The socio-economic effects of xenophobic attacks on refugee entrepreneurs in Atteridgeville

By

Lekopo Alinah Lelope

A mini-dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirement for the degree

MSW (Social Development and Policy)

In the Department of Social Work and Criminology

at the University of Pretoria, Faculty of Humanities

Supervisor: Dr K.P. Masinga

25 March 2019

DECLARATION

I, **Lekopo Alinah Lelope** declare that, **"The socio-economic effects of xenophobic attacks on refugee entrepreneurs in Atteridgeville",** is my work and that all the sources used, and all quotes have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references. I hereby certify that this dissertation has not been submitted for any other degree purpose locally, regionally or internationally.

_____   _____

SIGNATURE   **DATE**

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

ABSTRACT

The socio-economic effects of xenophobic attacks on refugee entrepreneurs in Atteridgeville

Student: Lekopo Alinah Lelope

Supervisor: Dr KP Masinga

Department: Social Work and Criminology

Degree: MSW Social Development and Policy

The purpose of this study was to apply a qualitative research method to explore and describe the socio-economic effects of xenophobic attacks on refugee entrepreneurs in Atteridgeville, South Africa. The population of the study was refugee entrepreneurs, and a sample of those affected by the xenophobic attacks, were selected using the snowball sampling technique. The study followed a phenomenological research design in order to understand the lived experience of those affected by xenophobic attacks. Data was collected using the semi-structured one-on-one interview. An interview schedule, containing a set of questions, was used as a guide during the interviews to ensure that all participants were asked the same questions. The collected data was then grouped into themes. Main themes and sub-themes were identified for further interpretation and a summary and conclusions were drawn to create an in-depth understanding of the phenomenon of xenophobia, as well as its influence on the socio-economic wellbeing of those it affected. The result of this study revealed the following: 1) Migration is a precursor for xenophobic attacks considering most attacks are sparked by the movement of people from other parts of the continent into South Africa. The study also revealed that migrants encounter a number of bureaucratic challenges in the quest to formalise their asylum status. 2) Xenophobia is caused by numerous factors including jealousy, hatred of foreigners, unemployment and lack of job opportunities for young black South Africans. In addition, poverty and crime were identified as factors perpetuating xenophobic attacks. 3) Xenophobic attacks have tremendous effects on

those affected in terms of their physical and psychological well-being. The attacks further contribute to family disintegration, social isolation and destruction of business operations. 4) Although Government, faith-based organisations and some community members provided support and assistance in the aftermath of the attacks, their efforts were often inadequate and uncoordinated. Finally, the study revealed that financial aid to re-establish businesses and security are the services most needed by those affected by xenophobic attacks. In addition, awareness campaigns should be conducted by the government and/or other non-government service providers to highlight the plight of those affected by xenophobia.

KEYWORDS:

Socio-economic effects; Xenophobia; Refugee; Entrepreneur

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES:

LIST OF APPENDICES:

CHAPTER 1

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Attacks on foreign nationals have sparked national and international furore in the recent years. The central issue arising from xenophobic attacks are their effects on refugees; which is physical attack, displacement, increased vulnerability and, in some cases, death (Pillay, 2015:1; Wicks, 2015:1). Xenophobic attacks on refugees are not unprecedented in South Africa. Since the dawn of South Africa's democracy, whenever xenophobic attacks erupt, refugees are displaced, assaulted and, in some cases, murdered (Dessah, 2015:132). The attacks which occurred in 2008 were notorious and resulted in more than 1000 displaced refugees and 60 murder cases being reported (Consortium for Refugee and Migrants in South Africa, 2013:1; Monson & Arian, 2012:26). These attacks were not only a threat to the lives of the victims and a violation to the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996; but also posed a threat to objectives set out in the United Nation's 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development.

Sustainable Development Goals 8 and 16 seek to promote just, peaceful, and inclusive societies regardless of nationality, and sustainable economic growth respectively (United Nations, 2015:28). It is trite that an attack on any person motivated by the victim's nationality represents backward momentum in the quest to establish peaceful and inclusive societies; and promotes fear, hatred and violence. Moreover, the displacement and looting experienced by refugees, derailed their participation in economic activities; thereby hampering economic growth and sustainable development.

It was against this background that the researcher selected this topic and included specific focus on the socio-economic effects of xenophobic attacks, directed at refugee entrepreneurs. The geographical area (Atteridgeville) of study was selected arbitrarily based on the researcher's interest in refugees. Additionally, the researcher had observed that little research has been conducted in this population group. This study provided a unique perspective on the plight of refugee entrepreneurs regarding the impact of xenophobic attacks.

Below, are the key concepts for the study:

Socio-economic effects

Socio-economic effects are those issues concerned with the material bases of the well-being of individuals and communities and are aimed at securing basic quality of life for members of that community at large (Orago, 2015:41). 'Socio-economic' is defined as the study of the relationship between economic activity and social life (Sebola, 2011:1066).

Xenophobia

Xenophobia is the irrational fear and dislike of strangers, foreigners, or people different from oneself in the context of visual differentiation; by nationals of a recipient state (Dessah, 2015:127; Madue, 2015:63). Dessah and Madue further argue that within the South African context, xenophobia constitutes violent physical actions, which include beating; burning of property and people; displacement; dispossession; loss of human dignity; torture; killing; and, other forms of violence directed towards refugees and foreigners (Dessah, 2015:128). Adeleke, Omitola and Olukole (2008:140) elaborated that xenophobia focuses on a population group, present within a society, which is not considered part of its own.

Refugee

A refugee is someone who, owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted based on inter alia race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or for holding a certain political opinion; is outside of his country of nationality, and is unable or, owing to such fear unwilling, to avail himself to the protection of that

country; or who, not having a nationality and being outside the country of his former habitual residence as a result of such events, is unable or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to return to it (Organisation of African Unity Refugee Convention, 1969:2). Refugees are usually hosted by a foreign country for a certain period, with the expectation that they will eventually return to their country of origin (Onoma, 2013:27-28).

Entrepreneur

An entrepreneur is a person who sees an opportunity in the market, gathers resources, creates, and grows a business venture to meet needs and demands, and bears the risks of the venture, while being rewarded with profit if it succeeds (Niewenhuizen & Nieman, 2009:9).

Atteridgeville

Atteridgeville, founded in 1940, is a black, urbanised township, within the Greater Tshwane Metropolitan of South Africa. It was established to accommodate black people who were forcefully removed from areas earmarked for occupation by white people under the previous apartheid system (Tlhabye, 2016:4). The area is situated about twelve kilometres west of Pretoria and covers 28.739 hectors (Statistics South Africa, 2011:1). It has a population of approximately 64,425 people, and an unemployment rate of 11.9% (Statistics South Africa, 2011:1). The area faces similar challenges experienced in many townships in South Africa, such as high unemployment, drug and alcohol abuse, high crime rate and poor service delivery.

1.2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Xenophobia as a social phenomenon has attracted interest from various academic disciplines. Resultantly, to explain the phenomenon, several theories have emerged. These theories vary from economic, political, and social to psychological theories amongst others. For the research, the Social Identity Theory (SIT) was used to inform and provide guidance when dealing with the phenomenon xenophobia.

The Social Identity Theory (SIT) was developed by Tajfel and Tuner in 1979 to explain inter-group conflict. The theory posits that individuals define their identities in relation to social groups. These identities help foster and build self-identity (Islam, 2014:1782). According to Tajfel (2012:2) individuals find significance in the knowledge, value, and emotional attachment they have to their social group and therein formulate group identity. The formulation of group identity involves categorisation into membership of the 'in-group', or, for those who do not possess the same value and knowledge, the 'out-group'. Islam (2014:1782) argues that 'in-groups' will do anything, including engaging in physical conflict, to protect their identity. Trepte ([sa]:257) goes further and avers that 'in-group' solidarity, permits discrimination against the 'out-group', in order to achieve and enhance self-esteem.

SIT offers important insight into the social identity bases of discrimination, prejudice, and inter-group conflict, by postulating these phenomena as resulting from group-based categorisation and self-enhancement motives (Islam, 2014:1782). The researcher submits that SIT was relevant to this study because xenophobic attacks are, by their very nature, perpetuated by prejudice and involve different groups. Some South Africans have classified themselves as a homogeneous group (in-group) based on their national identity and citizenship, and foreign nationals as the out-group. Charman and Piper (2012:85) argue that residents organised into groups (in-group) against refugees and foreigners (out-group), to claim the authority and power necessary to further their political and economic interests. Therefore, SIT supplied meaningful insight into the effects of xenophobic attacks on foreigners (the out-group as described above).

Furthermore the SIT assisted in providing a basis for social work practitioners to have a better understanding of how South Africans viewed themselves in relations to foreigners that are living in the country. The theory further assisted in providing information to practitioners, policy makers and the general public about the violation of human rights associated with xenophobia.

1.3 RATIONALE AND PROBLEM STATEMENT

Xenophobic attacks are a global phenomenon and have left foreigners and refugees displaced, tortured and, in some cases, dead (Human Rights First, 2011:17-25). Locally, the socio-economic status of refugee entrepreneurs is affected when their livelihood and means of income is threatened and, in most cases, destroyed during xenophobic attacks. The researcher could not find any research studies, specifically exploring the actual impact of xenophobic attacks on refugee entrepreneurs, with reference to their personal, economic, and social standing. Chinomona and Mazariri (2015:20) emphasise that more intense research is required to explore the experiences and emotions experienced by refugee entrepreneurs residing in the metropolitan areas, in the aftermath of xenophobic violence. The researcher wanted to obtain an in-depth and subjective (specific population experience) understanding of the effects these attacks had on refugees; particularly refugee entrepreneurs running businesses in Atteridgeville. The study provided insight into the social experiences and economic effects of the attacks on this sample-specific group. The researcher hoped to increase professional understanding of the needs of those affected by xenophobic attacks; with a view to influence the development of policies and interventions to address this phenomenon, and prevent long-term negative, socio-economic consequences, not only for the individual, but South Africa as a whole. Therefore, the research question for this study is:

What were the socio-economic effects of xenophobic attacks on refugee entrepreneurs in Atteridgeville?

1.4 GOAL AND OBJECTIVES

The goal and objectives of the study were discussed below:

1.4.1 Research goal

The goal of the study was to explore and describe the socio-economic effects of xenophobic attacks, on refugee entrepreneurs in Atteridgeville.

1.4.2 Research objectives

The objectives of the study were:

❖ To contextualise and conceptualise xenophobic attacks on refugee entrepreneurs.

❖ To explore and describe the social effects of xenophobic attacks on refugee entrepreneurs.

❖ To explore and describe the economic effects of xenophobic attacks on refugee entrepreneurs.

❖ To identify and describe interventions required from the perspective of refugee entrepreneurs.

❖ Based on the findings, to make recommendations for improved service delivery to refugee entrepreneurs.

1.5 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The research approach was qualitative with an exploratory purpose. An applied research method was elected because the research findings were used to address and highlight human rights abuses of refugee entrepreneurs in Atteridgeville (Fouché & De Vos, 2011:94). The study relied on a phenomenological research design to attempt to understand the experiences and perspectives of refugee entrepreneurs, and to provide an understanding of how the attacks affected them (Fouché & Schurink, 2011:305).

The population of the study was all refugee entrepreneurs in Atteridgeville. As it was impossible to study the entire population, sampling occurred utilising non-probability sampling, because the exact size of the population was unknown to the researcher (Strydom & Delport, 2011:391). The sample comprised of refugee entrepreneurs who experienced xenophobic attacks in Atteridgeville. The emphasis was on participants who have experienced the phenomenon under investigation, and who could explain and give an account of their lived experiences (Creswell, 2013:150). The researcher selected participants using the snowball sampling technique

(Strydom & Delport, 2011:393). Snowball sampling was used because the researcher had limited knowledge of, or access to, refugee entrepreneurs.

Data was collected via the semi-structured one-on-one interview technique, using a set of predetermined questions contained in an interview schedule (Greeff, 2011:352). The participants are entrepreneurs, and therefore the researcher made arrangements to conduct interviews, in a manner that would not disturb the daily operation of their businesses (Strydom, 2011:333). The researcher analysed the data according to the steps described by Creswell (2013:190-191).

While conducting the study, the researcher took ethical issues, related to the participants and the researcher, into consideration. The specific ethical issues will be discussed in-depth in Chapter three of the research report.

1.6 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

Phenomenological studies are dependent on the goodwill of the participants and how much information they are prepared to share. Due to the sensitive nature of the research subject, some participants found it difficult to openly and honestly share their experiences and challenges. The snowball sampling method relied on each refugee entrepreneur's willingness to supply information about others who had suffered the same fate. Admittedly the sampling method employed was vulnerable to bias because each participant was free to refer the researcher to those whom he/she wanted to participate in the interviews. Bias was however not detected in this instance and the researcher relied heavily on the referral of one research participant to the next.

In addition, some of the participants to whom the researcher was referred refused to participate. This situation forced the researcher to return to individual participants to request further referrals. It is however trite that no research participant can be forced to participate, and the referral and re-referral exercise ensured that this ethical principle was upheld.

In addition, the researcher observed that trust was an issue for participants. This was made clear via non-verbal cues, mannerism, and body language. The researcher attributed the apparent lack of trust to participants' uncertainty regarding possible future xenophobic attacks, and to unknown persons in their vicinity.

Security became an issue when the researcher asked permission to use a tape recorder. The researcher clearly explained the purpose and use of the tape recorder prior to permission being granted and the interview taking place.

During the pilot study the researcher discovered that some pilot-study participants could not speak English properly. The researcher however had to rephrase some questions to ensure logical flow and free narrative; in the case of some participants who, although English literate, could not express themselves clearly.

The location of the interviews posed a challenge to the researcher. The interviews took place in the areas where participants operate businesses. The researcher opted to interview the participants in an environment they were comfortable and familiar with, which unfortunately posed a limitation. There were constant interruptions during the interview process because some interviews were conducted with refugees through locked security gates at their business premises, and some were conducted outside where there were noise and constant interruptions from the customers and community members passing by.

1.7 CONTENT OF THE RESEARCH REPORT

The content of this research report has been divided into four chapters. The chapters are outlined below:

Chapter 1: Chapter one comprises of the introduction, contextualisation of the study and definitions of key concepts used. It further includes the theoretical framework; rationale and problem statement, including the research question; the goals and objectives of the study; a brief overview of the research methodology; and the study limitations.

Chapter 2: Chapter two includes an in-depth literature review about xenophobic attacks internationally, regionally, and nationally. The factors contributing to

xenophobic attacks, the effects thereof, and the legislative and policy responses in place to deal with xenophobia, are discussed. Furthermore, the role of social workers in dealing with those affected by xenophobic attacks, is explored.

Chapter 3: Chapter three comprises of the research methodology; the ethical principles that guided the study; as well as the results of the empirical study, which were integrated with findings from the literature review.

Chapter 4: Chapter four discusses the extent to which the goals and objectives of the study have been met. Furthermore, key findings from the empirical study and the researcher's recommendations are outlined.

Conclusion

The chapter gave a brief introduction to the study by highlighting the key concepts underpinning the study. The theoretical framework as well as the rationale and problem statement was also highlighted. Furthermore, the goal and objectives as well as the brief research methodology were discussed. The chapter concluded on the limitations that the researcher encountered during the study.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The xenophobic attacks that took place in South Africa between 2008 and 2015 sent shockwaves across the country and the world at large (Mafukata, 2015:31). South Africa had not experienced anything similar before; even during the apartheid era. During the apartheid-era, people migrated from their countries of birth to work in the mining and agricultural sectors, and coexisted peacefully with local South Africans (Gordon, 2015:495). This trend continued even after apartheid had formally ended, and many people still flocked into South Africa looking for economic freedom and political stability. The movement of refugees and foreigners however caused some discomfort to the locals which have resulted in several reported incidents of xenophobic attacks.

The xenophobic attacks in South Africa can be traced back to 1998, when it was reported that some foreign nationals had been killed in a train travelling from Johannesburg to Pretoria (Mutanda, 2017:284). The incidence of such attacks increased, and the trend continued to escalate, to the point where more and more refugees were displaced, assaulted and killed (Dessah, 2015:132). The 2008 attacks were by far the most severe and resulted in 1000 displaced refugees, and 60 murder cases (Consortium for Refugees and Migrants in South Africa, 2013:1; Monson & Arian, 2012:26). These attacks not only threaten the lives of foreign victims but also impede the attainment of objectives set out in the United Nation's 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development; Development (United Nations, 2015:28); and violate the Bill of Rights contained in The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996:2)

Nationality aside, the attacks most impacted those seeking economic freedom, especially in the entrepreneurial field (Fatoki, 2016:100). Informal shops were looted and vandalised during the attacks and it is this area the researcher focuses on here.

In this chapter the researcher examines the findings of various authors and researchers who have investigated xenophobic attacks, and their impact and effect on foreigners and refugees. To achieve the aim the researcher will focus firstly on migration as a precursor to xenophobic attacks, and the dynamics surrounding migration across the African continent into South Africa, by those seeking political stability and economic opportunity. Secondly, the researcher will focus on the prevalence of global, regional, and national xenophobic attacks. Contributory factors and the effects thereof will follow this discussion. Finally, focus will shift to current legislature and policy responses to xenophobia, and the role of social work in dealing with xenophobic attacks on a micro, meso and macro level.

2.2 MIGRATION

Migration is defined by the International Organisation for Migration (IOM, 2011:62) as the movement of a person, or a group of persons, either across an international border, or within a state, which includes asylum seekers, displaced persons, economic migrants, and persons moving for other purposes, including other factors such as family reunification. It is a very organic process that is constantly changing and evolving in terms of its dynamics. This research will focus on the migration of people into South Africa, from various parts of Africa. The rationale for this framework lays in the fact that this study is set in South Africa and addresses concerns of affected refugees from other African states. The focus provides social context within which xenophobic attacks have taken place and ensures an enhanced understanding of this phenomenon within its social context, as envisaged in the research methodology.

Charman and Piper (2012:82) posit that there are several social challenges in Africa which result in people migrating away from their country of origin, including religious and cultural extremism perpetrated by groups such as Boko Haram in Nigeria; ethnic and civil wars in the Great Lakes Region; devastating famines which endanger food security; enormous debt owed by African states within the global political economy; and endemic political bureaucratic corruption in the Sub Saharan Africa regions (Long & Crisp, 2011:2).

Apart from those who migrate in search of peace and political stability; some refugees migrate to seek economic opportunities. Hovhannisyan, Baum, Ogude and Sarkar (2018:13) defined economic migration as the movement of persons from one country to another, for the purpose of employment and/or economic growth. Further, economic migrants include those who escape environmental degradation, natural disasters and poverty in their country of origin (Kavuro, 2015:246). Economically, South Africa is regarded as middle to upper-income, and as a popular economic migration destination in Africa (Hovhannisyan et al., 2018:67).

Hovhannisyan et al. (2018:14) opine that during apartheid South Africa adopted highly restrictive laws and boarder control measures, to control the movement of migrants into her boarders. At the same time migrant workers - mostly male - were recruited from various parts of Southern Africa, including; Lesotho, Mozambique, Swaziland, and Zimbabwe to name a few. All other forms of migration were prohibited.

The above-described situation changed with the advent of democracy. South Africa experienced an influx of 75.3 percent of migrants from within Africa. The majority of the migrants were young African males between the ages of 25-39 years (Hovhannisyan et al., 2018:75). In addition to African migrants, Hovhannisyan et al. (2018:2) estimate that the number of international migrants in South Africa is approximately 2 173 409 (about 4.2 percent of the country's total population).

Furthermore, the number of immigrants in general increased from about 400 000 in 1990 to over 1.1 million in 2017 (Hovhannisyan et al., 2018:17).

Many of those who migrate for political and economic reasons, found it difficult to venture into gainful employment in South Africa. Subsequently many migrants ventured into business as 'spaza-shop' owners. Charman, Petersen and Piper (2012:48) define spaza shops as micro-convenience stores which trade in a clandestine manner and provide township residents local access to everyday goods, otherwise only available at supermarkets situated far from the townships. Spaza-shops are often cited as an example of successful micro-entrepreneurial endeavours within the informal economy of South African townships (Tshishonga, 2015:167). The word 'spaza' is taken from isiZulu and means 'hidden'. These shops arose during the apartheid era, when limited business opportunities were available to black entrepreneurs (Charman et al., 2012:48).

Migrant refugees are attracted to spaza-shops as business ventures because the majority of them are unregistered businesses, informally run and usually avoid municipal rules and regulations applicable to businesses conducted in residential areas (Liederman, Charman, Piper & Pietersen, 2013:2).

