also show a more favourable attitude towards immigration (90.6%). This is consistent with a number of previous studies where it was found that respondents with more education and higher socio-economic status hold more favourable attitudes toward increasing

immigration (Simon & Alexander, 1993; Sorensen & Krahn, 1996, Day, 1990; Hoskins & Mishler, 1983). For example, in one study 81% of those with only grade 12 favoured putting a stop to immigration compared to only 44% of college graduates who felt that way (Simon, 1985).

#### *4.4.1.4 The conception of foreigners taking the jobs meant for South Africans*

When asked whether or not foreigners are taking jobs away from South Africans, 23.6% answered in the affirmative, whereas 76.4% of the respondents thought otherwise. Again this finding could be a product of respondents basing their decisions on facts and not necessarily sentiments.

The predominant responses from the students, when asked to explain their reasons for their views, maintained that “most South Africans are lazy, they are always asking money from the government, unlike the foreigners who come here and create their own jobs”; “these foreigners have the qualifications that most of South Africans do not have, so it is only fair that they should get a fair chance at being employed”, “South Africans are lazy, they are dropping out from school and yet they want nice jobs”. These responses are not only interesting, but they are a reflection of students’ opinions on the value of education as necessary for economic advancement.

#### *4.4.1.5 Perceptions of respondents regarding increased crime rate*

From the results shown in Figure 4.1, 29% of the respondents believe that foreigners are responsible for the majority of crimes in South Africa, with 71% representing the predominant view. Reasons given by those who answered in the affirmative (29%) were that the illegal immigrants, because they mostly constitute the unskilled population of foreigners,

end up not being employed and therefore resort to crime as a means of survival. This is consistent with the Scape-goating hypothesis as propounded by Morris (1998) and Tshitereke (1999) wherein members of the in-group blame all their woes on the out-group, especially in times of economic hardships and instability. On the other hand, those who responded in the negative (71%) were of the view that “crime existed in South Africa long before foreigners came along”.

#### **Section 4: Sociological and economic factors that influence negative opinions about foreigners which lead to xenophobia**

This section tests the relationship between sociological and economic factors that are presumed to influence negative opinions about foreigners and their impact on xenophobia inclined attitudes.

The Statistical Programme for Social Sciences (SPSS) was used to analyze the data using a logit model. The results show that out of the 14 explanatory variables used, only 4 were found to be statically significant. They include: Friendship with foreigners, the opinion that immigration should be banned in South Africa, the opinion that foreigners are taking away jobs from South Africans and the opinion that foreigners are a threat to South Africans securing partners.

Only the statistically significant explanatory variables are discussed in Table 4.3 below.

**Table 4.3 Results of the functional relationship between xenophobic inclined opinion (dependent variable) and sociological and economic factors (independent variables) of the students**

<b>Parameter</b>	<b>Estimate</b>	<b>Std. Error</b>	<b>Z</b>	<b>Sig.</b>
Justification	.066	.113	.586	.558
Xenophobic attitudes	-.250	.221	-1.129	.259
Friendship	-.197	.117	-1.677	.094
Equality	-1.390	1.087	-1.280	.201
Positive contribution	.036	.117	.309	.758
Ban	.415	.136	3.058	.002
Jobs	-.299	.116	-2.576	.010
Threat	.336	.143	2.343	.019
Crime	-.135	.103	-1.301	.193
gender of respondents	.046	.093	.497	.619
Nationality of respondents	.075	.127	.590	.555
age of respondents	-.051	.072	-.703	.482
educational level of respondents	.033	.034	.961	.337
Source of knowledge about foreigners in SA	-.014	.024	-.563	.574
Intercept	-1.601	1.145	-1.399	.162
Chi-Square	632.448			
Df	150			
Sig.	.000			

The results of the analysis in the table above show, that with other factors held constant, the estimates associated with the variable friendship with foreigners (friendship) is negative

(-0.197), and statistically significant ( $p=0.094$ ) indicating that respondents' inclination to xenophobia decreases with increase in friendships with foreigners. This may be due to the fact that being in an academic environment promotes contact between locals and foreign students as well as lecturers. Inter-personal relationships are developed and this reduces prejudice as the myths and stereotypes formed about these foreigners are considerably reduced and the locals get to see and understand the essence of the "foreignness".