The motives for migration by Africans into South Africa; especially those in search of political stability, peace and economic opportunities; provoke various responses. One such response is xenophobia which indicates to the 'out-group' that they are unwelcome within the 'in-group' (Adam & Moodley, 2013:21). Xenophobia will be discussed at length below.

2.2.1 Xenophobia: international trends

Xenophobia is a global phenomenon. It occurs worldwide, in democratic and totalitarian states alike; in violent and non-violent forms and may be government-sanctioned or carried out by groups or a collection of individuals. This study

examines xenophobic attacks in various parts of the world including Europe, the United States of America (USA) and selected Asian countries.

A report by the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR, 2015:02) mentions that initially, the influx of foreigners into European countries was due to globalization, the promise of economic liberation, the decline of most sovereign nations and the disintegration of traditional values. The steady rise in migration however led to a situation where host countries could no longer accommodate foreigners, because competition for scarce jobs and resources began to increase (Hickel, 2014:114).

Claassen (2017:5) professes that developed countries began experiencing an influx of migrants who adhered to diverse cultural and religious traditions, when compared to the majority of the local residents. This sparked resistance and xenophobic sentiments in local citizens. The United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR, 2015:18) mentions that political instability in countries such as Syria, Eritrea, Afghanistan and Mali contributed to the high number of refugees and asylum seekers in Europe and the Middle East. Approximately 4.9 million Syrians sought refuge in neighbouring countries such as Turkey, Lebanon and Greece; while an estimated one million refugees from Afghanistan, Iraq and Syria entered into Europe (UNHCR, 2015:82). It has been reported that some European Union Member States are unable to cope with the influx of refugees and the situation has resulted in harassment and xenophobic attacks (Vrsanska, Kavicky & Jangl, 2017:168).

The European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights (2016:1) report that asylum seekers and refugees face various forms of violence and harassment across the European Union (EU). Several xenophobic attacks and harassment incidents were reported in 2015/16 according to member states in the EU such as: 75 cases of racism and xenophobic attacks reported against migrants and refugees in Greece; 53 in the Netherlands; 735 cases in Germany; and 47 cases reported in Finland. Sweden reported 50 attacks which took place during a period of 14 days in October

2015 and involved the use of hand grenades to start arson attacks on various accommodation centres reportedly catering for refugees. Resultantly many of these buildings were torched and burnt-out (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights Report, 2016:1). The recorded attacks were violent in nature, resulting in physical harm and displacement, and in extreme cases, death.

The European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (2006:11) report that foreigners and refugees experience discrimination, intolerance, and harassment based mainly on race (Arab Nationals and Black Africans) and religious background (Muslim and Jewish). The reasons behind the attacks and discriminatory sentiments appear mainly based on the general influx of asylum seekers to certain countries, and the aftermath of terrorist attacks in countries such as Belgium, Paris and Denmark (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2016:2).

In France and Italy, Human Rights First (HRF, 2011:19) report that in May 2011, right-wing groups attacked Asians and Africans in Italy and destroyed numerous asylum centres. Furthermore, violent protests resulted in streets being barricaded, and state or civil rights group-initiated refugee assistance programmes, being destroyed or blocked (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights Report, 2016:6). In extreme cases, the harassment and attacks on asylum seekers and refugees was reported to have spread to human rights activist perceived to be 'pro-refugees', with some reporting verbal racist abuse and death threats (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights Report, 2016:2&6).

Consequent to the xenophobic attacks, many European countries imposed strict laws and regulations which restricted refugee access and tightened border control. During the same period calls arose for a 'white-only' immigration policy that would give Caucasians exclusive migration rights into the European Union, to the exclusion of other races (Gopal, 2013:126).

In the USA, xenophobic assaults manifested in the form of anti-Hispanic hate crimes against refugees from countries such as Brazil, Columbia and the Northern Triangle of Central America (NTCA) (Zong & Batalova, 2017:94;). Human Rights First (2011:14) indicates that xenophobic attacks against Hispanics, or people from Latin America, increased by almost 40 percent. Hate crimes motivated by racism and religious intolerance are generally committed against refugees.

Historically, in the USA, xenophobic attacks started in the 19th century and saw white Americans attacking Chinese farm workers (Wose-Kinge, 2015:13). Later, white Americans began displaying negative attitudes towards Africans, Mexicans, Italians, and Asians; indicating that they were not welcome in the USA, while white foreign nationals from Germany, England, France, Canada and other developed states, were welcome. In the aftermath of the 9/11 incident during which buildings were bombed in the USA, anti-Muslim sentiments and xenophobic aggression increased considerably with over 700 reported incidents of xenophobic attacks, including murder, aimed at Arab Americans (Schuller, 2013:4).

On the Asia continent, refugees and migrants from African descent experienced racism and xenophobic attack in countries such as India and Thailand. Some of the attacks were perpetrated by government security forces and agents and private citizens (HRF, 2011:23). In Central Asian countries, attacks on migrants were ethnically-motivated by Russian neo-Nazis and other racist individuals (HRF, 2011: 21). An analogous situation was experienced by migrants and refugees in Malaysia, who endure a xenophobic attitude from government-sanctioned groups and ordinary citizens (HRF, 2011: 20).

The above discussion focused on xenophobic attacks experienced in various parts of the globe. Focus will now shift to attacks experienced in various African regions.

2.2.2 Xenophobia: regional trends

Hosting refugees has not been an easy task for most of international governments. African governments have not escaped a similar burden often compounded by their own internal economic and security challenges. Fourchard and Segatti (2015:5) report cases of mass-violence against groups considered foreign by the national body or local community; emerging in several African countries and labelled those attacks as 'ethnic cleansing', 'religious riots', 'communal clashes' or 'indigenous conflicts', in addition to xenophobic attacks. Oyelana (2016:283) reports that Nigerians living in Ghana are regarded as one of the first Africans to experience xenophobic attacks as they were accused of stealing jobs and opportunities intended for Ghanaian citizens. The attacks led to retaliation by the Nigerian government which sent all Ghanaians residing in Nigeria, back to Ghana, and ended all economic and political relations between the two countries (Choane, Shulika & Mthombeni, 2011:131).

Similar xenophobic attacks were reported in Uganda against Pakistani and Indian citizens; while in Kenya xenophobic attacks were perpetrated against citizens of the Democratic Republic of Congo and Somalia (Choane et al., 2011:131). These attacks contributed to economic collapse and criticism from the international communities for not respecting the human rights of refugees (Misago, Freemantle & Landau, 2015:15).

In other African countries like Zambia and Democratic Republic of Congo, xenophobic attacks included the looting of foreign-owned shops by residents who accused foreigners of taking over all business opportunities in their area, and of using 'muti' (black magic) to boost their businesses and attract customers (Mutanda, 2017:280).

In the Southern African Development Community Region (SADC), xenophobic attacks have been reported in Botswana against refugees from Zimbabwe and Mozambique (Campbell & Crush, 2012:17). In Zambia, anti-Chinese sentiments

including "*The Chinaman is coming just to invade and exploit Africa*", were shared by local residents who displayed arrogance and hatred towards the Chinese who were regarded as unpopular and untrustworthy. In addition, Chinese nationals have been blamed for saturating the business sector by employing their own citizens over local Zambians, even for small jobs that could be done by local citizens, especially in the mining and agricultural sector (Mafukata, 2015:32).

In Zimbabwe, xenophobic attacks occurred against white farmers who fled the country when the then President, Robert Mugabe introduced 'land seizure' policies which led to economic recession that is still experienced in Zimbabwe today (Oyelana, 2016:282).

Overall, Africa is regarded as a continent with many challenges. Countries such as Somalia, Ethiopia, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Zimbabwe, South Sudan, and the Central African Republic face political challenges and civil wars that force people to flee their countries in search of peace and freedom in South Africa (Mutanda, 2017:289). Unfortunately, some South Africans have not welcomed migrants with open arms, and xenophobia has increased steadily. The plight of foreigners and refugees in South Africa is discussed below.

2.2.3 Xenophobia: national trends

After the collapse of apartheid in 1994, South Africa became to be regarded as a peaceful and democratic country, resulting in an influx of refugees and foreigners from other African states, often fleeing political instability and economic hardships in their countries of origin (Mabera, 2017:29; Tshishonga, 2015:164).

Improved economic prospects and the promise of a peaceful living environment caused an influx of refugees from neighbouring counties such as Lesotho, Zimbabwe and Mozambique, and other African countries such as Nigeria and Ghana. Many refugees came to South Africa seeking economic opportunities since

Europe and North America had closed their doors to foreigners (Ilevbare, & Adedanya, 2008:202-203). Amongst the different nationalities which migrated into South Africa, Zimbabweans constitute the highest number, with an estimated one million Zimbabweans living in South Africa. Somalians form the highest number of refugee entrepreneurs (Charman & Piper, 2012:82; Mutanda, 2017:279).

Tshishonga (2015:164) mentions that South Africa accommodates the highest number of asylum seekers worldwide. The influx of asylum seekers and refugees place a strain on already scarce resources such as employment, health, housing and municipal services. This in turn fuels tension between local and non-local residents, contributing to incidents of xenophobic clashes, often with devastating consequences such as physical harm and death.

Post-apartheid, South Africa witnessed violent attacks by black South Africans against non-South African - mostly black people from other African countries. Misago, Landau and Monson (2009:8) report that since the country's liberation from apartheid in 1994, hundreds of people have been attacked or killed because of their status as outsiders or non-citizens. Although some of the attacks have been directed at migrant entrepreneurs - dubbed 'violent entrepreneurship' - there are instances of attacks on black foreign nationals who are uninvolved in any business activity (Charman & Piper, 2012:86). Literature indicates that black foreign nationals have been the object of attack over a number of years; however, it also points to differences among politicians and researchers on naming the xenophobic attack phenomenon and providing explanations or causes thereof (Dessah, 2015:128).

Misago et al. (2015:13) provided a general statistical report of xenophobic incidents in 2011: 154 cases were reported with 99 deaths, 100 serious injuries and 1000 displaced people. In 2012: 238 incidents were reported with 120 deaths, 154 serious injuries and 7500 displaced people. In 2013: 250 cases were reported with 88 deaths, 170 serious injuries and 7000 displaced people.   Since the

outbreak of xenophobic attacks in 2008, it is estimated that 200 foreign-owned shops have been looted and some have permanently closed in consequence thereof (Misago et al., 2015:21).

Below are several factors that have been found as contributory to xenophobic attacks.

2.3 FACTORS CONTRIBUTING TO XENOPHOBIC ATTACKS

Oluwu (2008:298) identified universal contributory factors that could lead to xenophobic attacks. For this study, global movement, the legacy of apartheid, unemployment, poverty, crime, competition for public resource and business opportunities; and political instability will be examined as main factors contributing towards xenophobic attacks in South Africa.

2.3.1 Movement of people between countries

The movement of people from one country to another for political, social and economic reasons have been prevalent throughout history (Manyaka & Madzivhandila, 2015:61). Congress (2016:3) attributes the need for freedom, food security and lodging as the main causes for movement of people from one country to another. On the other hand, Choane et al. (2011:130) attribute rapid globalisation as a factor that prompts people to migrate from less developed and developing countries, to more developed and developed countries.

Democratic South Africa became attractive to migrants and refugees due to her political freedoms and high standard of living (Tewari, 2015:3). In addition, South Africa is regarded as the most industrialised country in Africa, thus attracting thousands of foreign nationals annually (Mutanda, 2017:279). These factors make South Africa a sought-after destination for many migrants and refugees from all over the world, and particularly from African countries that have experienced economic,

social, and political hardship (Choane et al., 2011:132). Economic opportunities in South Africa have attracted both political and economic refugees - with or without academic qualifications and/or vocational training and/or entrepreneurial experiences – from all over the world (Mensah & Benedict, 2016:69).

Movement by refugees is usually underscored by the 'pull and push factor' theory. The 'push factor' is associated with people who are pushed out of the country of origin by economic hardship, or by political and social oppression; while the 'pull factor' relates to those who are pulled to other countries by economic opportunities, political stability and religious freedom (Congress, 2016:32; Mosselson, 2015:641). In the case of South Africa, the migration of people into the country can be attributed to both push and pull factors; the latter relating mainly to socio-economic opportunities, political stability, perceived business opportunities, economy and tourism (Asha, 2015:301; Mabera, 2017:29; Manyaka & Madzivhandila, 2015:61).

South Africa is also generally regarded as a wealthy nation, which refugees and foreigners see as a destination of choice where they can add value to their lives and establish/re-establish themselves economically (Oluwu, 2008:306). The influx of people from one country to another has, in some cases, created feelings of anxiety and insecurity amongst local nationals; often obsessed with citizenship and a sense of belonging (Hickel, 2014:117). Mudzanani (2016:339) emphasises that xenophobic attacks can be credited to the uncontrolled movement of refugees and foreigners into the country.

Many South Africans have not warmed to the idea of hosting 'outsiders'; an opinion often ignited by an obsession over citizenship and sense of belonging, as well as an emphasis on geographical boundaries (Van der Westhuizen, 2015:116). Secure boundaries and borders thrived under the apartheid system, making South Africa exclusive to South Africans, and thus making it difficult for people outside access for political, social, or economic purpose. (Mabera, 2017:30). The legacy of apartheid with an emphasis on its effect on the topic of research will be discussed below.

2.3.2 Legacy of apartheid

The apartheid system was based on colonial administration policies and artificial borders in Africa, which divided people into ethnic groups, which resulted in people seeing each other as enemies and intruders, and thus giving rise to xenophobic tendencies (Rasila & Musitha, 2016:2). The apartheid system also made it difficult for people from other countries to come to South Africa, thus separating South Africa from the rest of the world (Adebisi, 2017:84). Rukema and Khan (2013:177) coined this an 'isolation system' which led to South Africa's isolation from the international world because of her apartheid policies. The isolation system was supported by South Africa's immigration policies which contributed towards the conception of South African national identity and feelings of 'us and them'. This led to foreigners and refugees being seen as intruders and as not belonging to South Africa; thus, perpetuating exclusion (Gopal, 2013:127; Mabera, 2017:29).

In addition, the apartheid system denied the black South African access to quality education and training for decades, which gave migrants an upper hand as they tended to have comparatively higher levels of human capital, including entrepreneurial capabilities; higher motivation; and, therefore, tended to generate higher incomes compared to their South African counterparts (Mensah & Benedict, 2016:69).

Furthermore, the aftermath of apartheid system saw the prevalence of the use of the name 'makwerekwere' by locals. 'Makwerekwere' is a derogatory term for a foreigner who is unable to speak any South African dialect, which often makes foreigners and refugees feel belittled and socially excluded (Gordon, 2015:480). Furthermore, Tshishonga (2015:166) found that South Africans have a widespread suspicion of refugees, often accusing them of spreading diseases and epidemics such as HIV, and cholera; and of stealing women, jobs, and economic opportunities rather than creating them for themselves. The use of derogatory names in some

cases traumatises those affected by xenophobic attacks. These are the same people who left their countries of origin due to traumatic violent attacks and wars (Moyo[sa]:4; Rukema & Khan, 2013:186). They are thus further traumatised in South Africa and 'othered' by the so-called 'in-group'.

The legacy of apartheid not only created a socially isolated and closed society, but also resulted in high levels of unemployment which in turn contributes to xenophobic attacks.

2.3.3 Unemployment

The advent of democracy created high expectations of economic and social relief amongst South Africans. However, the high level of unemployment was not anticipated as economic freedom was not achieved (Manyaka & Madzivhandila, 2015:67; Tewari, 2015:3). As a result, Shai and Mothibi (2015:266) state that black South Africans are of the view that foreigners and refugees are taking their long-awaited jobs and economic opportunities, which they have been deprived of under the apartheid regime.

Furthermore, Hickel (2014:105) states that foreigners and refugees are prepared to work in exploitative, lower salaried and unprotected working environments, where ordinary South Africans would not want to work. This ability to take low paying and risky jobs makes it difficult for ordinary South Africans to compete with them and to actively participate in the job market, thus increasing the rate of unemployment (Misago et al., 2015:18 & 21). In addition, Saleh (2015:300) states that prospective employers would rather employ foreigners and refugees who are likely to provide cheap labour at reasonable prices at the expense of local people who are prepared to do the same job at a negotiated price. This makes refugees great competitors of jobs compared to their local counterparts who end up being unemployed (Chinomona, 2016:26; Dodson, 2010:6; Manyaka & Madzivhandila, 2015:67).

The practice of preferring foreigners and refugees over local national is also rife in first world countries, such as United States of America, where foreigners and refugees take up jobs that naturalised citizens do not want, particularly in the low-paying and undesirable sector such as agriculture, tourism, health care and industries with health risks (Jansson, 2016:405).

In addition, The Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD, 2018: 34) highlight that often the foreigners and refugees tend to replace the local residents that have moved from rural to urban or from lower-skilled to higher-skilled jobs, as well as those who have left the country in search of better work opportunities abroad. Pineteh (2017:5) point out that local citizens who claim that refugees and foreigners take their jobs do not even have the required skill or academic qualifications to perform those tasks, thus using the refugees and foreigners as scapegoats for their short-coming. On the other hand, Choane et al. (2011:135) argue that there are allegations that people with post matric qualification in South Africa are without jobs because companies have given the jobs they qualify for to foreigners and refugees at a cheaper rate. This results in perceptions that foreign nationals are taking local people's jobs, which in turn lead to xenophobic attacks whenever an opportunity arise, thus deepening poverty within the communities.

Having looked at the role of unemployment, the researcher will focus on role of poverty as another factor in the xenophobic attacks.

2.3.4 Poverty

Claassen (2017:4) states that hostility and violence towards refugees and migrants is triggered by economic deprivation or poverty. Most refugees and immigrants seek shelter and accommodation in poor, marginalised informal urban areas that are poorly maintained, which has long and short-term effects on residents already struggling with issues of security and socio-economic challenges (Shai & Mothibi,

2015:266). Often, informal settlements are characterised by high levels of poverty with occupants who expect the government to provide public services and resources such a health care, school, houses and job opportunities, which they now have to share with the foreigners and refugees who have settled in their communities (Choane et al., 2011:134). Moreover, these parts of the country are usually populated with unskilled people who find it difficult to compete with foreign nationals who are usually educated, and/or semi- or highly-skilled (Manyaka & Madzivhandila, 2015:67).

Similarly, Mensah and Benedict (2016:69) state that in an industrialised country such as South Africa, with high influx of foreigners and refugees, low-skilled and uneducated locals tend to have stronger anti-immigrant attitudes towards foreigners than other locals. Manyaka and Madzivhandila (2015:67) state further that people in underdeveloped or poverty-stricken areas, are prone to engage in conflict with foreigners over unmet basic needs such as food, housing, health care, water and sanitation. This in turn results in xenophobic attacks on foreign nationals who are viewed as competitors for scarce resources and government services. Competition for public services will be discussed as a factor in xenophobic attacks below.

2.3.5 Competition for public services

Ilevbare and Adedanya (2008:202) argue that when South African nationals feel frustrated over poor service delivery from their own government, they blame foreigners and refugees. A similar observation is made by Pineteh (2017:7) who posits that the inability of the ruling party to fulfil its promises to its citizens such as eradication of poverty, free education, housing, and quality health care, is often blamed on the presence of foreigners and refugees in the communities.

African foreigners and refugees are regarded as competitors for necessary resources such as housing, health care and education; intended for local citizens (Mabera, 2016:29; Mudzanani, 2016:339). Hickel (2014:106) further argues that

residents hold a perception that they have not been given the chance to enjoy their newfound freedom and democratic rights and are required to share the fruits of democracy with non-nationals who flooded South Africa post-apartheid.

The first democratic Minister of Home Affairs in South Africa shared the same sentiments. Mr. Mangosuthu Buthelezi, blamed the failure of government to provide adequate and needed resources to local citizens on the influx of foreigners and refugees, who were seen to be competing for the same resources (Klotz, 2016:192). He labelled foreigners as the biggest headache that the post-apartheid government had to deal with (Gordon, 2015:504; Mabera, 2016:29).

Furthermore, Pineteh (2017:4) argues that the failure of the African National Congress (ANC) to provide much needed public services is quickly shifted to the presence of foreign nationals in communities. Claassen (2017:4) mentions that the xenophobic attacks taking place in South Africa, are a result of accumulated frustration with government over insufficient provision of basic services. From a study conducted by Hayem (2013:84) in Alexandra, it was found that people were protesting against the allocation of RDP (Reconstruction Development Programme) houses to foreigners. There were strong protestations that foreigners have no claim to those houses and that they should leave South Africa.