The estimates associated with the variable regarding opinion of foreigners taking jobs of South Africans was found to be negative (-0.299) contrary to expectation and statistically significant ( $p=0.010$ ) with other factors held constant. This implies that respondents' xenophobic inclined opinions decrease with the increase in the view that foreigners are taking the jobs meant for South Africans. This finding can be explained by the fact that most of the students who believe that foreigners are taking away jobs from South Africans may be stating the facts as they perceive it in the university environment where the majority of the lecturers are foreigners. Again, this may be due to students' exposure in an academic environment where students tend to be more objective and make informed decisions based on their cordial relationships with foreign lecturers and inter personal relationship with fellow students. Therefore, a student saying that foreigners are taking their jobs on a campus where the majority of the lectures are foreigners is not necessarily xenophobic inclined, but merely stating the facts.

The estimates associated with the variable regarding opinion on whether immigration should be banned in South Africa, (Ban) was found to be positive (0.415) and statistically significant ( $p=0.002$ ) with other factors held constant. This point to the fact those respondents' xenophobic inclinations increase with increase in the opinion that foreigners must not be

allowed into South Africa. This finding accords with reason in the sense that where it is clear that someone is unwelcome, there has to exist some measure of animosity driving such a decision and in this case it could be a manifestation of xenophobic inclination than an outright declaration of isolation and lack of hospitality.

The estimates associated with the variable regarding opinion of foreigners being a threat to South Africans securing a partner (Threat) was found to be positive (3.336) and statistically significant (0.019) with other factors held constant. This implies that respondents' xenophobic inclinations increase with increase in the opinion that foreigners are a threat to locals securing a partner; in their own words "taking away our women". This finding, ridiculous though it may sound, necessarily stands to reason and conforms to the Realistic group conflict theory, that any form of threat or competition from an out-group results in prejudice against such out-group by the members of the in-group (Sheriff et al 1961).

### **Conclusion**

The overall results are quite encouraging and show a progressive drift towards tolerance and positive attitude towards foreigners.

As noted earlier, this is very likely influenced by the study area being a learning environment, where students make informed decisions and judgments as against being irrational and sentimental. This positive response thus goes to highlight the essence of education as an effective means of dispelling myths and negative stereotypes in order to encourage amiable and peaceful relations between foreigners and natives.

## CHAPTER 5

### CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE STUDY

#### 5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a summary of what has been achieved by this survey and recommendations from the findings will also be made. These may influence policy makers in tackling and addressing this issue on a broader platform.

#### 5.2 Conclusion

The research objectives of this study were achieved. The main objective of determining the knowledge and opinions on xenophobia among students in North-West University Mafikeng Campus were achieved. Respondents' (students') understanding and opinions on xenophobic issues in South Africa were assessed and their opinions about foreigners; particularly with respect to the positive contribution of foreigners to the South African economy, equality of human rights for foreigners, social relations with foreigners, association of foreigners with increase in the crime rate and the conception that foreigners were taking away jobs meant for South Africans, were determined.

This study also met the objective of identifying and analyzing the economic and sociological factors that influence opinions about foreigners and established a functional relationship between pro- and non-xenophobic opinions (dependent variable) and economic and sociological factors (independent variables) of the respondents (students).

The hypothesis of the study that negative opinions about foreigners lead to xenophobic inclination proved to be true in relation to opinions of the respondents on the variable; friendship with foreigners. The study found that xenophobic inclined opinions decrease with increase in friendship with foreigners. This hypothesis was also proved true in relation to the opinions of respondents on the issue of foreigners taking the jobs meant for foreigners. The findings showed that xenophobic inclined opinions decrease with increase in the view that foreigners are taking the jobs meant for South Africans. Although this finding may seem contradictory to reason, it could have been influenced by the study area being a university/academic environment where people make informed decisions based on facts as against speculation, considering the fact that the lecturers on campus are predominantly foreigners.

The hypothesis that positive opinions about foreigners lead to non-xenophobic inclination was tested and found to be true in relation to the opinions of the respondents regarding whether immigration should be banned in coming into South Africa. It was found that a xenophobic inclination increases with increase in the opinion that foreigners must not be allowed into South Africa.

Again, this hypothesis, when tested against the opinion of respondents on whether foreigners are a threat to South Africans securing partners (in their own words "taking away our women"), was found to be true as it was shown that xenophobic inclination increases with increase in the opinion that foreigners are a threat to locals securing partners.

Also, the hypothesis that economic and sociological factors play a role in fostering racial intolerance and xenophobic attitudes was proved to be true by findings on the opinion of the

respondents on jobs and threat to secure a partner (with the economic factor here being perceived competition for jobs by foreigners and the sociological factor being threat to secure a partner).

It was also proved that people who are better off economically and socially tend to be less xenophobic inclined as is the case with the study population being in a university/academic environment where the people have better prospects and hopes of a brighter future as against what might have been the case in a poor rural/township settlement where the adverse economic and sociological conditions will work to influence pro-xenophobic inclination.

The positive aspect revealed by the results of this study is the fact that pro-xenophobic opinions are on the decline especially amongst students with only 2.4% of the respondents professing a dislike for foreigners. This is a huge improvement compared with results from a 2009 survey by GCRO, which found that xenophobic attitudes have not changed much over time, with 60% of the respondents across the race and class divide (both those living in a house and in shacks, or those with a degree and those who had never been to school at all) united in their dislike for foreigners. Also positive is the fact that young people have a more favourable attitude towards immigration and are more knowledgeable and appreciative of the positive contributions of foreigners in the economy.

This research has provided an analysis of xenophobia from a purely students' perspective based on their perception of economic and sociological factors that have been known to contribute to xenophobic violence in South Africa. More research however, needs to be done to determine more ways to encourage improved cordial and friendly relations between foreigners in South Africa and the locals.

### 5.3 Recommendations

The era of isolationism as an economic ideology is not just out dated but also impossible to pursue in this era of globalization and economic interdependence. Foreigners account for a reasonable number of professional and skilled workers in South Africa in such areas as the health sector (doctors), manufacturing industry, not to mention foreign investments, technological transfers, foreign exchange, employment opportunities for locals and opportunities for rural development brought in by foreigners, without which there would be limited economic advancement in the country.

There is need, therefore, that South Africans from the top to the grassroots, be taught to accept and appreciate foreign input to the country's economic advancement. It is hoped that the following recommendations drawn from findings of this study will help policy makers address this issue of xenophobia on a broader scale:

- Cultural and inter-racial relations should be encouraged amongst foreigners and locals in order to break the psychological barriers instituted as an after effect of South Africa's exclusionary apartheid era. Locals should also be taught the role played by these same foreigners they are antagonizing in the struggle for their freedom from apartheid, particularly their fellow black Africans who accommodated their leaders and funded the struggle, all of which contributed to the freedom now enjoyed by South African blacks.
- The socio-economic well-being of South African citizens particularly those living in poverty-stricken, rural areas and township settlements should be improved by the

government. It is not enough to keep doling out money for all sorts of social grants as this will only increase dependency as against self development and will in the long run contribute to perpetuating poverty. Instead, focus should rather be placed on skills acquisition training, improvement in literacy levels through mass education, and rural funding to encourage small scale industries that will provide job opportunities for rural dwellers.

- Service delivery should also be improved in the rural areas and township settlements which evidently are the areas prone to such xenophobic incidents. Politicians, on their own part, should stop making unrealistic promises that cannot be kept as this increases frustration and disgruntlement amongst locals who vent such negative feelings on albeit hapless successful foreigners who work their teeth out to eke out a living.
- There should be a well informed and clear-cut distinction made between legal, illegal and refugee immigrants. Each category should be treated according to their merits and not based on ill informed and stereo-typed generalizations.
- Immigration laws should be revised to provide well laid down rules regarding the issuance and renewal of permits, as well as implementing more stringent steps to ensure effective border control, thereby limiting the incidence of illegal migrants in the country.
- The recent move by the Home Affairs department in 2010 to document illegal immigrants in the country is a welcome development that should be continued until all illegal immigrants have been properly registered such that their stay becomes legal and further incidences of illegal immigrants is checked through effective border monitoring and control.