With such strong emotions and harsh demonstrations, refugee entrepreneurs from Somalia, Ethiopia, Bangladesh and Pakistan, who usually operate their businesses in townships and informal settlements, easily become the targets of xenophobic attacks during service delivery protests (Misago et al., 2015:21). These protests have also been seen as linked to criminal elements, which are discussed below.

2.3.6 Crime

The element of crime can be viewed in different ways; one being that of foreigners as criminals, as victims of crime and lastly as being used as scapegoats for criminal

activities. Amongst the social ills that plague post-apartheid South Africa, crime is rated amongst the highest (Chandia & Hart, 2016:29; Pineteh, 2017:4). Ilevbare and Adedanya (2008:202) argue that foreigners and refugees are usually blamed for the high rise in crime, particularly in the urban, affluent areas of South Africa. Foreigners are alleged to be responsible for crimes such as drug smuggling, murder and running prostitution rings (Mensah & Benedict, 2016:72; Solomon & Kosaka, 2013:14). Mafukata (2015: 33) states that there are elements of uncontrolled and unmanageable criminal acts such as housebreaking and robberies by foreign nationals that were reported by local citizens.

There are also perceptions that foreigners and refugees engage in criminal activities such as housebreaking and theft as a means of survival upon arrival in the country. This is because it is reported that is usually difficult to report and prosecute foreigners as criminals due to lack of formal identification documents (Mafukata, 2015:33). To emphasise this, their way of coming to South Africa is often regarded as a crime on its own as they would have probably crossed the borders illegally (Alfaro-Velcamp & Shaw, 2016:984; Mathebula, 2015:205).

Some of the widespread perceptions are attached to Nigerian refugees that are viewed as controlling the drug trading industry, arms and ammunition, human organs and dealing in fake designer clothes and pirated DVDs (Hickel, 2014:112; Adebisi, 2017:86). Congolese nationals are associated with passport racketeering and diamond smuggling; Mozambicans with car theft; and Zimbabwean women to be engaged in prostitution (Solomon & Kosaka, 2013:12).

Rusila and Musitha (2016:4) state that some people perceive xenophobic acts in South Africa as acts of criminality whereby on many occasions, the foreigners who were attacked were those owning businesses, such as "spaza shops". Similarly, Crush (2012:24) posits that the looting of foreign-owned shops, displacement and killing of foreign nationals should not only be viewed as xenophobic attacks, but

opportunistic criminal acts. As a result, refugee entrepreneurs tend to be victims of crime.

When dealing with the element of criminality in relation to the socio-economic challenges of South Africa, such as the high unemployment rate amongst the youth, the young South Africans often resort to criminal activities for survival and in return use foreign national as scapegoats (Mafukata, 2015:34; Mudzanani, 2016:339). The criminal element in the xenophobic attacks is often linked to conflicts or discontent emanating from business competition as discussed below.

2.3.7 Business competition

Charman and Piper (2012:82) state that xenophobic attacks are linked to competition in the informal economic sector. The authors elaborate by saying that refugee entrepreneurs, mainly from Somalia, Egypt, Ethiopia and Bangladesh, have taken over the small business sector known as "spaza shops" in the townships, leaving South African entrepreneurs unable to keep up with their better prices and improved service to consumers (Charman et al., 2012:47-48). In this regard, four elements have been identified as contributory factors to xenophobic attacks in line with business competition.

Firstly, foreign entrepreneurs apparently outcompete their South African counterparts by buying goods in bulk and selling them at below market rates, thus leaving the South African "spaza shop" owners without customers (Hickel, 2014:105; Solomon & Kosaka, 2013:11). Mensah and Benedict (2016:76) state that the drive into entrepreneurship by foreigners and refugees, no matter how small the level of operation, originates both from the fact that most African migrants come from economies with historically more advanced entrepreneurship ecosystems than that of South Africa. An important difference is the role of social networks, especially amongst Somali shopkeepers, who use clan-based social networks to operate their competitive businesses. The networks provide various services, including access to

cheap labour (recruited from Somalia); enforcement of contractual agreements by the network, with clan elders overseeing business deals; strategic investment in geographical areas to establish Somali strongholds; group purchasing to secure discounts and operational economies of scale; and facilitating micro-finance by organising investments and business partnerships. The South African shopkeepers, in contrast, typically operate within a weak social network that often is limited to members of the immediate family who provide labour, and nothing else.

Liederman et al. (2013:4) revealed that the Somali entrepreneurial business model is primarily based on price competition based on collective procurement and large distribution networks. This model of operation usually frustrates South African entrepreneurs, leading to xenophobic attacks whenever opportunities arise.

Secondly, Misago et al. (2009:21&31) mention that even during economic hardships, refugee entrepreneurs are still able to make food and essential commodities affordable as they sell them in small quantities so that even the poorest of the poor can still afford them. In addition, some community members complain that foreigners outperform local businesses to the point where business-owners are forced to close because they cannot compete with them, thus giving rise to a build-up of tension over business opportunities

Thirdly, the fact that foreign entrepreneurs, in particular the Somalians are accused of illegal business practices such as not charging taxes to the end-customer, thus selling goods at cheaper prices than local stores (Solomon & Kosaka, 2013:12). Using their network operations that have been discussed earlier on, refugee entrepreneurs usually obtain important spaza products that cannot be obtained through wholesale stores, but which are available on the black market, such as contraband cigarettes (Charman & Piper, 2012:82). Refugee entrepreneurs are suspected to use under-hand business tactics, such as selling illegal contraband cigarettes and smuggling diamond across the South African borders (Mafukata, 2015:36). With this kind of business operations, refugee entrepreneurs profit

substantially compared to local entrepreneurs who operate their businesses within the South African laws and statutes.

Lastly, South Africans entrepreneurs accuse foreign shop-owners of using "muti" to attack customers and stall their progress, hence they are always busy even in the hardest economic times (Hickel, 2014:108; Mafukata, 2015:32; Pineteh, 2017:6). The high inflation rate and the slowing down of economic growth does not seem to affect refugee entrepreneurs, while competition for economic resources and customers at ground level amongst local entrepreneurs have a possibility to fuel xenophobic attacks (Taweri, 2015:12).

Business competition has been discussed as a contributory factor in the xenophobic attacks and the research has also outlined the various facets of this aspect. The next contributory factor to be discussed is the role of political instability and/or political leadership.

2.3.8 Political influence

Some political and community leaders are accused of instigating xenophobic attacks by stating that the presence of foreign nationals in South Africa is destabilising, threatening livelihoods and draining valuable resources from South Africans (Madue, 2015:68).

It has been widely reported that the 2015 xenophobic attacks in Kwa-Zulu Natal were fuelled by King Goodwill Zwelithini's statement where he urged foreign nationals to go 'home' because they are no longer welcome in South Africa (Adebisi, 2017:85; Mabera, 2017:29; Ndou, 2015:1; Steyn, 2015:24). Foreigners and refugees become easy targets for the transference of conflict and violence emanating from power and political struggles (Choane et al., 2011:131).

During campaigns for leadership, some individuals tend to campaign by promising to remove the foreigners and refugees who are regarded as 'job and women stealers' (Misago, 2017:45-47). Subsequent to this, the author states that the very same group that orchestrates the removal of foreigners will later organise their return into the communities they resided in before the xenophobic attacks; and promise protection from further attacks for a fee, thus enriching themselves at the misery of vulnerable foreigners and community members (Misago, 2017:45-47).

To further add to political instability, most violent attacks against foreign nationals living and working in South Africa – especially those in the townships - emanate from feelings of hatred which South Africans have towards foreigners (Mafukata, 2015:31). The hatred is however often inspired by dubious, unfounded allegations and ill-conceived perceptions propagated by the electronic media, the press, populist politicians wanting to score political points by exploiting the fears of the citizens, while at the same time raising their public profiles amongst South Africans who often lag behind in terms of inter- and multi-culturalism in post-apartheid South Africa (Mafukata, 2015:32).

On the other hand, the success of foreign and refugee entrepreneurs when compared to local entrepreneurs often give rises to political and economic confrontation. For instance, in Gauteng, xenophobic attacks on refugee entrepreneurs were motivated by threats and terror messages from local business associations such as the Greater Gauteng Business Forum (GGBF) and the South African Blacks Associations (SABA). In Limpopo, police and other law-enforcers closed refugee-owned shops and left those owned by local residents open to trade (Misago et al., 2015:21). Furthermore, in Mpumalanga, local council members were found to be working together with local businesspeople to close foreign-owned shops, thus leaving them vulnerable and economically frustrated (Misago et al., 2015:21).

In the end, political instability and lack of leadership has proven to be a contributory factor to xenophobic attacks on foreign nationals who are used for political gain by dubious and irresponsible political and community leaders. Having discussed the factors contributing to xenophobic attacks, the study will now discuss the effects of xenophobic attacks.

2.4. EFFECTS OF XENOPHOBIC ATTACKS

The above-mentioned xenophobic attacks affect the victims, their families, the community, and the country at large. This section will focus on the physical, psychological, social, economic, and political effects of xenophobic attacks in relation to the victims, their families, the community, and the country at large.

2.4.1 Physical effects

Vromans, Schweitzer, Knoetze and Kagee (2011:91) illustrate that xenophobic attacks go hand in hand with physical harm and, in extreme cases, loss of life. In addition, during xenophobic attacks, refugee entrepreneurs are beaten, and their shops are looted and burned, causing them to flee to places of safety, back to their countries of origin or to alternative places of safety (Mensah & Benedict, 2016:77). An example of this is the well-documented attack of Ernesto Nhamuave; a refugee entrepreneur who was set alight by petrol-filled tyre called the 'necklace' during xenophobic attacks; resulting in his gruesome death (Hickel, 2014:103; Pineteh, 2017:11).

The physical impact of xenophobic attack usually results in psychological effects which are normally difficult to deal with by those affected.

2.4.2 Psychological effects

Refugees and foreigners affected by xenophobic attacks often feel lonely and hopeless in the sense that they long for a place that they can identify with and call 'home'. Feelings of belonging are important to foreigners because the same could not be achieved in their countries of origin (Vromans et al., 2011:91). The authors further state that those affected by xenophobic attacks often feel depressed, numb, fearful, distressed, and humiliated; and some suffer chronic anxiety resulting from their inability to live and do what they want free from threat (Vromans et al., 2011:91). Hölscher (2014:29) adds that often those affected by xenophobic attacks feel powerless and unable to express their feelings on account of not being citizens.

In a study conducted by the European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia (2006:11), it was noted that those affected by xenophobic attacks were reluctant to report such incidents to authorities for prosecution due to their lack of confidence and belief in protection by the state. Furthermore, those who have experienced attacks live in fear of deportation, arrest and the potential negative effects of xenophobia which may complicate their asylum status, application and/or renewal (European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights, 2016:9).

Furthermore, in the study conducted by Gopal (2013:129) foreign national school going children who either witnessed, or experienced xenophobic attacks, displayed psychiatric problems including posttraumatic-stress disorder, depression, and anxiety. The exposure to violence also affected their school performance negatively. It was reported that when xenophobic attacks occur, children often bear the pain and suffering caused by emotional distress and psychological harm (Rasila & Musitha, 2015:3).

Another psychological effect of xenophobic attack is fear. Fear grips those refugees and foreigners affected by xenophobia, as a result, they often flee their dwellings to seek shelter in police stations, churches, municipal halls, or sports facilities (Hayem, 2013:78). Those affected by the attacks often find themselves running away from

violence and at times their families had to bear the brunt of the adverse effects (Oyelana, 2016:284).

2.4.3 Effects on the family

The major consequences that emanate from xenophobic attacks include displacement of individuals, loss of material goods, and loss of human lives (Rukema & Khan, 2013:179). Most of those affected by xenophobic attacks experience internal displacements that emanate from violent attacks. For instance, children are often separated from their parents - by death or displacement - husband from wives and homes, and often belongings are abandoned during flight (Moyo[sa]:4).

The extent of displacement usually renders those affected by xenophobic attacks homeless; with the option of either relying on non-government organisations and relatives for food, shelter and other necessities; or returning to their country of origin (Gopal, 2013:128; Rukema & Khan, 2013:179).

Those affected by xenophobic attacks are left to fend for themselves with no assistance from the government. They usually either start a business or return to their countries of origin (Oyelana, 2016:286). Those who are unable to return to their countries of origin are often left displaced and separated from their families, which affects their social wellbeing.

2.4.4 Social effects

Vrsanska et al. (2017:170) observed that those affected by xenophobic attacks demonstrate anxiety, depression and suicidal tendencies, which makes it difficult to lead a normal social life. It is further reported that foreigners and refugees in European countries usually tend to experience isolation and loneliness, thus making them easy targets for recruitment by radical groups for terrorist activities; who are

able to provide material support, a sense of belonging and a meaning to life (Vrsanska et al., 2017:170).

Xenophobic attacks not only render foreigners and refugees socially excluded, but also increase their economic barriers by reducing their ability to pursue economic activities in the host country (Gopal, 2013:130). This is further exacerbated by the economic effects of xenophobia on foreign lives and the economic development of their host country.

2.4.5 Economic effects

Xenophobic attacks have an effect on refugee entrepreneurs and the economy at large. In terms of the effects on business, Tshishonga (2015:165) reports that previous outbreaks of xenophobic attacks on foreign nationals forced them to either go into hiding or leave their businesses unattended. In some cases, those who were unable to go into hiding were reduced to spectators as they watched their hard-earned properties being looted and burned (Adeleke et al., 2008:143). Their years of entrepreneurial endeavour were thus destroyed in a matter of hours or days (Mensah & Benedict, 2016:76).

In most cases, they are left to fend for themselves with no assistance from the government; to the extent that re-establishing their businesses became a mammoth task leaving some with no option but to return to their countries of origin (Oyelana, 2016:286).

Those who did not leave after the attacks were left with no choice but to rely on non-government organisations and relatives for food, shelter, and other necessities of life (Gopal, 2013:128; Rukema & Khan, 2013:179). As a result, this increased their economic barriers by reducing their ability to pursue economic efforts to better their livelihoods in the host country (Gopal, 2013:130). Their efforts to sustain their means of survival, such as owning businesses, were thwarted when their businesses were

destroyed, and employment opportunities were reduced with little to no prospect of re-establishment (Rukema & Khan, 2013:191). This not only affects refugee entrepreneurs, but also has an adverse effect on the economy at large.

Ultimately, some refugee entrepreneurs who found it difficult to re-establish themselves after their businesses were looted, opted to go in partnership with fellow countrymen and co-own businesses due to a lack of finances to purchase stock, or to operate businesses independently (Patel & Essa, 2015:4).

Mokoena (2015:109) states that most refugee entrepreneurs contribute to South Africa's value-added tax (VAT) through their bulk purchase of goods from major South African wholesalers. Asha (2015:299-304) and Fatoki (2016:100) add that refugee entrepreneurs contribute positively to the local economy as they rent shops or trading spaces for periods ranging between two and five years from South African nationals, thereby contributing towards poverty alleviation and economic sustainability. Consequently, xenophobic attacks result in lower VAT collections, less income for property owners who, under normal circumstances, generate income from rental property, and impair poverty alleviation and economic development prospects.

The economic development and stability of the country depends on the unity and harmony of all people, including foreigners and refugees (Oyelana, 2016:284). South Africa, as a member of the African Union and SADC, is obliged to foster the New Partnership for African Development (NEPAD) established, encourage greater regional co-operation and integration (Solomon & Kosaka, 2013:7). Xenophobic attacks diminish co-operation and impair the good working relationships that refugee entrepreneurs might have established with South Africans, thus rendering their efforts, investment, and hard work futile (Tshishonga, 2015:171).

For a third world country such as South Africa, xenophobic attacks are detrimental to economic development. This is because the country relies heavily on co-operation

and good political standing with other countries (Ilevbare & Adedanya, 2008:204). The political effects of xenophobic attacks are elaborated below.

2.4.6 Political effects

Most African nations did not take the attacks against their countrymen in South Africa lightly. As illustrated by Mabera (2017:31), the Rwandan President, Paul Kagame, and Ethiopian Prime Minister, Hailemariam Desalegn, spoke out strongly against the attacks. The Somali Prime Minister, Mr. Farah Shirdon made a special appeal to the South African government to protect the Somali business community and other citizens during the attacks as a matter of urgency (Rukema & Khan, 2013:179).

In addition, South African diplomatic relations with Nigeria came under strain when Nigeria recalled its diplomats from Pretoria in 2015(Adebisi, 2017:89). This was after the Nigerian House of Representative's Ad-Hoc Committee led by Femi Gbajabiamila reprimanded South African leaders for the attacks on their nationals (Adebisi, 2017:89). In addition to recalling of Nigeria diplomats and being reprimanded by Nigerian leaders, a radical student movement called the National Association of Nigerian Students attacked the MTN offices in Abuja-Nigeria in 2015 (Afrika, 2017:4). MTN is a South African telecommunications business that has been trading in Nigeria for some years.

There is a fear that xenophobic attacks might have adverse consequences on the country and may result in isolation from the African business sector and consequently, the rest of the world (Mudzanani, 2016:339). This might have tremendous effects on the South African community and country at large.

2.4.7 Effect on the community and country at large

Xenophobic attacks can make the country less attractive to tourists, as such, could lead to potential income loss (Ferreira & Perks, 2016:269). The tourism industry is a major contributor to the South African economy and contributes about 9% to the country's gross domestic product (GDP), and more than a million jobs (South Africa Yearbook, 2016/17:1). Furthermore, Mudzanani (2016:339) states that xenophobic attacks can have a negative effect on the repositioning of South Africa as a leading tourist destination post-apartheid and following the 2001 terrorist attacks in the United States of America.

The graphic images of attacks on foreigners and refugees in and around Johannesburg, and other areas of the country, were published around the world, and, the researchers submits, are a deterrent to potential tourists and undo efforts to market South Africa as a tourist destination (Mudzanani, 2016:339). The propensity for xenophobic attack may deter African tourists who form a big part of South Africa's tourist economy (Mudzanani, 2016:340).

Xenophobic attacks hamper the spirit of *Ubuntu* which South Africans have come to be known for. *Ubuntu* is a Zulu phrase referring to the fact that a person is a person through other people, and that a human being belongs to the human community and should be viewed and treated as such (Chinomona & Maziriri, 2015:25).

Xenophobic attacks also have further reaching consequences for the African continent as discussed below.

2.4.8 Effects on the African continent

It is a fact that South Africa relies on professionals from other African countries to develop its academic, medical, legal, engineering, business, and scarce artisan skills (Adebisi, 2017:90). The constant attack on refugees and foreigners might deter

scarce skills professionals from migrating south for the purpose of employment and development.

South Africans visiting other parts of Africa also experience fear and discomfort as was the case for a group of South Africans touring Mozambique in 2015. Their tourism experience was cut short by fear of retaliatory attacks from angry Mozambicans, in response to xenophobic attacks on their fellow countrymen in South Africa (Mudzanani, 2016:340).

There were strong condemnations from other African countries such as Mozambique, Malawi, and Zimbabwe. In Mozambique, Sasol (a South African petroleum company), temporarily suspended its operations due to protesters blocking roads and hurling stones at trucks transporting fuel; while in Zambia and Malawi there were efforts to organise consumer boycotts against South African products (Mutanda, 2017:287). Nigeria recalled its ambassador from South Africa as a protest condemning xenophobic attacks (Claassen, 2017:3).

In addition, there is a strong belief amongst African tourists that Kwa-Zulu Natal should be avoided due to the racist and xenophobic sentiments they are often subjected to in that part of South Africa. Xenophobic attacks further discourage fellow Africans from coming to South African in pursuit of higher education, which is a trend that has been credited with boosting the South African economy and image (Adebisi, 2017:90). The world is influenced by the elevated level of education, technology, communication and media coverage in South Africa which creates a greater awareness and improved international relations (Adeleke et al., 2008:136). This advantage may be negated by xenophobia and xenophobic violence in South Africa.

Furthermore, the constant attacks on foreign nationals undermine the goals and objectives of integrating African states as per the African Union (AU) which seeks to "…promote sustainable development at the economic, social and cultural levels as

well as the integration of African economies, promotion of cooperation in all fields of human activity to raise the living standards of African people" (Adebisi, 2017:90).

2.4.9 Effects on the global community

According to Chen ([sa]:1) xenophobic attacks not only have the negative effect on the South African economy, but also on the potential for local businesses to grow globally. The author further states that xenophobic attacks in the country are making it difficult for international companies to explore business opportunities and remain in operation in a country which is volatile.