- One of the findings from the National Immigration Policy Survey (NIPS) project is that across the region, citizens are prepared to accept and welcome non-citizens if their economic impact is demonstrably positive. This same attitude was also reflected by the majority of the respondents of this study, who showed a willingness to accommodate the presence and input of skilled and professional foreigners. Hence, skills-friendly and investor-friendly immigration policies should be developed and implemented since such policies are inevitable for countries to be globally competitive.
- Crime should be treated with the same measure of stringency, irrespective of whether it was committed by a foreigner or a local. Crimes committed by foreigners should not be over-sensationalized by the media as this would only fuel the generalization by locals that foreigners are increasing the crime wave in the country. Incidents of crime must be isolated and treated as such.
- Bias and racial discrimination in favor of white immigrants and against African immigrants should be eliminated. Black or white, all foreigners have their various skills and inputs that can be harvested for the betterment of the country's economy. Therefore, professionalism should be recognized and appreciated with the same measure of equality. Some foreigners should not be more equal than the others, be they black or white.
- The media should be actively involved in this campaign as agents of positive socialization and change. Citizens need to have accurate information, rather than myths and stereotypes about migrants, immigrants and refugees as people through the media. A greater sense of continentalism and internationalism could be developed in

the population through adult education and curriculum reform at schools, through the media, and through the public pronouncements of opinion-makers.

Only when people understand and appreciate each other can the “fear”, uncertainty and myth surrounding the “other” and “these people” be dispelled.

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**ANNEXURE 1**  
**QUESTIONNAIRE**

This questionnaire seeks your assistance in determining students' knowledge, attitudes and perceptions about foreigners in South Africa.

Your participation in completing this questionnaire will enable the researcher to fulfil the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Peace Studies and International Relations. Please do not indicate your name as this questionnaire is anonymous and all views expressed by participants will be held in utmost confidence. Participation is entirely optional, so please feel free to decline.

**Section 1: Demographics of Respondents**

Please select the correct response by ticking in the appropriate box.

1. Gender

Male

Female

2. Nationality

South African

Others please specify

.....

3. Age

Less than 18

18—25

- 25—30
- 30—35
- 35—40
- Over 40

4. Educational level at NWU

- First year
- Second year
- Third year
- Fourth year
- Honors
- Post graduate

**Section 2: Source of Information about foreigners and Knowledge of Xenophobia**

Please indicate by ticking in the appropriate box.

5. How did you get to know about foreigners in South Africa?

- Television
- Radio
- Newspapers
- Internet
- Personal contact
- Inter-personal relationship

6. Have you ever heard of the word "Xenophobia"?

Yes

No

7. What do you think is the correct definition of Xenophobia?

Love of foreigners

Fear of Foreigners

Extreme hatred and dislike of foreigners

No idea

8. Do you have extreme hatred and dislike for foreigners?

Yes

No

9. Based on your knowledge, do you think South Africans are Xenophobic in nature?

Yes, all South Africans are

No, South Africans are not

Majority of South Africans are

Only a few

10. There have been serious cases of Xenophobia in South Africa in recent times, are you aware of these incidents?

Yes

No

11. Do you think these attacks were justified?

Yes

No

Please explain

.....

.....

.....

.....

### Section 3: Opinion of Respondents about foreigners

**Please select the correct response by ticking in the appropriate box.**

12. Do you have friends who are foreigners?

Yes

No

13. Do you see foreigners as equal human beings who deserve equal treatment?

Yes

No

14. Do you think foreigners are contributing positively to the progress and development of the South African economy?

Yes

No

Please explain

.....  
.....  
.....

15. Do you think that foreigners should be chased away from South Africa?

Yes

No

16. In your opinion, are foreigners taking jobs away from South Africans?

Yes

No

Please explain

.....  
.....

17. Are foreigners a threat to your ability to secure a partner (boyfriend, girlfriend)?

Yes

No

18. Do you believe that foreigners are responsible for the majority of crimes in South Africa?

Yes

No

Please explain

.....  
.....