Matthee, Krugell and Mzumara (2015:527) emphasise that all countries globally would like to invest and run businesses in peaceful countries, or in countries where their investments and resources would be safe and secure. Adebisi (2017:90) further mention that xenophobic attacks may discourage foreign direct investments due to images of a hostile and investment-unfriendly country. Foreign investors therefore become discouraged about investing in, or coming to South Africa, thus placing the South African economy and development in limbo (Oyelana, 2016:283).

Tourism is regarded as a powerful social, economic, and cultural force, which provides employment opportunity and foreign exchange in social and cultural aspects (Mudzanani, 2016:336). It is also regarded as a social force that promotes international understanding, cooperation, and global networking (Adeleke et al., 2008:145). Africa notwithstanding, tourists visiting South Africa, include citizens from the United Kingdom, United States of America, Germany the Netherlands and France. African tourists to South Africa however remain the majority (Ferreira & Perks, 2016:264).

People travel to visit friends and relatives, take vacations, and improve their quality of life. Globally, travel and tourism contribute over 10% to the world's gross domestic

product (GDP), and create more than 222 million direct and indirect employment opportunities (Adeleke, et al., 2008:138; Mudzanani, 2016:337).

With that being said, xenophobic attacks are seen as a major hindrance to bringing different people together, building the spirit of goodwill and brotherhood, creating employment opportunities and advertising the country to the world at large (Adeleke, et at., 2008:139). Countries such as China, Australia and the United Kingdom issued a warning to their citizens not to travel to South Africa, because of xenophobic attacks (Ferreira & Perks, 2016:270). Personal safety and security are regarded as vital to most international tourists (Adeleke et al., 2008:142; Mudzanani, 2016:337).

Violent crime, such as xenophobic attacks in South Africa, has deterred potential tourists, thus threatening the economic growth that might emanate from the tourism sector (Mudzanani, 2016:336). It is pertinent for countries to ensure the safety and security of all people by putting the right policies and legislation in place. This aspect is highlighted in detail below.

2.5. LEGISLATION AND POLICIES IN RESPONSES TO XENOPHOBIC ATTACKS

There is an emphasis on the need for host countries to adopt specific measures to counter xenophobia, social, cultural, and religious stereotypes that can contribute to discrimination and victimisation of foreigners and refugees (Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, 2018:37). Various international, regional, and national legislation and policy are discussed below.

2.5.1 International legal and policy instruments and responses

The United Nations (UN) formulated a Charter after the Second World War, along with international communities with the intention of formally committing themselves against racial discrimination and any other form of discrimination (Oluwu, 2008:300).

Furthermore, the author, stipulated that the purpose of the Charter is to ensure that the signatory countries commit "…to achieving international cooperation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural or humanitarian character, and to promote and encourage respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without race, sexual, language or religious distinction" (Oluwu, 2008:300).

Beyond the general proclamation of the United Nation's Charter, the Universal Declaration on Human Rights (UNDHR) was adopted by different countries to ensure that fundamental human rights are protected (Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948:1). In support of the UNDHR, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) was established in 1950 with the sole purpose of protecting refugees and displaced persons.

The latest adopted universal treaty relevant to issues of xenophobic attacks is the Declaration and Programme against Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance, adopted in Durban, South Africa in 2001 (Congress, 2016:3; Klotz, 2016:188; Oluwu, 2008:302; Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948:1). The highlighted policies and legislation are there to give guidance to the signatory countries on how to tackle human rights issues such as xenophobia.

In support of these universal treaties, regional treaties are tailor-made to be relevant to the specific needs and challenges of different regions. The following section will focus on those pertinent to the African region.

2.5.2 Regional legal and policy instruments and responses

In the African Region, the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) was established to deal with racist and discriminatory matters (Oluwu, 2008:304). One of the first policies that was drafted and adopted was the African Charter on Human and People's Rights (ACHPR). Article two of the charter declares that everyone is entitled to enjoy rights and freedoms without distinction of race, ethnic group, colour, sex, language, religion, political or any other opinion of national and social origin,

fortune, birth, or other status (ACHPR, 1981:2). In addition, the Organisation of African Unity affirms the commitment by African states to abide by the United Nations Declaration on Human Rights and promote the rights of refugees (OAU,1963:3).

It is the view of the researcher that the above-mentioned treaties have not translated to practical action and response with regard to xenophobic attacks. It is also evident from the attitude of the perpetrators of xenophobic attacks, that policy and legislation have not been adequately communicated to local citizens, to ensure that they assist in meeting the obligations and upholding the values of the treaties. This leaves those who were affected by xenophobic attacks with little hope of a better life and future in their host country.

2.5.3 National legal and policy instruments and responses

The Constitution of the Republic of South African is the fundamental law that seeks to protect human dignity, promote equality and advance human rights and freedoms (Choane et al., 2011:139; Oluwu, 2008:306). The state is obliged to respect the basic human rights of any foreigner who is in the country, and to ensure that they receive the full spectrum of fundamental rights entrenched in the Bill of Rights (O'Rilley, 2015:18). The Constitution is there to ensure that the human rights of those who live in South Africa, permanently or temporarily, are protected (Oyelana, 2016:285).

The Constitution further makes provision for the establishment of Chapter nine institutions to support the practical implementation of the declarations stated in the Constitution (Oluwu, 2008:307).The Constitution states that chapter nine institutions are independent and subject only to the Constitution and the law, and as such, must be impartial and exercise their powers and perform their functions without fear, favour or prejudice (The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996:99). For this report, focus will be placed on the South African Human Rights Commission

(SAHRC) as it is the most relevant chapter nine institutions in relation to the subject matter at hand.

The mandate of the SAHRC as outlined in section 184 of The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (1996:100) is to promote respect for human rights and a culture of human rights; promote the protection, development and attainment of human rights; and monitor and assess the observance of human rights in the Republic (The Constitution of the Republic South Africa, 1995:99). The Commission is mandated to ensure that the human rights of refugees and foreigners within the borders of South Africa, are protected.

Other legislation relevant to addressing xenophobia is the Immigration Amendment Act 3 of 2007 and the Refugee Act 130 of 1998, both of which address issues that relate to foreign nationals (Department of Home Affairs, 2016:1). In addition, the Promotion of Equality and Prevention of Unfair Discrimination Act 4 of 2000, and the Protection from Harassment Act 17 of 2011, were introduced to prohibit discriminatory behaviour, hate speech and harassment (O'Rilley, 2015:18).

A National Action Plan to combat Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance 2016-2021 has been drafted, as a government initiative developed to deal with xenophobic attacks (Department of Justice and Constitutional Development, 2016:7). Apart from this draft, other government initiatives include the Department of Arts and Culture's National Strategy for Developing an Inclusive and Cohesive South African Society (Misago et al, 2015:26). In addition, Mensah and Benedict (2016:78) are of the view that the government can implement longer-term solutions such as skills development initiatives that will address the skill deficiency that plagues many young black South Africans, and assist to manage the root cause of the persistent tide of xenophobic attacks

In support of the government initiative, there are several legal advocacy groups, non-governmental organisations (NGO's) and associations of migrants and

refugees, that have been established to deal with civil matters such as xenophobia. The Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation (CSVR) is one of them. The CSVR offers psycho-social services to refugees and asylum seekers from Africa and abroad who are torture survivors, as well as those affected by xenophobic attacks in South Africa (Moyo, [sa]:2). The Nelson Mandela Foundation is another organisation which organises social cohesion sessions and community dialogues, in violence-affected communities across the country. The International Organisation for Migration (IOM) initiated the 'One Movement' which is a "…social change campaign that seeks to reverse attitudes that result in discrimination, xenophobia, racism and tribalism" (Misago et al., 2015:27).

Other initiatives and activities by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees Regional Office for Southern Africa (UNHCR ROSA), aimed at protecting refugees and immigrants were identified by Misago et al. (2015:15) and include: peace education among refugees and local communities; youth through sports activities (implemented by Xaveri movement in Mamelodi); self-reliance activities for urban refugees and asylum-seekers in Western Cape (implemented by the Agency for Refugee Education, Skills Training and Advocacy in Gugulethu); Ubuntu has no borders community radio programme (implemented by Thetha FM in Orange Farm); and promotion of social cohesion among refugees, asylum seekers and nationals (implemented by Displaced and Migrant Persons Support Programme in Sasolburg).

In a study conducted by Misago et al. (2015:44), they made mention of the formation of the Protection Working Group at a community level under the auspices of the UNHCR. The working group includes UN agencies, international and national NGOs, faith-based organisations (FBOs), trade unions, government, and police representatives as well as private donors. The purpose is to identify, monitor protection plans and assist those affected by xenophobic attacks at a national, provincial, local or community level. An example is PASSOP (People Against Suffering, Oppression and Poverty) which is a non-profit community-based organisation in Cape Town devoted to protecting and fighting for the rights of

asylum-seekers, refugees, and immigrants, and those affected by xenophobic attacks in South Africa.

Some community initiatives include local leaders and residents forging a way to deal with discrimination and xenophobia by agreeing with refugees on the number of refugee-owned shops that are allowed in a community and setting minimum prices on basic goods (price-fixing). In other instances, refugee entrepreneurs are encouraged to pay community leaders protection fees to avoid further and future attacks (Misago et al., 2015:29).

2.6. THE ROLE OF SOCIAL WORK PRACTICE

Human rights played a role in human history long before they could be documented as such, with random acts of activism against poverty, discrimination, and other social ills (Staub-Bernasconi, 2016:41). In South Africa, the responsibility for social work services lies with the Department of Social Development and regulated by the South African Council for Social Services Professionals (SACSSP) (Van der Westhuizen, 2015:117).

Staub-Bernasconi (2016:44) mentions the three mandates under which a social worker could function - the client, the state/organization/ agency as representative of society, and the professional body overseeing the profession. These are elaborated below.

2.6.1 Micro-level intervention

Staub-Bernasconi (2016:42) highlights that when dealing with vulnerable people, including refugees, the social worker must employ the following services: counselling services; which are offered to all vulnerable people on a one-on-one basis. One-on-one-sessions include counselling, cognitive behavioural therapy, and provision of skills (Adeleke et al., 2008:142). The normal intervention services in social work

should be followed with proper assessment that generates a comprehensive intervention plan that should be implemented and monitored before services are terminated, preferably over a lengthy period (Van der Westhuizen, 2015:130).

Additionally, social workers can play the role of advocating for and advancing refugee rights by linking them with key role-players such as lawyers/attorneys, civil rights movement leaders, and other interested bodies for assistance (Staub-Bernasconi, 2016:44). Furthermore, those affected by xenophobic attacks could be empowered by education on what to do when their rights are violated and in addition, the perpetrators could also be educated about the cultural practices of foreigners and their differences (Vrsanska et al., 2017:171).

2.6.2 Meso-level intervention

The human rights-based approach in social work has been identified as appropriate to address issues such as xenophobic attacks. This approach argues for social justice and a fair world where people are offered services and resources, not because they deserve them, but because they have a right to them, based simply on their humanity (Ife, 2016:4).

Another service provided by social workers to those affected by xenophobic attacks is victim empowerment. Victim empowerment is a means of facilitating access to a range of services for all people who have individually or collectively suffered harm, trauma and/or material loss through violence, crime, natural disaster, and human accident to name but a few (Van der Westhuizen, 2015:118). It is the process of promoting the resourcefulness of victims of crime and violence by supplying opportunities to access services available to them, and to build their own capacity and support networks and act on their own choices (South Africa Yearbook, 2016/17:7).

Another approach that can be utilised by social workers at the meso-level is the principle of social justice which encourages social workers to be justice orientated when dealing with a group of vulnerable people, such as foreigners and refugees who are likely to be affected by xenophobia. The social worker is required to display an understanding of the roots of the particular injustice and be target-orientated when offering services; be able to set realistic goals that are achievable and within their reach when intervening; and participate in public forums that addresses the nature, causes and resolutions of injustice (Hölscher, 2014:35-36).

2.6.3 Macro-level intervention

The International Policy on Displaced Persons, (adopted in 2012) which emanates from the International Federation of Social Workers (IFSW), seeks to promote the human rights of migrants and their families, with the emphasis that immigrants and refugees should have the same rights, resources and opportunities as natural citizens (Congress, 2016:3). Social workers are encouraged to be at the centre of programme implementation to ensure that the mandate is realised locally.

Awareness programmes such as media campaigns, community forums and communication opportunities between foreigners and community members should be encouraged, especially in communities where xenophobic attacks are prone to take place, with the aim of educating each group about diverse cultural practices and expectations (Van der Westhuizen, 2015:128). Public education of communities on the rights of foreign nationals; be they legal, refugees, or asylum seekers, is the most effective way forward (Mafukata,2015:33).

Jansonn (2016:408) supports a call to have social workers who are keen for knowledge about human rights and related treaties; provide services like advocacy and community development to advance better human relations. Ms Langi Malamba, who is the registrar of the South African Council for Social Services Professional (SACSSP) encourages social workers to lobby governments and advocate for

policies that advance the rights of those who are vulnerable, such as foreigners (SACSSP, 2018:1).

Van der Westhuizen (2015:123) opines that this can only be achieved if social workers are well-trained to deliver services related to the unique needs of those affected by xenophobic attacks. Furthermore, the author encourages social workers to be culturally knowledgeable and sensitive to foreigner and refugee beliefs and way of life.

Hendricks and Congress (2016:69) argue that a culturally knowledgeable social work practitioner should possess knowledge of a range of cultures, histories, worldviews values and beliefs. Moreover, the authors state that culturally competent social workers should combine biological, psychological, social, and spiritual elements when dealing with foreigners and refugees.

Mapps (2014:18) supports both cultural competence as well as human rights social work, however; social workers could find themselves working in a dilemma, where human and cultural rights clash. For example, in some cultures, women are treated as subordinate to men and it is acceptable, yet human rights treaties prohibit such practices. This calls for social workers to be vigilant and observant of the diverse cultural background of their clients and be able to execute their duties accordingly.

The above-mentioned ideologies can be achieved when an inter-ministerial intervention approach from different governmental departments, such as the South African Police Service, Department of Education, Department of Home Affairs, Department of Health, South African Social Security Agency and Department of Social Development, can be developed to give guidance on how to deal with issues pertaining to foreigners and refugees who are affected by xenophobia (Van der Westhuizen, 2015:119). Thus, social workers could be effective in a multi-disciplinary team that develops, allocates, manages, and monitors plans and

resources to ensure easy access to emergency funds for equipment, and support services for victims of xenophobia.

Public consciousness should be elevated regarding the lives and predicaments of vulnerable people. Public awareness could further encourage alliances with other bodies sharing similar interests, for the purpose of influencing the legislature on human rights cases relating to xenophobia (Staub-Bernasconi, 2016:42). The researcher further suggests that when practitioners are equipped with the necessary knowledge and awareness of the extent that xenophobia, they will ensure that necessary human and material resources are geared towards addressing the phenomenon.

2.7. SUMMARY

It has been observed that xenophobic attacks are a global phenomenon, which has been experienced globally, regionally and nationally. Various factors have been credited for leading to xenophobic attacks which include the legacy of apartheid, unemployment, poverty, competition for public services, crime, business competition and political influence. Xenophobic attacks result in different effects ranging from physical, psychological, social, and economic. Furthermore, the effects were also identified at community, country, continental and global level. Different legislation and policy at international, regional, and national levels were identified as a measure to guard against human rights abuses, such as xenophobia. Finally, the role that social workers can play at various levels of intervention has been emphasised.

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND EMPIRICAL FINDINGS

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The goal of the study was to explore and describe the socio-economic effects of xenophobic attacks on refugee entrepreneurs in Atteridgeville. The following were the objectives of the study:

❖ To contextualise and conceptualise xenophobic attacks on refugee entrepreneurs.

❖ To explore and describe the social effects of xenophobic attacks on refugee entrepreneurs.

❖ To explore and describe the economic effects of xenophobic attacks on refugee entrepreneurs.

❖ To identify and describe required interventions from the perspective of refugee entrepreneurs.

❖ Based on the findings, to make recommendations for improved service delivery to refugee entrepreneurs.

3.2 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The chapter will focus on a description of the research methodology followed to achieve the goal and objectives of the study. The research methodology will include the research approach, type of research and research design. A description of the population, sample and sampling procedures will follow this. Thereafter the researcher will discuss data collection and data analysis methods, as well as trustworthiness strategies. The following section will focus on how the pilot study was conducted and describe ethical considerations. The chapter will conclude with a presentation of the empirical findings and interpretation thereof.

3.2.1 Research approach

The research study followed a qualitative research approach as the purpose was to provide meaning and understanding about a complex phenomenon, i.e. xenophobic attacks on refugee entrepreneurs from the perspective of the participants themselves (Fouché & Delport, 2011:64). The focus of the qualitative research approach was to explore, understand, explain, discover, and clarify situations, feelings and experiences of a group of refugee entrepreneurs in Atteridgeville, who had been exposed to xenophobic attacks (Kumar, 2014:132-133). Fouché and Delport (2011:65) assert that a qualitative study provides the researcher with an opportunity to gain deeper insights into a phenomenon being explored.

In addition, qualitative research was used to explore and understand the meaning that those affected by xenophobic attacks attribute to the social phenomena, by seeking answers to such questions as why, when, how, who (Creswell, 2014:4). Thus, by following the qualitative approach, the researcher was able to probe and find answers to the reasons why refugee entrepreneurs are targeted; how the violence affects them and their families; who intervened when their businesses were looted/or burnt down; and who they contacted for support or intervention; and how they experienced the response from government officials and/or the services provided - if any.

3.2.2 Type of research

According to Fouché and De Vos (2011:94) the research was applied in nature as the study was concerned with bringing change to a troublesome situation that involved xenophobia which culminated in the violation of people's rights. Orme and Briar-Lawson (2010:50) add that applied research is not concerned with generating new knowledge. Rather, applied research is aimed at providing policymakers, social work practitioners, and the public with information on the socio-economic effects of xenophobic attacks, from the perspective of refugee entrepreneurs themselves. Kumar (2011:10) confirms that applied research aims to contribute towards problem-

solving, decision-making, policy analysis and the enhancement of understanding of a phenomenon such as xenophobia.

The study was explorative in nature because little was known about the socio-economic effects of xenophobic attacks on refugee entrepreneurs (Kumar, 2011:11). Exploratory research is conducted to develop an understanding of a situation, individual or phenomenon that has not been clearly defined (Fouché & De Vos, 2011:95). According to the researcher, little is known about the effects that xenophobia has on the social and economic wellbeing of refugee entrepreneurs. The topic of xenophobia and its impact on refugee entrepreneurs is not effectively addressed in South Africa as a whole. Hence, there was a need to conduct the study, and explore and understand this phenomenon, with the view of influencing the policy decision-making processes and improve service delivery.

3.2.3 Research design

The study followed the phenomenological research design as the researcher attempted to understand the experiences and perspectives of refugee entrepreneurs, in order to be able to understand how these attacks affected them (Fouché & Schurink, 2011:305). Creswell (2013:76) describes phenomenology as a study of a lived experience of a number of individuals such as refugee entrepreneurs who were exposed to xenophobic attacks. Through the phenomenological design, the researcher was able to describe 'what happened' and 'how' the xenophobic attacks affected refugee entrepreneurs (Creswell, 2013:76). The researcher ensured that the participants have all experienced the phenomenon in question, so that a mutual understanding could be derived (Creswell, 2013:83).

The advantage of using a phenomenological design was that the researcher was able to obtain multiple experiences from refugee entrepreneurs who had their rights violated during the xenophobic attacks (Creswell, 2013:71; Fouché & Schurink, 2011:313). Within the context of the study, the researcher obtained first-hand

information regarding the trauma experienced by those directly affected by xenophobic attacks in Atteridgeville.

3.2.4 Research Methods

3.2.4.1 Study population, sample, and sampling method

A population refers to individuals in the universe who have characteristics of what needs to be studied (Strydom, 2011:223-224). Furthermore, a population refers to the full set of elements or people from which a sample is drawn. The population of the study was all the refugee entrepreneurs in Atteridgeville.

On the other hand, Christensen, Johnson and Turner (2015:162) elaborated that a sample refers to as a set of elements or people taken from a larger population such as was the case with refugee entrepreneurs in Atteridgeville. As it was not possible to study the entire population, sampling was conducted. Non-probability sampling was utilised since the size of the population was unknown to the researcher (Strydom & Delport, 2011:391).

The researcher utilised the snowball sampling technique. Strydom and Delport (2011:393) describe snowball sampling as a technique used when there is limited knowledge of the sample to be studied, and when there is limited access to participants. The sample comprised of refugee entrepreneurs who had experienced xenophobic attacks in Atteridgeville. Creswell (2013:150) emphasises that participants must have experienced the phenomenon being explored, so that they can explain and give an account of their lived experiences.

For the study, the researcher was aware from media reports that several refugee entrepreneurs experience xenophobic attacks in South Africa. However, she did not have exact knowledge of actual entrepreneurs who would be willing to participate in her research study and share their experiences. In utilising snowball sampling, it was expected that one research participant would refer the researcher to another

potential participant who had more or less the similar lived experience of being vulnerable to xenophobic attacks (Strydom & Delport, 2011:393).

In this case, the researcher approached the first shop owned by a refugee entrepreneur in the vicinity and introduced herself and the purpose of the study. After introductions, the refugee entrepreneur was asked if they had experienced xenophobic attacks or not. When the answer was no, the researcher asked the refugee entrepreneur to refer her to individuals they might know that had experienced xenophobic attacks within the vicinity of Atteridgeville. This mode of recruitment was followed until ten (10) participants were recruited and interviewed.

3.2.4.2 Pilot testing

The pilot testing of the research instrument was conducted to assess the practicality of the study, to test the measuring instrument, and to determine if relevant data can be collected (Fouché & Delport, 2011:73, 394). Strydom and Delport (2011:394) recommend that a pilot test should be informal with few respondents who possess the same characteristics as those who will participate in the main study. The researcher conducted a pilot test with two participants who met the specified selection criteria.

The pilot test confirmed the relevance of the sampling procedure and the relevance of the developed questions as contained in the semi-structured interview schedule. However, the researcher realised that timing was of essence if she was to engage with the refugee entrepreneurs as they were always busy attending to customers. The researcher also realised that she must conduct her interviews during the day as the refugee entrepreneurs seemed to be busy in the mornings and afternoons.

During the pilot testing process, the researcher encountered some language barriers. The researcher had opted to use English as a medium of communication but discovered that some participants were not fluent in English. Despite that, the researcher decided to continue using English as a means of communication.

The pilot testing stage was followed by the data collection phase which will be discussed below.

3.2.4.3 Data collection methods

The semi-structured one-on-one interview technique was used to collect data. This method involved a conversation between the researcher and research participants using a set of predetermined questions contained in an interview schedule (see Appendix A) (Greeff, 2011:352). The purpose of the discussion was not to prove any theory or hypothesis or to make evaluations, but to allow the research participants an opportunity to freely express their views or perspectives and share their experiences of being exposed to xenophobic attacks (Greeff, 2011:348). The nature of the research was subjective and required that the unique experiences of each individual participant was expressed, explored, and understood in his/her specific context.

The researcher used an interview schedule as advised by Greeff (2011:352) to guide and ensure that all the participants were asked the same set of questions. Using an interview schedule assisted in terms of data organisation and consistency of the information collected from participants

The researcher requested permission to record the interviews using a digital tape recorder so as to facilitate data analysis. Upon permission being granted based on signing an informed consent form (see Appendix B), the researcher proceeded to conduct the interviews at the premises of the refugee entrepreneurs. As there was no predetermined sample size, data saturation was reached when no new information emerged from the 10th interview (Kumar, 2011:208 & 245).

3.2.5 Data analysis

Data analysis is the process through which the researcher brings order, structure and meaning to the collected data (Schurink, Fouché & De Vos, 2011:397). As the study was phenomenological in nature, data analysis followed the steps as outlined by Creswell (2013:190-191).

3.2.5.1 Data organisation

Data organisation is regarded as the first step in data analysis (Schurink et al., 2011:408). This step as explained by Creswell (2014:197) and Schurink et al. (2011:408) involved typing field notes, transcribing interviews, sorting, and arranging data into different marked files. The researcher initially analysed the data in the field by capturing the physical setting of the interview as well as the surrounding environment, including the mood of the participants. Data was further analysed away from the field after the interviews were conducted. This was done daily in order to be able to deal with the vast amount of collected data (Creswell, 2013:195; Schurink et al., 2011:405). The researcher typed all the transcripts and labelled them according to participant identifying details. This process of data organising assisted the researcher to acquaint herself with the collected data and to go about filing the information.

3.2.5.2 Reading and writing memos

Reading and writing memos during the data analysis process is about reviewing the collected data and familiarising oneself with it, through composing short phrases and forming key concept ideas that make sense to the researcher (Schurink et al., 2011: 409; Creswell, 2014:197). The researcher made detailed notes about relevant observable circumstances to ease understanding of the data. This included things like what happened and what was heard, seen, and experienced by the researcher during the data collection phase (Schurink et al., 2011:409).

In this case, the researcher familiarised herself with the collected data by making margins on each printed transcript and writing notes, highlighting statements narrated by refugee entrepreneurs using similar and assorted colours. Thereafter the researcher transcribed general thoughts about the experiences of the refugee entrepreneurs regarding xenophobic attacks.

3.2.5.3 Describing, classifying, and interpreting data into codes and themes

This step required the researcher to group significant statements into units of information and themes, which involved reducing the data into small, manageable sets of themes and sub-themes for the final report (Creswell, 2014:199; Schurink et al., 2011:410). During this step, the researcher broke the collected data down into smaller parts while examining for similarities and differences.

The researcher coded similar narratives in distinct colours for easy identification while in the process of putting together the data that was dismantled into small parts to make connections. The data collection method by Creswell (2014:186) was used to make themes and sub themes.

3.2.5.4 Interpreting the data

Interpretation is about making sense of data. The development of codes, formation of themes from the codes and the organisation of themes into larger units or abstracts helped the researcher make sense of the data (Creswell, 2014:187). Creswell (2013:191) describes this process as a stage where the researcher provides a textual description about 'what' the participants experienced, and a structural description about 'how' the experience affected them. In the study, the researcher was able to use the themes that emerged to understand the lived experiences of refugee entrepreneurs during the attacks. This process assisted in defining what kind of experience affected which participants, and how it affected them. The data interpretation phase assisted in preparing for the final step, which was the presentation of empirical data.

3.2.5.5 Representing visual data

This phase is about presenting the collected data using narratives or discussion as well as tables. In this phase, Creswell (2014:187) explains that the lived experiences of the refugee entrepreneurs were demonstrated in this research report through a table that displayed biological information about the participants, narrative passages, and discussions to document the empirical findings. The actual findings of the study

were reported as relayed by the participants to ensure data trustworthiness, which will be discussed below.

3.2.6 Trustworthiness

Trustworthiness is established when the findings of a research study closely portray and present the research findings as described by the research participants (Lietz & Zayas, 2010:191). Nowell, Norris, White and Moules (2017:3) define trustworthiness as a way in which researchers can persuade themselves and readers that their research findings are worthy of attention. In relation to the study, the thoughts, feelings, and experiences of refugee entrepreneurs were portrayed and captured objectively and accurately, as they were relayed during the interview process (Lietz, Langer & Furman, 2006:444). The following strategies were used to ensure trustworthiness:

3.2.6.1 Credibility

Credibility refers to the degree to which a study's findings represent the meanings of the research participants (Lietz & Zayas, 2010:191). Moreover, credibility involves the ability to "fit" the views of the participants to the researcher's representation thereof (Nowell et al., 2017:3; Schurink et al., 2011:420). Anney (2014:276) adds that credibility is the confidence that can be placed in the truth of the research findings. Furthermore, it is about whether the research findings represent information drawn from the original data from participants, and it is the correct interpretation of the participants' views. In the study, the researcher was able to represent the findings of the participants through persistent observation during data collection, attentive listening, and prolonged engagement with the participants, irrespective of the place where the interviews took place.

3.2.6.2 Transferability

Transferability refers to the degree to which the research findings can be transferred to other contexts and with other participants (Anney, 2014:277). Furthermore,

transferability is the degree to which the research findings can be generalised for the purpose of those who need to transfer the research findings to their own future study, theory, or practice (Lietz & Zayas, 2010:195; Nowell et al., 2017:3). The research findings of the study are such that they can serve as a basis for further studies pertaining to xenophobia, as the experiences of refugee entrepreneurs in relation to xenophobic attacks have been accurately highlighted by the researcher.

3.2.6.3 Dependability

Dependability refers to the stability of research findings over time (Anney, 2014:278). Dependability is achieved when the researcher ensures that the research process is logical, traceable, and clearly documented (Nowell et al., 2017:3; Schurink et al., 2011:420). The process of data collection was properly documented, ensuring that the data received from the participants was properly recorded, analysed and the recommendations drawn formed the basis of ensuring dependability in the research study (Anney, 2014:278). In this study context, the researcher documented the experiences of xenophobic attacks as narrated by the refugee entrepreneurs during the interviews, using a digital recorder and taking field notes. Another method of establishing dependability is utilising an audit trail which will be discussed below.

3.2.6.4 Audit trail

Audit trail is the ability of the researcher to keep research documents so that someone outside the research project would be able to follow and critique the process (Lietz & Zayas, 2010:195). The researcher kept a manual recording of the activities that took place in the field and used her computer to keep records and documentation in the office. The researcher kept recordings of the interviews that she had with all the refugee entrepreneurs in compact disc (CD) format (Lietz & Zayas, 2010:195-196).

3.2.6.5 Confirmability

Confirmability in a research study refers to the ability of other researchers to confirm the research findings (Lietz & Zayas, 2010:197). Nowell et al. (2017:3) define

confirmability as being concerned with showing that the researcher's findings are clearly from the collected data, and not from the preference or the characteristics of the researcher. It is further stated that confirmability can only be established when credibility, transferability and dependability are all achieved. For the study, the findings of the study were kept in their original form from the interviews.

3.2.6.6 Reflexivity

Hörsburgh (2003:308) defines reflexivity as the "…active acknowledgment by the researcher that his/her own actions and decisions will inevitably impact the meaning and context of the experiences under investigation". The researcher engaged in reflexivity throughout the research process, as it was impossible to detach her emotions from the daily xenophobic occurrences that are happening in most communities in the country (Lietz et al., 2006:447). The researcher composed herself and was always objective in collecting data, so that her feelings, assumptions, and prejudices did not influence the data collection and analysis process.

3.2.6.7 Peer debriefing

In order to ensure trustworthiness of data, the researcher received and utilised peer debriefing opportunities. According to Lietz and Zayas (2010:196) peer debriefing involves the engagement of experienced researchers about the research findings so that they can provide feedback that will enhance the quality of the report. Peer debriefing is regarded as being important to promote reflexivity by allowing the researcher to become more sensitised to the effects of their socio-political position. The researcher engaged constantly in peer debriefing with her research supervisor for guidance and support throughout the research study.

3.3 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Ethics are firstly a set of principles set by individuals to offer rules and guidance about the correct conduct towards respondents in a study, and secondly as standards upon which a researcher needs to evaluate his/her own conduct during a

study (Strydom, 2011:114). To ensure that the study was conducted accordingly, the following ethical aspects were observed.

3.3.1 Avoidance of harm

Strydom (2011:115) argues that under no circumstance should social research bring physical or emotional harm to the participants. As such, according to Strydom, (2011:115), the researcher should protect participants from physical or emotional harm by thoroughly informing them beforehand about the potential impact the study could have on them. In this study, the researcher anticipated that the refugee entrepreneurs could be harmed emotionally when relating their experiences pertaining to xenophobic attacks. To minimise the emotional harm, the researcher informed the refugee entrepreneurs about the potential impact the study will have on them prior to the interviews (Babbie, 2011:480; Strydom, 2011:115).

The researcher made prior arrangements with a resident social worker in Atteridgeville, Ms Siphiwe Matsimela, should the need arise (Neuman, 2011:147). During the interview, the researcher was on the lookout for any emotional harm. No refugee entrepreneur interviewed indicated a need to be seen by the social worker with whom prior arrangements were made.

3.3.2 Voluntary participation

Participation in a research study should always be on a voluntary basis and no one should be forced to take part (Strydom, 2011:116). No refugee entrepreneur was forced to participate in the research study (Neuman, 2011:149). The researcher only interviewed those refugee entrepreneurs who volunteered to participate (Stydom, 2011:116). No incentives were offered or provided to the participants.

3.3.3 Informed consent

Babbie (2014:66) states that informed consent is obtained when the research participants get involved in a research study with full knowledge and understanding of the risks involved. The refugee entrepreneurs were thoroughly informed about the research and the possibilities of experiencing emotional harm. The researcher

explained the purpose, goal and nature of the study, duration of the study, the procedures to be followed and the option to withdraw from the study at any given time without fear of reprisals (Strydom, 2011:117). Once the participants had agreed to participate, they were given a consent form to sign, and acknowledge that they understood that their participation in the study was voluntary. The researcher also requested permission to make use of a tape recorder during the interviews as prescribed by Creswell (2013:165-166) and Strydom (2011:117) for accurate data collection and to facilitate data analysis.

3.3.4 Violation of privacy/anonymity/confidentiality

There is a distinction between confidentiality, anonymity, and privacy. Confidentiality speaks to the core of the social work profession in a sense that legally, the social work profession requires that the information obtained from participants should be treated confidentially (Strydom, 2011:120) The researcher adhered to confidentiality in the sense that she only shared the research findings with her supervisor who is a qualified social worker and also bound by such ethics when dealing with the information obtained from participants.

Anonymity is adhered to when the researcher does not know the respondent in a research study (Babbie, 2011:482; Babbie, 2013:35). In the study, anonymity could not be assured as the identities of the refugee entrepreneurs were known to the researcher. However, the participants were guaranteed that their identities would not be revealed in the report, and that their information would be handled in a confidential manner (Kumar, 2011:246). The researcher made use of numbers in the report instead of names (Babbie, 2011:482; Creswell, 2013:174; Strydom, 2011:120).

Privacy according to Strydom (2011:119) is adhered to when the researcher keeps to him/herself that which is not intended for others to see or know. The researcher adhered to the principle of privacy by avoiding probing into beliefs, backgrounds and behaviours that might reveal intimate private details of the refugee entrepreneurs,

and only focused on the effects and experiences of xenophobic attacks (Neuman, 2011:152). All the information provided by the participants was kept private and confidential.

3.3.5 Debriefing of participants

Debriefing of participants is done when the participants are afforded an opportunity to ventilate their feelings about the study and where questions or misconceptions can be addressed (Strydom, 2011:122). In the context of this study, the researcher debriefed participants immediately after the interviews to find out if there were any problems generated by the interviews, or if they had any questions that needed to be clarified (Babbie, 2011:486; Strydom, 2011:122). There were no questions that needed to be clarified as the purpose of the study was made clear prior to the commencement of the interview.

3.3.6 Actions and competence of researcher

Strydom (2011:123) mentions that the researcher is ethically bound to display competence, honesty and adequate skills while undertaking a research study. The researcher is a professional social worker who considers to be professionally and academically equipped to undertake the study. The researcher has completed the research methodology module and she conducted the research study under supervision.

3.3.7 Publication of findings

Publication of findings occurs when the findings of the research are introduced to the reading public in a written form and in a clear and understandable manner (Strydom, 2011:126). The researcher will report correct and unbiased findings, as it is ethical and important when conducting research (Kumar, 2014:287). The findings of the study will be reported in the form of a mini-dissertation, submitted to the Department of Social Work and Criminology at the University of Pretoria.

3.4 THE EMPIRICAL FINDINGS

This section deals with the empirical findings derived from the study. The findings are presented in two different sections. In section 1 the researcher will discuss the biographical data of the participants while, in Section 2 she will address the themes and sub-themes that emerged. These themes and sub-themes will be verified with quotations from the participants. Finally, literature will be integrated to substantiate the research findings.

SECTION 1

3.4.1 Biographical information of participants

The information obtained from the participants covers the age, nationality, country of origin, number of years living in Atteridgeville and type of business. Gender was not factored in as all participants were males.

Table 3.1 Biographical profile of participants

Participant	Age	Nationality	Number of years in Atteridgeville	Type of business
1	38	Ethiopian	7	Spaza shop
2	40	Nigerian	5	Spaza shop
3	35	Burundian	7	Spaza shop
4	38	Ethiopian	7	Spaza shop
5	36	Nigerian	7	Spaza shop
6	35	Ethiopian	10	Spaza shop
7	40	Congolese	9	Spaza shop
8	45	Ethiopian	8	Spaza shop
9	38	Congolese	8	Spaza shop
10	35	Ethiopian	6	Spaza shop

As indicated in table 3.1, the average age of the participants is 38. The average number of years that they have been in South Africa is seven, which means, they came to South Africa when they were in their late twenties and early thirties. The findings regarding the profile of the participants are supported by the statement from Hovhannisyan et al. (2018:75) who stated that the majority of migrants from African countries are primarily young African males between the ages of 25 – 39 years old.

In terms of nationality, Ethiopian refugees were in the majority, comprising of five participants. They are followed by Nigerians and Congolese, with two participants, respectively. One participant is from Burundi. The demographic background of the participants is confirmed by Long and Crisp (2011:7) who report that the majority of refugees and foreigners are from the Horn of Africa, which includes countries such as Ethiopia, Eritrea, and Somalia. Furthermore, Hovhannisyan et al. (2018:17) add that more refugees and migrants originate from the Great Lakes Region of Africa, which is made up of Burundi, Democratic Republic of Congo, Kenya, Rwanda, Tanzania, and Uganda; as well as from Zimbabwe and West Africa.

From the research findings, all the participants have been living and conducting business in Atteridgeville for 5 years and more. All the participants were involved in the spaza-shop business. Spaza shops are defined as small grocery shops or convenience stores that trade items that are regularly in demand by the locals such as bread, milk, grain staples, cool-drinks, soap, cigarettes, and alcohol, and that can be easily acquired from wholesalers or distributors (Liederman et al., 2013:2). The authors further state that the reason for participants being involved in entrepreneurship is due to their inability to access the job market in the host country. Additionally, the majority of spaza-shops are unregistered, informal businesses and usually do not adhere to the municipal rules for operating in residential areas (Liederman et al., 2013:2).

The study findings reveal that the migrants who are involved in running a spaza-shop come from Africa at large. This is contrary to the study by Charman and Piper (2012:82), who report that most refugee entrepreneurs come from Pakistan. The

study further contradicts the findings by Charman et al. (2012:47-48) who found that refugee entrepreneurs come mainly from Somalia, Egypt, and Bangladesh.

The study further reveals an element of the 'pull and push' factor where refugees are pushed to leave their countries at an early age due to political instability, and are then pulled to a more peaceful, economically, and politically stable country such as South Africa (Tshishonga, 2015:164). Hovhannisyan et al. (2018:2) estimate that the number of international migrants in South Africa is about 2 173 409, which is about 4.2 percent of the country's population. The majority (75.3%) of these migrants originate from African countries. Furthermore, the authors report that the numbers increased from about 400 000 migrants in 1990 to over 1.1 million in 2017.

Finally, the findings reveal that male refugee entrepreneurs were predominantly operating spaza-shop businesses in the township. This indicates that the spaza-shop industry is male-dominated. Hovhannisyan et al. (2018:75) confirms the influx of young African male migrants from other African countries to South Africa.

SECTION 2

3.4.2 Themes and sub-themes

This section focuses on presenting and discussing the empirical data obtained from the interviews with ten refugee entrepreneurs from Atteridgeville. The findings are presented thematically in table format. Six themes and 20 sub-themes emerged, as summarised in Table 3.2 below.

Table 3.2: Themes and sub-themes

THEMES	SUB-THEMES
1. Migration	1.1 Political instability 1.1 Economic opportunities
2. Challenges faced by refugees	2.1 Formalising their refugee status and obtaining documentation 2.2 Separation from families 2.3 Lack of access to services
3. Causes of xenophobic attacks	3.1 Jealousy 3.2 Hatred 3.3 Unemployment and lack of job opportunities 3.4 Poverty 3.5 Crime
4. Effects of xenophobic attacks	4.1 Physical effects 4.2 Emotional effects 4.3 Effects on families 4.4 Effects on social well-being of the refugee entrepreneurs 4.5 Effects on business operations
5. Type of services required by refugee entrepreneurs	5.1 Security 5.2 Government aid
6. The role of civil society in response to xenophobic attacks	6.1 Community support 6.2 Faith-based organization 6.3 Support from fellow refugees

Theme 1: Migration

The findings of the study indicate that all the participants understand and accept their resident status in South Africa as that of being a "refugee". All the participants reported that they are not originally from South Africa and that they all possess asylum seeker documentations as a means of identification. They reported civil wars, famine, poor political leadership, and security issues as the main drives behind them leaving their countries of origin, to countries they perceived as peaceful. Tshishonga (2015:164) confirms that the majority of African migrants are from countries where democracy has failed and is replaced by greed and autocracy, particularly after the collapse of colonisation. The outcome of many failed African democracies resulted in political instability, civil wars, and political chastisement, which led to many people fleeing their countries to other neighbouring countries in Africa and/or Europe. According to Hovhannisyan et al. (2018:7), poverty and political instability in Zimbabwe; protracted conflict, repression, and economic insecurity in the Great Lakes Regions and in the Horn of Africa, increased the movement of people into South Africa. Similarly, Congress (2016:3) agrees that freedom, food, and safer lodging can be viewed as the main cause of movement of people from one country to another.

With that being said, the study reveals that political stability and economic opportunities are the main driving forces behind the migration of refugees into South Africa. These factors are discussed next.

Sub-theme 1.1: Political instability

Political instability was identified as one of the main causes of migration. 3 participants shared the same view and reported that they fled their countries of origin because of civil wars. Below are the narratives as shared by participants transcribed verbatim without language editing:

Participant 7: *"You see, at the back there is fire (DRC). You understand. I can't go back. I have to try, but where I am trying also, I can see there is no future but at least*

here there is small peace I can have, and that push me to stay. Because at the back there, there is fire already".

Participant 4: *"You see from back at home, there is no peace, we left home and came here because here, there is peace. You see we try, because we come from far, we come here to try because our country there is still fight, we come here to try living".*

Participant 6: "We *left home and came here because here, there is peace. Now we want to rest and for us to talk together. We also want to have the same kind of life like the people of this country, because, we want peace. You see in my country, there is no peace and I want to live in a peaceful country*".

In view of the above, the findings revealed that political instability forced participants to leave their countries of origin for one perceived to be peaceful. This correlates with findings by Tshishonga (2015:164) and Mabera (2017:29) that showed that migrants flee from their countries of origin due to political instability. Over and above political instability, other people migrate to other countries perceived to be economically developed, expecting to acquire economic opportunities to improve their well-being, as will be discussed next.

Sub-theme 1.2: Economic Opportunities

This study revealed that some participants left their countries of origin in search of economic opportunities and prosperity in South Africa because they viewed South Africa as a well-developed country on the continent. The following narratives confirm this sentiment:

Participant 2: "*Yah, when I came, I came with my own money to start the business because I heard that there is no work in South Africa and, that it is too difficult to get some job. That is the reason I started my own business. Even so, South Africa is one of the developed countries. That is why we come here, because we see that it is one of the rich countries. We don't like to go to poor countries because it is not easy to survive there, and we know in South Africa there are no wars, it is a country of peace".*

Participant 5: *"We come from our country with a lot of money to start our businesses. We are not the owners of the money, we had to borrow it from our Government in our country to come here to start the business".*

Participant 8: *"When we come from our country, we know the business, we know business. We know something that can bring money and we know that when we are independent, we can do with our business. We can buy flat, we can raise children, we can send children to school and we can send money back home with this business that we are doing".*

The findings of the study confirm that most refugees see better economic opportunities in South Africa. The finding support those of Tewari (2015:3) who states that democratic South Africa became attractive to foreigners and refugees due to its political freedom and high standards of living. Furthermore, Oluwu (2008:306) states that refugees and foreigners see South Africa as a destination of choice where they can add value to their lives and re-establish or expand their businesses.

Often foreigners look for economic opportunities in South Africa as displayed in the narrative below.

Participant 1: *"I do business and I see that the business is okay for me, that is the reason I sent for my brother to come here so that when I open another branch, he can operate another branch so that I can own the old one, and he operates the new one. I have my brother here because we have to teach him how to do the business so that we can open another shop for him".*

The narratives reveal that South Africa is regarded as progressive country where entrepreneurs can build and expand their businesses. This is supported by Misago et al. (2015:18), Munzhedzi (2015:22) and Tewari (2015:3) who confirm that the economic opportunities that exist in South Africa have led to an increase in economic migrants from West, East and Central Africa who are mainly involved in small business activities

A democratic South Africa according to Tewari (2015:3) became attractive to migrants and refugees due to its political freedom and high standard of living. In addition, South Africa is regarded as the most industrialised country in Africa, thus attracting thousands of foreign nationals to it annually (Mutanda, 2017:279). This as alluded by Choane et al. (2011:132) made it a sought-after destination for many migrants and refugees from all over the world and in particular from African countries that experience economic, social and political challenges.

In lieu of the above, the research findings demonstrate that whilst political instability and fear of violence lead to foreigners seeking asylum in South Africa, the country's economic viability and standing has made it attractive to asylum seekers and economic migrants. Results further show that although most people migrate for peace, stability and better opportunities, their route to a country perceived to be a better possibility, is fraught with several challenges as will be described below.

Theme 2: Challenges faced by refugees.

The study has revealed three major challenges faced by refugees in the country. These include formalising their refugee status and obtaining official documents to authorise their stay in the country, separation from families, and lack of access to services.

Sub-theme 2.1: Formalising their refugee status and obtaining documentation

The study revealed that obtaining refugee status in South Africa is difficult in that refugees and immigrants must constantly update their refugee status. In some cases, the offices for renewal are inaccessible and place added financial burden on them over and above their needs for basic survival. Below are some of the experiences shared by the participants:

Participant 3: *"You know in South Africa, us refugees, we can't get help very well. You see like now, I have 5 years in this country, but every six months and sometimes three months, I am supposed to go to Musina* [in Limpopo], *to renew my paper. To get money to go to Musina it is big problem".*

Participant 4: *"The big problem is about the documents we are getting. Some other people are also not thinking of staying but to move, not necessarily in the country, but other countries, because some people cannot stay for long without the right documents".*

The challenges reported by the participants in this study are supported by Hovhannisyan et al. (2018:29) who report that asylum permits are valid for six months and subject to renewal. The authors further assert that the application and renewal processes are both burdensome and complicated and often leave applicants with the prospect of traveling long distances at cost, to queue for prolonged periods of time to obtain renewed permits.

Not only do refugees experience problems with obtaining proper documents to formalise their refugee status, but one participant narrated frustration regarding the asylum status of his relative who is living with him. This is regarded as a challenge for the participant as those who have asylum documents find it difficult to acquire gainful employment in a host country.

Participant 9: *"I'm supposed to feed my kids and my sister sometimes she asks me for help because she can't get job with asylum. If she is going to ask for job with asylum, no one is going to give her the job".*

Similar studies reveal the same difficulties experienced by refugees with regard to obtaining valid documents to support their refugee status (Madue, 2015:66). Furthermore, Kavuro (2015:255) reveals that refugees are faced with long turnaround times to have their documents processed by the Department of Home Affairs, which renders them vulnerable; unable to seek work, obtain work permits or to participate actively in the economy. Challenges associated with being a refugee pertaining to separation from family will be discussed next.

Sub-theme 2.2 Separation from family

The study reveals that most refugees leave their countries of origin alone without their families and this leads to loneliness and the fear that they might lose their loved ones. One participant said:

Participant 10: "W*e try to talk to each about everyday life, and I tell her that one day if things are going well, when I have all my papers she can come visit, because she can't visit without proper papers. I fear for us. I can't stay long far away, for 7 years, 10 years, without the family. Sometimes she can give problems and maybe try to do something there with another man. You might break-up because you spend most of your time outside".*

Similar findings have been shared by Vrsanska et al. (2017:170) who observed that foreigners and refugees in European countries usually experience isolation and loneliness. In addition to the challenge of being away from their families, the refugees also experience lack of access to services in the host country.

Sub-theme 2.3: Lack of access to services

The study revealed that refugee entrepreneurs experience difficulties accessing basic services like proper health care and banking facilities. After one incident of xenophobia, one refugee entrepreneur who was attacked and suffered injuries, encountered difficulties accessing follow-up treatment at the local hospital. Below is his account:

Participant 4: *"I was going to the hospital and they put something to my leg, and the hospital told me that after five months you will be fine and walk like before. But now it's like nine months, I don't walk, then my leg is still going up and up* [swelling]. *When I go to the hospital, they say I will die. The nurse said why don't I go back home to my country. It is a big problem".*

The findings show that immigrants vulnerable to xenophobic attacks by locals are denied access to basic services such as health care. Mabera (2016:29) and Mudzanani (2016:339) state that African foreigners and refugees are regarded as

people who compete for essential resources such as housing, health care and education intended for local citizens. Hickel (2014:106) confirm that residents hold the perception that they have not long been given the chance to enjoy their newfound freedom and democratic rights, before having to share the fruits of democracy with non-nationals who flooded the country post-apartheid.

Another key finding with regards to access to services is that refugees are unable to open bank accounts. This increases their vulnerability to opportunistic criminal elements as they keep cash in their premises, which more often than not, is stolen during xenophobic attacks. This is evident in the following account by one of the participants:

Participant 7: *"You know, it is difficult because even us we do not have bank account because we are using asylum status. Even some money from the shop, they took everything. All the money is gone".*

Hovhannisyan et al. (2018:23) concur that refugees and asylum seekers are unable to open bank accounts due to their lack of relevant documentation. In addition, Tshishonga (2015:164) asserts that the influx of asylum seekers and refugees places a strain on already scarce resources such as employment, housing, and municipal services. This fuels tension between refugees and locals sometimes leading to xenophobic attacks.

The challenges experienced by refugees and migrants are not the only challenges they have to contend with. They are not always welcomed by locals and are often subject to xenophobic attacks. The study revealed a number of factors that lead to xenophobic attacks. These are discussed below.

Theme 3: Causes of xenophobic attacks

The study revealed several causes of xenophobic attacks which include jealousy, hatred, lack of jobs and unemployment, poverty, and crime. The different factors are discussed below.

Sub-theme 3.1: Jealousy

The study revealed that jealousy is one of the main factors behind xenophobic attacks, looting and destruction of refugee entrepreneur shops. Some participants stated that locals are jealous of their ability to run successful businesses in the townships. This is reflected in the narratives below:

Participant 5: *"You know what I meant by jealousy is that they say: you foreigner, you come from another country, you start a small business, the business is growing up. So, when they come to your shop, they say brother, can you sell this thing for me in credit. When you say no, they can use their language to curse you. They can say: 'you, you voetsek* [informal Afrikaans offensive word meaning go away]*, go back to your country you foreigner, go back to your country'. With all this, I pile it together, that is the reason I take it out and say this is hatred for foreigners".*

Participant 3: *"It must be jealousy, because when they see you take R2, R5, R10 in front of them, it is the one who usually comes to buy. They know you are not making a lot, but just that small amount you make, it makes them jealous. They are the ones who comes and break. I think I make them jealous. I don't know why".*

Similar findings by Chinamona and Mazariri (2015:24) revealed that jealousy was behind the attacks on refugee entrepreneurs that took place in Port Elizabeth in 2014. Furthermore, Misago et al. (2015:21) state that the success of foreign and refugee entrepreneurs, compared to that of local entrepreneurs, creates jealousy which often gives rise to political and economic confrontation. In addition, Charman and Piper (2012:82) state that foreign entrepreneurs are blamed for taking over small business in the townships, leaving local entrepreneurs unable to compete.

As foreign nationals outperform and outshine their South African counterparts in terms of running successful and profitable businesses, not only does jealousy prevail, but hatred for foreign nationals was identified as another factor that contributed to the xenophobic attacks that plagued the country.

Sub-theme 3.2 Hatred

Participants in this study revealed that even though most of them look like Black South Africans in terms of skin colour, they perceived South African citizens as hateful. The participants believe locals hate them because they own and run successful small businesses, are wealthy and living well. The following narrative was shared:

Participant 2: *"What I mean by hatred is that they can come and say why you foreigner you come here and doing nice and starting the business for two years and you started buying cars? They hate that because we come from our country, we know business, they can't do the business. We know something that can bring money".*

The hatred experienced by refugee entrepreneurs is ascribed to their ability to run successful businesses in comparison to their local counterparts. Mothibi et al. (2015:157) reveal that refugees often experience xenophobic attacks due to resentful feelings by locals towards their successful business. Similar observations were made by Mafukata (2015:31) who found that most attacks in the townships emanate from local South African hatred towards black African nationals whose marginal and vulnerable status makes them easy targets when compared to their European counterparts, who are usually welcomed and credited for contributing to the economic development of the country.

Foreign nationals are attacked by their counterparts due to jealousy and hatred as a result of misperceptions of being wealthy and living a better life. Additionally, high rates of unemployment in South Africa, and competition for limited job opportunities, were identified as causes of xenophobic attacks as discussed below.

Sub-theme 3.3 Unemployment and lack of job opportunities

It is a well-documented fact that a lack of jobs and unemployment is high in South Africa, with young people being the most affected (see Chapter 2, section 2.3.3). The current study reveals that the high rates of unemployed youth and lack of job

opportunities, created a fertile ground for community members to mobilise and initiate xenophobic attacks. Participants remarked as follows:

Participant 1: *"What we heard is that we foreigners we took jobs, there is no jobs in South Africa and Government does not provide jobs. Foreigners are working and they* [South Africans] *are not working, that is what caused the attacks".*

Participant 9: *"You see, like those nyaope* [a highly addictive dangerous street drug, unique to South Africa] *boys, that are not working, they say: you foreigner you take my job, you take my job. You see, now my business is f*ed up* [messed up]*".*

Participant 8: *"Mostly what I see in this xenophobia, those people there they don't work. They are the ones rubbishing the country. Unlike the unemployed, mostly those that are educated and go to school, they don't have time to do xenophobia. They think about their future. They think about their families".*

Competition for limited job opportunities and high unemployment rates fuel xenophobia in South Africa. In support, Shai and Mothibi (2015:266) state that South Africans are of the view that foreigners and refugees are taking their long-awaited jobs and economic opportunities, which they were deprived of during the apartheid era. In addition, Mafukata (2015:34) states that the socio-economic challenges facing many South African youths, such as high unemployment, can often lead them to resort to criminal activities such as xenophobic attacks for survival. In addition, residents who possess post-matric qualifications are credited as less prone to xenophobic activities as education improves their likelihood of employment (Claassen, 2012:16).

Other factors linked to unemployment and lack of job opportunities includes poverty.

Sub-theme 3.4 Poverty

The study revealed that poverty is at the heart of xenophobic attacks. As locals struggle to make ends meet due to high rates of unemployment, they compensate by taking advantage of the vulnerability of refugee entrepreneurs whose businesses have become easy targets for looting. This is reflected in the following:

Participant 4*: "I think those people were hungry, that is why they came to take my stuff. They started to take everything inside the shop. I found it that those people were hungry and coming to steal my stuff only".*

Participant 10: *"The xenophobia is coming to steal from me. I see the people they are hungry. They are talking too much about foreigners. Because they come to take the stuff from the shop".*

Participant 7: *"I think the people are hungry. The people are suffering. They are not working".*

The findings are consistent with a study conducted by Manyaka and Madzivhandila (2015:67) who state that often refugees prefer to do business and seek shelter in the informal settlements, which are already over-populated with poor and marginalized people, who will not hesitate to engage in conflict over unmet basic needs such as food, housing, health care, water and sanitation. In addition, Patel and Essa (2015:12), revealed that residents acknowledged that hunger was a contributory factor towards them looting foreign-owned shops.

Over and above poverty and hunger, crime was also revealed as a contributory factor towards xenophobic attacks and is discussed below.

Sub-theme 3.5 Crime

This study found crime to be an engine that ignites, propels, and drives xenophobic attacks against refugee entrepreneurs. The findings further revealed crime as a motive, an act and as a consequence of the attacks. The following narratives are provided:

Participant 2: *"The South African people, they broke our shop, they will go up (indicating the roof) and open the sink and go inside the shop and take my stock".*

Participant 4*: "They came as if they were coming to buy something. They showed me the gun, you see, they said if you want to talk, they will kill me. They then take everything inside the shop".*

Participant 3: "*When they come, they don't let you know, you can know, just like that, you see two, three people come and after that, you see full of people, start to throwing the rocks, breaking the shop, breaking everything, you run away, after that, you see that they take everything in the shop*".

Participant 8: "*Well those people came, and they said they were looking for people who were selling drugs, and I didn't understand anything about drugs. And I told them I don't know anything about the drugs, and they started to break my shop, they take everything inside*".

The findings of the study revealed that there is an element of crime in the xenophobic attacks. Rasila and Musitha (2016:4) reveal that people perceive xenophobic acts in South Africa as acts of criminality whereby, the foreigner shop owners are attacked. Similarly, the findings of this study resonate with those of Crush (2012:24) who mentions that the looting of foreign-owned shops and murder of foreign nationals should not only be viewed as xenophobic attacks, but opportunistic criminal acts.

The multiple causes of xenophobia as described above exert a devastating effect on the victims as discussed below.

Theme 4: Effects of xenophobic attacks

Several adverse effects of xenophobic attacks on refugee entrepreneurs were identified in this study. These include physical, emotional, family, social and economic effects.

Sub-theme 4.1: Physical effects

The study findings revealed that the personal safety of refugee entrepreneurs was affected during the xenophobic attacks. Some of the xenophobic attackers inflicted physical harm. It was further revealed that as some of the participants were assaulted, they sustained physical injuries while a few escaped unharmed. Below are the accounts by the participants on how their personal safety was affected:

Participant 1: *"You see, when they start that thing of xenophobia and they see us foreigners and they say this shop is for foreigner. They come only in the shop that they know it is for a foreigner. They came, and they found me there, they beat me and then they took everything, my stuff, everything that was in the shop, even some clothes of mine, stuff and money. I was injured and left with nothing".*

Participant 4: *"When I was working in the shop, some people came to steal my stuff and those people broke my leg. I tried to stop them, and they broke my leg. Now I cannot walk properly. I was trying to stop them from taking my stuff, you know, you can't leave someone busy taking your stuff like that. You are supposed to stop them. I was busy trying to stop them and that is the reason they broke my leg like this".*

Participant 3: *"You see, I am living inside a shop because I built my shop. They came while I am living there, they break my shop. I had to run away with the friend and relative because we both stay there together. So, they nearly killed us, and we ran away".*

Participant 7: *"They came with different types of weapons that can injure someone. When I see all those things, I had to run away with my friend and brother".*

Participant 10: *"I was in the shop. When I see a lot of people. I ran away, and I hear some loud noise bang, bang and I ran away from the shop. They took everything that was in the shop. Everything my friend".*

Participant 5: *"I was not there in the shop on the very day. I went to buy stock. On my way back, people have started calling me that there are xenophobic attacks in my area. I didn't think it was coming to my shop, but later on, my brother who was in the shop called me and said they have already attacked my shop and he ran away."*

The findings of the study are supported by Vromans et al. (2011:91) where physical harm and, in extreme cases, loss of life were reported during xenophobic attacks. Additionally, Pineteh (2017:11) revealed that during the xenophobic attacks of 2008 and 2015, some foreigners were beaten, set alight and even killed. Furthermore, the findings of this study are similar to those of Mothibi et al. (2015:156) where the authors reported that those who were affected by xenophobic attacks were often not

given a chance to collect any valuable, and instead ran for their lives, leaving behind their hard-earned possessions for looters.

Although some of the refugee entrepreneurs may have escaped physical harm, the attacks left emotional scars.

Sub-theme 4.2: Emotional effects

The study reveals that xenophobic attacks left emotional scars on some of the refugee entrepreneurs. It was revealed that some participants had severe emotional trauma to an extent that death felt like a solution to their hardship. Below are their narratives:

Participant 8*: "When I remember xenophobia, I feel bad. I am so hurt in my heart".*

Participant 3*: "I sometimes feel that I can die. Sometimes I feel like people can just cross me here* [pointing to his chest] *so that I can die".*

Participant 9: *"I was even thinking of taking a knife and put it to* myself [showing the neck] *and I got scared when I thought of God you know, because if you believe God, you can't do that. I got scared about that".*

Participant 5: *"Ha-ha, my sister, you can imagine how that made me feel. It is not easy to understand that. Every time I think about that, you see, when you start to make your life and you see how your life has grown, your business grows just for one day, you lose that business, what can you feel. How will you feel. You start from zero again when you were in something, you make your life, you make your children survive, so, after one day, the thing that you worked for three to four years, you lose that in one day. It makes us to feel bad".*

The findings from the study support observations by Vromans et al. (2011:91) who state that often those people who experienced xenophobic attacks feel depressed, fearful, distressed and sometimes display chronic anxiety. These feelings emanate from the fact that foreign nationals live in fear in South Africa (Chinomona & Maziriri, 2015:27). In addition, Vrsanska et al. (2017:170) observed that those affected by xenophobic attacks demonstrate anxiety, depression and suicidal tendencies.

In addition to the above effects, the study revealed that the families of the participants were affected as discussed below.

Sub-theme 4.3: Effects on families

The finding from the study revealed that in most instances, family members were not physically harmed during the attacks. However, there is evidence of disintegration of family units due to the attacks, fears of future possible attacks and loss of income. The findings further revealed that some family members had to move back to their countries of origin due to safety concerns. Below are the narratives from participants:

Participant 10: *"I don't have family here. They left. I am alone, just when things like that happen, you don't even think of living with your family here. How are they going to survive? Because anytime, I am not safe. I am scared. Anytime they can come back to break again. You see, at least alone I can try to sleep with some of my friend. What would I do if I am with family? I can't try to bring back my family here. Maybe one day if things are well by the Government, but with this? We are not safe".*

Participant 5: *"I was with my family here, but they went back to my country. I cannot make them survive here. There is no money after they broke into my shop, you see, after they broke into my shop, it was problem even to pay rent for my family and it was a big problem. So, I see it better to take them back home. Even me, I can see that it is difficult to even survive and to familiarize my life".*

The findings of this study are similar to those of Moyo ([sa]:4), who revealed that xenophobic attacks are usually associated with internal displacement of the family unit. Similarly, the findings of this study support those of Rulashe (2015:1) and Rasila and Musitha (2015:3) who state that the aftermath of the 2008 and 2015 xenophobic attacks, left many refugee family units disintegrated, with some being forced to find temporary shelters, while others took the option to return back to their countries of origin for safety, notwithstanding their countries being plagued with socio-economic challenges, deep levels of conflict and political instability.

Two participants narrated that they became financially incapable of looking after their families after the xenophobic attack. The following are their remarks:

Participant 2: *"Before it was nice, and we were staying nice, as family. I was able to feed them, it was nice and good, now it is difficult to me because I am working for someone, they give me small money. To pay for the house only it is a problem, to eat, to feed them, transport to go to school. It is a big problem now".*

Participant 9: *"Yah, my family were affected in the manner that I don't have money to give them the way they want, like I used to when the shop was working. Sometimes I don't send my kids to school. It is bad".*

Similar studies also revealed that xenophobic attacks often render those affected homeless, displaced and without an income; with the option of either relying on non-governmental organisations and relatives for food, shelter and other necessities of life, or to return back to their countries of origin (Gopal, 2013:128; Rukema & Khan, 2013:179). The findings of the study not only depict the family unit as an affected area, but also the social well-being of the refugee entrepreneurs discussed below.

Sub-theme 4.4: Effects on social well-being of the refugee entrepreneurs

The empirical findings revealed that most refugee entrepreneurs keep to themselves and socialise only with those of similar origin. The xenophobic attacks have made them rely on each other as they are the minority, and vulnerable to physical harm and crime at the hands of local citizens in the host country. Below are some of the experiences cited:

Participant 9: *"Like when they break your store and take everything, and you have nothing, you have to go back to see one of your friends, to see if he can give you some job. You see, you start working for someone again, and then you can manage out to start something for yourself again, on your own".*

Participant 4*: "I am working for someone, my friend Easter, from Ethiopia who said: my friend, come work for me. Now I must work and support my family because if I am not working, I won't have money to support my family".*

Participant 7: "*Only my brother from my country who said I must work with him. He supports me. Only him from my home country. Other people, nothing".*

Participant 3: *"We help each other, maybe if something happens, we stand up and we look [to be alert], we call each other to be alert so that if something happens, like do not go to this side, don't work in this side, or do not open the shop today. That is how we support each other".*

The study revealed that those affected by xenophobic attacks becomes socially isolated. This is supported by Gopal (2013:130) who confirms that victims of xenophobic attacks become socially excluded from the public. Moreover, foreigners were also insulted and called derogatory terms such as 'makwerekwere' a term that is reserved for a foreigner who is unable to speak any South African dialect. As such, they are shunned and isolated from mainstream society. Two participants said:

Participant 1*: "They call us amakwerekwere, foreigner. I don't know why. It is a problem. I am from far. I've come to put business here in South Africa, now the business fell down".*

Participant 9*: "They say these is the makwerekwere, this is how they used to call us. Yah, makwerekwere what-what, they support each other. We are not safe with community, but we try our best to be close to them".*

Being called 'makwerekwere' by locals often makes foreigners feel belittled, thus secluding them from the public (Gordon, 2015:480). Tshishonga (2015:165) add that the use of derogatory terms stems from hatred, or the attempt to isolate and exclude refugees and foreign nationals.

On the contrary, one participant revealed that not all people were insulted and socially excluded. He said that not all South Africans are xenophobic. Particularly, he

said that he did not experience any social exclusion. Rather, the participant reported that he often felt supported by local citizens. The participant said:

Participant 2: "*I am not really accusing all South Africa people, because since I told you, I appreciate some of those people. I survive because of them. You see, I left some of the family members at home, but there I am, and I find kind and loving people willing to help, like mother, sister, brother*".

The possibility of feeling isolated and excluded as a refugee notwithstanding, some people experienced care and support from locals. Mensah and Benedict (2016:76) confirm that foreign nationals were often supported by local community members who are usually on the look-out and ready to intervene when foreigners are being attacked. This random act of kindness by South Africans who risk their lives to save refugees during attacks, encourages them to stay and pursue business opportunities in South Africa.

The attacks on refugee entrepreneurs not only affected them emotionally, affected families and social well-being, but also have a tremendous effect on their businesses as is discussed below.

Sub-theme 4.5: Effects on business operations

The empirical evidence shows that xenophobic attacks had a devastating effect on the businesses of refugee entrepreneurs. Most of the businesses collapsed due to looting of stock and damage to premises. Some refugee entrepreneurs found it hard to re-establish their businesses due to lack of financial support. Some had to look for jobs, which pay them far less than they were able to make when they ran businesses of their own. Below are the narratives from the participants:

Participant 7*: "They broke into my shop two times. I had to gather everything together and the second time they broke all. They take the stuff I am selling, my tv, laptop, my everything including the machine I used to print airtime. They stole everything. After running away, the next day when we went back to the shop, we discovered that they took everything, all that was in the shop. Everything in the shop. This is how we lost everything in the shop".*

Participant 8: "*I think four times, yes I was attacked four times and the last time was very bad because I couldn't sell again. I was sitting with one of my friends who took me to stay with him, and I stayed with him until, I think for a year, a full year. Now I am working for someone else*".

Participant 2: *"They affected my business because, the shop was broken and then for about two weeks the shop was not open".*

The findings revealed the loss the refugee entrepreneurs suffered during the attacks. A similar study by Misago et al. (2015:21) confirmed that the majority of foreign-owned shops that have been looted were permanently closed as a consequence. In addition, Tshishonga (2015:165) revealed that the outbreak of xenophobic attacks on foreign nationals forced them to either go into hiding or leave their businesses unattended. In some cases, those who were unable to go into hiding were reduced to spectators as they had to helplessly witness their hard-earned properties being looted and burnt (Adeleke et al., 2018:143). Hence, Mensah and Benedict (2016:76) note that their years of working hard at their entrepreneurial endeavours are destroyed in a matter of hours or days.

Four participants further expressed their frustration regarding their inability to re-establish themselves after the xenophobic attacks. Some were forced to work as employees for other spaza-shop owners. Below are their narratives:

Participant 6*: "It is difficult to even have the stuff back. You see now I am working for someone, he is paying me small money, even to eat is a problem. You see, it is difficult to get my stuff* back*".*

Participant 1: *"It took me R 50 000 to start the business, now I work for a salary of R 2000".*

Participant 10: *"No, this shop is not for me. My shop is closed. I closed it already 2 years ago. Now I am starting to work for somebody".*

Participant 4: *"I am working for someone so that I can have something to eat. I feel like it is killing me, because firstly, they took everything from inside the shop. Now I am starting to work for somebody. It is not fine".*

Similar findings were reported by Patel and Essa (2015:4) who state that some refugee entrepreneurs affected by xenophobic attacks could not re-establish themselves after their businesses were looted and destroyed. Furthermore, in their study, one refugee entrepreneur who used to own a business in Mofolo, Soweto, could not afford to re-open his business again after the xenophobic attacks, opting to co-own a business with a compatriot, as he did not have money to purchase his own stock or operate his business independently.

Prior to the attacks, one participant mentioned he was doing well financially. The attacks reduced his financial freedom in a drastic way. Below is his narrative:

Participant 7: *"It is difficult to bring my shop back. This shop, you see, every week they give me R300. Imagine, with that R300, how am I going to feed my children, and pay school fees. In my shop I used to make R5000, and I would have already paid everything, food, the children, and my sister. Mine will be R5000".*

The findings show that xenophobic attacks affected the financial well-being of refugee entrepreneurs in a negative way. These findings correlate with Gopal (2013:130) by confirming the economic challenges that refugee entrepreneurs face after attacks. Their economic barriers are increased while their ability to pursue their economic efforts to better their livelihood in the country are reduced (Gopal, 2013:130). Their efforts to sustain themselves and their families by owning businesses were thwarted as businesses were destroyed during the xenophobic attacks, with no prospect of re-establishment (Rukema & Khan, 2013:191).

For those participants who were able to re-establish themselves after the attack, they shared certain difficulties. One participant said:

Participant 6: *"You can see I have small things* [the goods in the shop]. *Sometimes we come with a little bit of money that we start our business with. So, like me, after that problem* [xenophobic attack] *I go back to my place* [his country of origin], *I sold a*

little piece of land and I got the money. After getting the money, I said to myself let me try business again in South Africa. That is why I come back *again to try this business".*

Despite the xenophobic attack, the finding revealed that there are those refugee entrepreneurs who came to South Africa with the intention of investing their finances in order to secure an income for themselves (Kavuro, 2015:247) Furthermore, Patel and Essa (2015:5), assert that there are those refugee entrepreneurs who came to do business in South Africa as it seemed viable compared to doing so in their countries of origin.

Some participants had to get into debt to rebuild their businesses. These views are shared by two participants in the following narratives:

Participant 2: *"Before I get back on my feet, I had to go back home to my country. I had to sell some land and get some money. I also borrow some money from my relatives and friends to come back here and to start the business. During the business, when I am working, and I get some profit, I have to send money home and pay back the loan".*

Participant 5: *"I went to my relatives around and everybody could see what happened to me. Then people tried to assist me with small change that they have that they can manage. Now I have not yet got back* [start to operate]. *I'm still struggling to manage to get back. Even I am still owing some people the money. Everybody can see what happened to me. That is why they say at the time I get alright, I will pay them".*

The findings of the study revealed the difficulties the refugee entrepreneurs are faced with after the xenophobic attacks. Similarly, Oyelana (2016:286) states that refugee entrepreneurs affected by xenophobic attacks are left to fend for themselves with no assistance from the government. Instead they rely on family members and friends.

In support, Gopal (2013:128) and Rukema and Khan (2013:179) state that those who were willing to pursue business further in South Africa after the xenophobic

attacks, had to rely on relatives and non-government organisations for food, shelter and other necessities of life. Often, other forms of support to re-establish their businesses came from their fellow brethren who, borrow them money; provided share-ownership in a shop or allowed them to operate under a well-established refugee shop-owner (Patel & Essa, 2015:3).

The study revealed the loss of business, damage to property and looting of stock. It is often difficult for those affected by xenophobic attacks to re-establish themselves. As a result, they require assistance from various service providers in order to get back on their feet.

Theme 5: Type of services required by refugee entrepreneurs

The evidence from this study revealed two services that were of importance to the refugee entrepreneurs. These include security and protection from attacks, and intervention from the government to minimise the devastating effects of xenophobia on the socio-economic outcomes of entrepreneurial endeavours. The two required services will be discussed in detail below.

Sub-theme 5.1: Security

Despite legislation and policies being in place to aid refugees and immigrants that are affected by xenophobic attacks in South Africa, the study revealed that most participants did not receive any assistance from government. The participants reported that they had to fend and keep themselves safe during and after the xenophobic attacks. The following narratives by the participants revealed their experiences:

Participant 10: "*We thought maybe the Government can assist us, especially after something like that happened. We hoped for the Government to assist us, with peace, security and how to secure our shops and our lives, so that we can continue to make our business in peace".*

Participant 8: *"We want protection and security. We want the police to be patrolling everywhere around those mini shops in South Africa. We want the Government to*

delegate, to go around and check everywhere where those shops are; in Mamelodi, Atteridgeville, Mpumalanga, Hammanskraal, Joburg, everywhere where those shops are. They have to provide them with security".

Participant 2: *"Without peace, without security, it is difficult. We ask the Government to help. If they provide our security, we will work, and we will find money".*

Oyelana (2015:284) supports the study finding by confirming that refugee entrepreneurs receive little support and protection from government with the South African Police Service and the judicial services being accused of not protecting everyone equally in the country. Similarly, Chen ([sa]:1) states that the inability of the South African Government to provide security to foreign shop-owners affects their economic outlook as well as that of South Africa as a country.

The lack of protection happens despite the undertaking by South African Government to protect and promote human rights in line with the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa. This is a fundamental document that seeks to protect human dignity, promote equality, and advance human rights and freedoms (Choane et al., 2011:139; Oluwu, 2008:306). The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa binds and holds the state accountable for, and to promote the basic human rights of all citizens, including foreigners (O'Rilley, 2015:18).

Although the study indicates the failure of the government to provide security for those affected by xenophobic attacks, there are other measures that have been identified by participants that the government could undertake to offer support to refugees and immigrants. These are discussed below.

Sub-theme 5.2: Government aid

The Government of South Africa is a signatory to several international treaties and protocols that guarantee the protection of the rights of refugees, asylum seekers and migrants (see Chapter 2, section 2.2.5). However, the evidence in this study shows that the South African Government has failed to supply adequate support and

assistance to those affected by xenophobic attacks. Below are the accounts of the participant experiences:

Participant 3: *"My heart doesn't feel nice because I didn't get any help from the Government you know. There is a lot of police in South Africa and you have a lot of cars [police patrol vehicles] and everything to help somebody, I didn't get any help".*

Participant 6: *"I never get help from the Government after they broke into my shop. I can't lie to you. I never get help from Government or from the police".*

The lack of assistance by the Government of South Africa confirms the findings of Patel and Essa (2015:15) who state that the government is failing to provide the support needed by those who were affected by xenophobic attacks. This is a violation of the Declaration of the United Nations High Commission for Refugees. The protection of refugees and foreigners' civil, social, and economic rights is the responsibility of the host country (Kavuro, 2015:241).

Not all participants had similar experiences. Amongst, those who received assistance from government officials, some were dissatisfied with the quality of the services delivered. The participants felt that they were not given the necessary assistance that they deserved as human beings. The participants said:

Participants 2: *"The police just told me to open the case. I then opened the case. They asked if I knew the people who stole from me, and I said no. I told them that they came in and took everything. I never heard from them".*

Participants 10: *"After xenophobia has taken everything, you see, after two days the police came to check and talk and after that it is finished. We don't get any help or anything from them".*

The findings from the study also show that the police are not doing enough to support those affected by xenophobic attacks. This is consistent with the findings by Choane et al. (2011:140) who state that if the police are not doing enough to support those affected by xenophobic attacks, they should be educated about the effects of xenophobic attacks and be instructed to deal with the reported cases as soon as

possible. Solomon and Kosaka (2013:7) are of the view that the reluctance of police officers to deal with xenophobic cases is largely due to their inability to understand the foreign languages spoken by most refugees, and a lack of training in basic human rights.

During the interviews, some participants alleged to have experienced discrimination from public officials like the police. Their remarks are as follows:

Participant 5: *"Police come later, and you cannot get help from the police because sometimes the police like to say: go back to your country, why don't you like to go back to your country. You know when people are busy saying that and the police working with Government are busy telling you like that, you can't get help from them".*

Participant 10: *"When they come, they just come and investigate, and after that, I'll never get any call. I'll never hear that they are still following that case or not".*

Participant 9: *"At the time they came to steal, the police came, and they did not help with anything. They don't even talk with us, they did not help. They come and go without speaking to us. The police came after they finished looting. The one police said I am a foreigner, I must go back".*

Participant 3: *"T*he South African Government did not do anything. When the police come to that side* [the place he used to operate his business], *they just come to investigate. Even they don't arrest people. We do not see any help from the Government".*

Participant 1: *"They did nothing, someone said I must go ask Government. Now it is ten years and I got nothing. Government not saying anything. I see nothing from nobody, money, nothing. The police said nothing. You open the case with the Government, and nothing comes up. The Government has too much money, like now, I have been waiting".*

Participant 9*: "We want the Government that if there is an attack like this, to send the police to arrest those people who are busy taking the stuff that belongs to*

someone. If someone has a problem, the police are supposed to come and arrest them. The Government has the police and soldiers and everything. If you have any problem or crime, the police should come and arrest the people".

The findings in the study revealed how the foreigners and refugee feels about the services they received from government officials after the xenophobic attacks. The findings support Charman and Piper (2012:91) who state that legislation and policies were often flouted and violated by state officials. Whilst migrants are guaranteed legal rights and protection in terms of the international status, and the South African Constitution, Adam and Moodley (2013:21) argue that migration provokes different responses from different citizens of host countries, including those who are expected to uphold those treaties.

In a similar study, Solomon and Kosaka (2013:7) found that some of the respondents received no assistance from the police when they experienced xenophobic attacks. This was due to their lack of proper documents that grant them permission to operate their businesses in South Africa. The lack of proper response, feedback and follow-up from the police leaves the refugee entrepreneurs feeling despondent.

Some participants were specific in terms of the kind of assistance they would like to have from the government. The majority stated that they preferred financial assistance or compensation more than any other material type of assistance. Below are the specific requirements as mentioned by the participants.

Participant 1: *"I don't know of any other country where the people can break the shops and take everything without suffering the consequences. Maybe if the Government can pay something for us. Maybe the Government give us R 50 000. My wife is not working, and I have nothing. It is a big problem. I have a flat in Sunnyside and I have to pay rent. I have to share now because I am broke".*

Participant 3: *"You see, If I had the money, I was going to open another one. Now if the Government can give me the money, I will go and open another shop".*

Participant 7: *"We are waiting for the Government to try something for us not only for me, but for everyone else. Maybe money to assist each one to start the business again. Now we don't have power and there is no money".*

Participant 2: *"To assist me with even 20% of what my shop was worth in order to start again by the beginning because I don't have nothing. I have to start and struggle again".*

Participant 9: *"Maybe if the Government can pay something for us. I don't know. We get nothing for assistance here in South Africa".*

The findings in the study are synonymous with Chinomona and Mazariri (2015:26) who suggest that Government should provide support in the form of granting financial assistance especially in the form of start-up funding for those refugee entrepreneurs who provide employment for local residents; provide support through the Department of Trade and Industry (as provided to all SMMEs (small, medium and micro enterprises) in South Africa) as well as granting refugees entrepreneurs business permits and other refugee status permits as issued by the Department of Home Affairs.

Apart from the financial assistance that the participants would like to receive, the study revealed that some participants shared that education about foreign nationals and their plight will assist to address and prevent future xenophobic attacks:

Participant 5: *"We want the Government to approach the citizens of South Africa and tell them that we are brothers and don't think that we are foreigners. Black to black, we are brothers".*

Participant 6: *"I think the Government has to educate those people, to also take us like human beings. They must not consider us like animals, where they can take everything from us just like that".*

Participant 8: *"Government should not say because we are foreigners, or we are not from here and they do not give foreigners support. That is why citizens comes to us and say: you are foreigner, you stole my job, go back to your country.*

Government should let them know that we are all human beings, we are one. They don't discriminate. That is what I just want from the Government to let all the citizens to know".

The findings show that the government has a major role to play in ensuring that refugees and foreigners are supported. This view is supported by Chinomona and Maziriri (2015:25) who state that the role of government towards foreigners and refugees is to provide reception, process application, and offer basic human rights as stipulated in the Constitution, Immigration Act No 13 of 2002 and Refugee Act 135 of 1998, as well as international treaties ratified by South Africa.

In addition, Choane et al. (2011:140) are of the view that anti-xenophobic efforts through media outlets and awareness campaigns will offer education about foreign nationals to residents. Awareness programmes such as media campaigns, community forums and communication opportunities between foreigners and community members - especially in communities where xenophobic attacks are prone to take place - are encouraged with the goal of educating one another about the cultural differences, practices and expectations that exists amongst Africans nationals (Van der Westhuizen, 2015:128).

Furthermore, the participants shared that the changes in legislation can assist to alleviate the problems associated with asylum status for refugees. At the same time tighter and stricter policies can be enforced to ensure that justice is done for those who feel wronged. The participants shared their views as follows:

Participant 6: *"I was asking the Government to help us. We don't have any papers [refugee documents], and we are here five years. We need to get status [refugee status] and maybe it will even help us to even get a job, because if you have a status [refugee status documents], you can get a proper job".*

Participant 8: *"The Government can give laws, binding that anybody practicing xenophobia is going to be in jail for ten years or eleven years. But with that, I know that everything will be alright".*

The findings of the study revealed the views and expectations of the refugee entrepreneurs about what services they require and what government should do to protect their business interests. The findings are similar to those by O'Rilley (2015:18) who revealed that little is being done to protect the rights of foreigners and especially those affected by xenophobic attacks. Furthermore, Madue (2015:68) is of the view that support can be provided in the form of senior political leaders speaking more openly about the political and economic challenges faced by foreign nationals fleeing to South Africa with the view to amend legislation where necessary.

This study also revealed that support to those affected by xenophobic attacks should not only be limited to government and its institutions but should also be extended to other role players in the communities as it will be illustrated below.

Theme 6: The role of civil society in response to xenophobic attacks

In addition to government intervention, the study revealed three key role players that were regarded as of importance to ensure the safety of refugee entrepreneurs. Firstly, the participants identified the support that community members could provide to refugees and foreigners in South Africa. Secondly, the role of the faith-based organisations was also identified as crucial to preventing xenophobic attacks and/promoting a human right culture. Lastly, the community of foreign nationals was equally identified as critical in the fight against xenophobia. The different roles that could be played by different stakeholders are described below.

Sub-theme 6.1 Community support

The empirical findings revealed that support from community members is vital for immigrants and refugees to survive in the aftermath of xenophobic attacks. Some of the participants reported on their inability to obtain support from community members where they reside in South Africa.   The following remarks are accounts by the participants:

Participant 1: *"You know you people,* [the researcher as a South African] *are not the same. There are people in South Africa that are good you know. If you go to*

school [being educated] *and you go to other countries* [travelling], *you are supposed to be a nice person. There are good people in South Africa".*

Participant 2: *"If I am surviving, it is because of the South African people. You see, I have left some of the family members at home, but there I am, and I find kind people and lovely helpful people. You can find someone like a mother, sister, brother in South Africa".*

Participant 10: *"In the community, it's not like they are all the same. Others you can see they feel shame when we tell them [about their plights as refugees]. There are others that we become friends with and we become close. They feel shame* [sympathise] *and they say: Ahh, shame my man".*

Participant 7: *"You know, I can't say they are good, I can't say they are bad. But they are all South Africans. Anywhere where you are doing business you need to be a responsible man. You can't say everybody will like you. Some will hate you, some will like you being a foreigner".*

Participant 9: "*I think we heard from the radio and the T.V.* [television]. *Even from South Africans, for example, they can say: my friend, tomorrow do not go to work and take care of yourself. That is being caring".*

The findings revealed that there is a need for community members to embrace foreign nationals. This could be done in the form of Protection Working Groups at a community level for the purpose of protecting and assisting those affected by xenophobic attacks (Misago et al., 2015:44). The findings further support the principle of Ubuntu which South Africans have come to be known for (Chinomona & Maziriri, 2015:25). The authors defined Ubuntu as a South African principle which speaks about the interconnectedness of human beings and collective respect for human dignity. The display of Ubuntu is an indication that some South Africans will refrain from perpetuating xenophobia against refugees, immigrants or foreign nationals.

The results further revealed that the refugee entrepreneurs appreciate the fact that not all South Africans possess xenophobic tendencies as there are some who are

willing to offer direct support. However, what the study also revealed is a lack of concerted and well-structured community-based responses, with clear programmes to alleviate the plight of those affected by xenophobic attacks and ensure their integration into the communities.

Government and community members cannot provide support alone, the support of other stakeholders, such as faith-based organisations were indicated as well.

Sub-theme 6.2 Faith-based organisations

The study participants revealed that those affected by xenophobic attacks had hope in faith-based organisations. They also believed that the faith-based organisations can assist in supporting victims of xenophobic attacks as well as creating an environment where the negative effects of xenophobia can be highlighted. The participants shared the following narratives regarding spiritual support:

Participant 2: *"We also want pastors to preach about it also in the pulpit in the church, anywhere, whether you are a Christian or Muslim. We want this to spread to everybody. Maybe when the pastor is preaching inside the church, they can spread the word outside, saying the Government has come out and talk about it [against xenophobia] even in the T.V. [television] news to everybody in South Africa".*

Participant 4: *"My church is supporting me just to tell me how to survive, how to take care of my brother, not treat him bad and to stay good. The church is there to tell you how to stay with the community, how to service in life, you must know there is God. We are surviving by the grace of God".*

Participant 10: "*In the church, if you have a problem, the people support you. They offer things like food and some will offer money to take care of your family, buy things for the family".*

The study findings reveal that the different faith-based organisation support their congregants. This is consistent with findings by Choane et al. (2011:140) who highlighted the importance of faith-based organisations in promoting an open-minded community, especially when dealing with foreigners and refugees.

Furthermore, similar findings by Rukema and Khan (2013:192) reveal that some of those affected by xenophobic attacks had to be dependent on faith-based and non-governmental organisations for support and hand-outs due to the loss of business networks, stock, and customers.

While the government, community members and faith-based organisations can provide support and assistance as and when it is required, it is also incumbent upon the refugees themselves to provide support to each other.

Sub-theme 6.3 Support from fellow refugees

The empirical findings in the study revealed that there is a sense of brotherhood amongst the refugee entrepreneurs. The support that they share and expect from each other was expressed in the following narratives:

Participant 4*: "Yah, we used to support each other sometimes, when we go to place like home affairs, like when they reject you we used to meet each other there, and we support each other and find out they reject you for what? It's only for things like that. Bangladesh can only help the Bangladesh; the Congolese can try to help the Congolese. That's how it works. Malawian can help Malawian".*

Participant 8: *"Like us Ethiopians, we have some group of people from Ethiopia, but we are divided by ethnicity, but we try to see that if someone need something, we try to see how to assist them".*

Participant 9: *"I tried working for myself, but my friend told me that: no, please come and work with me, you cannot stay at home. Even though your wife is working come and work with me. I will give you something to eat, school and for transport".*

Participant 5: *"I advise my fellow refugees to not stay away from each other, everybody should stay in township, no one should stay in the location [townships or informal settlement], because if they stay in the location, no one will help them. Because we see together, that is why we communicate together like: don't come to the shop, don't come. That's what saved me that day".*

The findings show that the refugee entrepreneurs are supportive towards each other especially those coming from the same country of origin. Similar findings by Liederman et al. (2013:4) report that a strong social network exists amongst refugee entrepreneurs compared to a weak social network between local entrepreneurs whose support structure is only limited to immediate family members. In addition, Patel and Essa (2015:17) report that network operations like the Somali Community Board in South Africa, provide support to their fellow countrymen while operating business in the country.

The findings highlighted the relationship that the foreigners forge as a means of support in the host country. Their alliance has proven to be helpful in times of need and danger. The findings further revealed that those of similar historical background seem to care more for each other than those coming from other countries.

3.5 SUMMARY

This chapter discussed the research methodology followed as well as the ethical aspects employed while conducting the study. The study explored the social and economic effects xenophobic attacks have on refugee entrepreneurs in Atteridgeville. The biographical information was presented in a tabular form, while themes and sub-themes were used to present the empirical findings. The information collected from the interviews was analysed in relation to the literature, and the findings discussed at length. The next chapter will discuss the key findings, conclusions, and recommendations of the study.

CHAPTER 4

KEY FINDINGS CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

In this study, the researcher explored and described the socio-economic effects of xenophobic attacks on refugee entrepreneurs in Atteridgeville. This chapter commences with a description of how the goal and the objectives of the study were achieved. Included in the discussion is an outline of key findings, conclusions and recommendations based on the literature review and the empirical study.

4.2 RESEARCH GOAL AND OBJECTIVES

To recap, the goal of the study was to explore and describe the socio-economic effects of xenophobic attacks on refugee entrepreneurs in Atteridgeville. The goal of the study was achieved through the following objectives:

Objective 1: To contextualise and conceptualise xenophobic attacks on refugee entrepreneurs.

This objective was achieved through a literature review (see Chapter 2). The review of literature followed the Social Identity Theory (SIT) (see Chapter 1, section 1.2) as a guiding framework for the study. The theoretical approach provided a better understanding of the xenophobic phenomenon.

In this study, the SIT was appropriate and relevant because it talks about the formulation of group identity which involves the categorisation of one in an 'in-group' and the others, who do not possess the same values and knowledge, as belonging to the 'out-group'. Xenophobic attacks are by their nature perpetuated by prejudice and involve diverse groups. South Africans are regarded as the 'in-group' based on their national identity and citizenship, and foreign nationals as the 'out-group' based on their foreign nationality. Therefore, xenophobic attacks emanate from the

negative preconceived ideas that local citizens (in-group) have about foreign nationals (out-group), especially Black African migrants.

It is at the background of this theory that migration has been revealed as a precursor to xenophobic attacks. This was viewed as such because globally, regionally, and nationally, local citizens were revealed as being territorial and as pushing away those who migrate into their territories. In addition, the study revealed other factors such as the legacy of apartheid, unemployment, poverty, crime, competition for public resource, the presence of business competition as well as political influence by local leaders, as reasons behind xenophobic attacks (see Chapter 2, section 2.2.3).

Furthermore, the effects of xenophobic attacks were discussed in a local, regional, and international context. In addition, the effects of xenophobic attacks were further identified as having physical, psychological, social, economic and political impacts on those it affects. In many cases, the effects impacted on the families of those affected, the communities where the attacks took place and the country at large.

The literature review chapter (see Chapter 2, section 2.2.5) presented the different legislative and policy frameworks that have been implemented locally, regionally, and internationally to combat xenophobic attack. In addition, there are several legal advocacy groups, non-governmental organisations (NGO's) and associations of migrants and refugees that were also identified and discussed.

The literature review chapter concludes with an exploration of the role of social work practice (see Chapter 2, section 6). The role of social work practitioners was regarded as being important at micro, meso and macro-level. Furthermore, the role of social work practitioners was seen not in isolation, but as a team effort aimed at inter-ministerial intervention approaches from different governmental departments where advocacy and lobbying for policy changes can occur.

Objective 2: To explore and describe the social effects of xenophobic attacks on refugee entrepreneurs.

The social effects of xenophobic attacks were explored in Chapter 2 (see section 2.3.2 and 2.4.4). In this section, the social effects of xenophobic attacks are discussed based on the legacy of apartheid as well as through the general isolation of refugees from local citizens. Again, the disintegration of family structures after the xenophobic attacks render them socially vulnerable. Furthermore, the objective was also achieved during the empirical study as presented in Chapter 3 (see section 4.3-4.4).

Objective 3: To explore and describe the economic effects of xenophobic attacks on refugee entrepreneurs.

The objective was achieved in Chapter 2 (see section 2.4.5) whereby the difficulties of refugee entrepreneurs to save their businesses during the xenophobic attacks were highlighted. In addition, the objective was achieved when the difficulties of refugee entrepreneurs to re-establish themselves after the xenophobic attacks were also highlighted. The literature revealed that some refugee entrepreneurs were forced to return to their countries of origin after the xenophobic attacks. Others were forced to start-up their businesses using borrowed money while others were reduced to being employees.

The empirical study revealed that the refugee entrepreneurs suffered economic loss during the xenophobic attacks (see section 4.5). The empirical study further revealed the financial hardships the refugee entrepreneurs had to endure to continue operating their businesses, or to re-establish themselves after the xenophobic attacks. The findings further revealed how some were reduced to being employees of other refugee entrepreneurs, for far less money than what they used to make when they were business owners.

Objective 4: To identify and describe required interventions from the perspectives of refugee entrepreneurs.

The fourth objective was achieved in Chapter 2 (see section 2.5) whereby legislation and policies were identified at international, regional and national level to highlight the intervention strategies that can be implemented to deal with xenophobia. The objective was further achieved when the literature revealed some non-governmental intervention strategies in place to assist in dealing with xenophobia.

The empirical study (see theme 5) addressed the objective by highlighting the needs of refugee entrepreneurs in the aftermath of xenophobic attacks. The required interventions were identified as security, financial support and government intervention in terms of ensuring that justice is done for those affected by xenophobic attacks (see sub-themes 5.1-5.2). Furthermore, theme 6 (see section 6.1; 6.2 and 6.3) described the role of local community members, faith-based organisations as well as the support from fellow refugees, as being important intervention strategies to combat xenophobia.

Objective 5: Based on the findings, to make recommendations for improved service delivery to refugee entrepreneurs.

This objective is achieved in this chapter. In Chapter 4 (see Chapter 4.3) key findings, conclusions and recommendations are presented as outlined below.

4.3 KEY FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATION

4.3.1 Key findings

- All refugee entrepreneurs understand their residential status as that of being a refugee.
- Most refugee entrepreneurs affected by xenophobic attacks originate from African countries such a Burundi, Nigeria, and the Democratic Republic of Congo.

- Most of the participants were either 'pushed' by political instability in their countries of origin or 'pulled' by economic prospects in South Africa.

- Most refugee entrepreneurs viewed South Africa as a peaceful country where they can build their lives and acquire social and financial freedom.

- Some refugee entrepreneurs experienced challenges regarding formalising their refugee status.

- Some participants experienced challenges regarding access to public services such as health care and banking facilities.

- Most participants experienced challenges regarding separation from their families.

- Some participants mentioned jealousy as the reason behind xenophobic attacks.

- Some refugee entrepreneurs attributed hatred by South Africans as a reason for xenophobic attacks.

- Most refugee entrepreneurs were of the view that those who were involved in xenophobic attacks were young, unemployed, uneducated Black South Africans.

- Poverty was viewed as one of the contributory factors to xenophobic attacks.

- Crime was viewed as a motive, an act as well as a consequence of xenophobic attacks.

- Xenophobic attacks are usually associated with physical harm.

- Most refugee entrepreneurs reported being emotionally hurt by xenophobic attacks.

- The family units of most refugee entrepreneurs were disintegrated in the aftermath of xenophobic attacks.

- Most refugee entrepreneurs found it difficult socialise with local citizens in the communities they live in.

- The majority of the participants had to rely on their fellow countrymen for support after the xenophobic attacks.

- Most refugee entrepreneurs found it difficult to re-establish their business after the xenophobic attacks.

- Some refugee entrepreneur had to borrow money to re-establish themselves.

- Others had to sell some of their properties to raise capital to re-establish their businesses.
- Refugee entrepreneurs reported not receiving financial assistance from the government.
- Most refugee entrepreneurs reported that government officials, such as police officers and health care practitioners, did not offer the necessary help they required.
- Refugee entrepreneurs found support from their fellow refugees after xenophobic attacks.
- No formal structure(s) or programmes were mentioned by participants as being dedicated to assist them after the xenophobic attacks.
- Not all South Africans harbour feelings of xenophobia.
- Faith-based organisations were credited for being supportive towards those refugee entrepreneurs who experienced xenophobic attacks.
- All participants did not know the function or the services that are provided by the social workers in the community.

4.3.2 Conclusions

- Most victims of xenophobic attacks are Black, African, male, refugee entrepreneurs.
- Xenophobic attacks on refugee entrepreneurs happen because of competition for customers between them and local shop owners.
- Xenophobic attacks render refugee entrepreneurs socially excluded from the general public.
- The families of the refugee entrepreneurs who are affected by xenophobic attacks are left financially destitute.
- Refugee entrepreneurs are left financially vulnerable after xenophobic attacks
- The government failed to provide the necessary and expected support to the refugee entrepreneurs affected by xenophobic attacks.
- Government officials such as nurses and police officials did not provide services to refugees, especially in the aftermath of xenophobic attacks.

- Faith-based organisations provide the support needed by refugee entrepreneurs.
- The services and functions of the social workers were unknown to refugees.

4.3.3 Recommendations for social work practice and policy

- Social work services should be more visible within the community.
- Awareness campaign should be held to market the role of social work practitioners.
- Community forums can be encouraged to facilitate co-operation between refugees and community members, especially in the communities where xenophobic attacks are prone to happen.
- Support groups should be encouraged for those affected by xenophobic attacks.
- Refugees should be made aware of their rights in the country.
- Integrated business forums can be established to increase dialogue between refugee entrepreneurs and local entrepreneurs to resolve business-related conflicts.
- Networking between various government departments and non-governmental organisation rendering support to refugees, should be encouraged and promoted.
- Relief programmes should be coordinated between the government and other service providers in the aftermath of xenophobic attacks.
- Sufficient budget should be allocated to enhance service delivery.
- Different service providers such as police officials and health practitioners, should be equipped with knowledge and regulation of how to provide adequate services to refugees.
- Multi-disciplinary help desks should be established in the aftermath of xenophobic attacks to ensure proper support and assistance to those affected.
- Formal history lessons at school level should be introduced to focus more on African migration with the aim of creating awareness of refugees and reducing the likelihood of future xenophobic attacks.

4.3.4 Recommendations for further studies

- There is a need to expand the research to a bigger and more diverse group to include female refugee entrepreneurs as well as those entrepreneurs operating their businesses in rural and less urban areas. This will assist in obtaining diverse, comprehensive views and experiences.

- Other studies can focus on the challenge's refugees face regarding the formalisation of their asylum status.

- Further studies can focus on identifying more or other factors that lead to people migrating from their countries of origin; other than political instability and the prospects of economic opportunities in their destination countries.

- Other studies could focus on expanding knowledge on how different government departments, for example, South African Police Service, Department of Health and Department of Social Development perform when providing needed services to refugees, especially considering the different language barriers and cultural practices that exist between South Africans and foreign nationals.

- Other research studies could focus on the role of different embassies operating in the country in the aftermath of xenophobic attacks on their citizens.

REFERENCES

Adam, H. & Moodley, K. 2013. *Imagined liberation: Xenophobia, citizenship and Identity in South Africa, Germany and Canada.* Stellenbosch: Sun Press.

Adebisi, A.P. 2017. Xenophobia: Healing a festering sore in Nigerian-South African Relations. *Journal of International Relations and Foreign Policy,* 5(1):83-92.

Adeleke, B.O., Omitola, A.A. & Olukole, O.T. 2008. Impacts of xenophobia attacks on tourism. *IFE Psychologia-special Issue: Xenophobia,* 16(2):136-147.

African Charter on Human and People's Rights. 1981. Available: http://www.humanrights.se/wp-content/uploads/2012/01/African-Charter-on-Human-and-Peoples-Rights.pdf (Accessed 2016/09/20).

Afrika, M. 2017. 'Stop Xenophobia or else', students warn. *Sunday Times.* 26 February: 4.

Alfaro-Velcamp, T & Shaw, M. 2016. 'Please go home and build Africa': Criminalising Immigrants in South Africa. *Journal of Southern African Studies,* 42(5):983-998.

Anney, V.N. 2014. Ensuring the quality of the findings of Qualitative Research: Looking at Trustworthiness criteria. *Journal of Emerging Trends in Educational Research and Policy Studies,* 5(2): 272-281.

Asha, A.A. 2015. Informal small business as socio-economic adaptation strategy of migrants living in low-income townships and villages of South Africa. *SAAPAM 4th Annual Conference Proceedings-Limpopo,* 2:298-308.

Babbie, E. 2011. *Introduction to Social Research*. 5th ed. Belmont: Wadsworth Cengage Learning.

Babbie, E. 2013. *The Practice of Social research*. 13th ed. Belmont: Wadsworth Cengage learning.

Babbie, E. 2014. *The Basics of Social Research*. 6th ed. Belmont: Wadsworth Cengage learning.

Campbell, E. & Crush, J. 2012. *Unfriendly neighbours: Contemporary Migration from Zimbabwe to Botswana.* Southern African Research Centre. Kingston: Queen's University. Available: https://www.africaportal.org/publications/unfriendly-neighbours-contemporary-migration-from-zimbabwe-to-botswana/ (Accessed 2018/04/04).

Chandia, M. & Hart, T.G.B. 2016. An alien in the country of my birth: Xenophobia reinforcing otherness and promoting exclusion. *Agenda,* 30(2):28-34.

Charman, A. & Piper, L. 2012. Xenophobia, Criminality and violent Entrepreneurship: Violence against Somali Shopkeepers in Delft South, Cape Town, South Africa. *South African Review of Sociology,* 43(3):81-105.

Charman, A. Petersen, L. & Piper, L. 2012. From local survivalism to foreign entrepreneurship: the transformation of the spaza sector in Delft, Cape Town. *Transformation Journal*, 78:47-73.

Chen, L. [sa]. NEPAD business foundation. Available: http://www.nepadbusinessfoundation.org/index.php/membership/member-stories/512-press-release-5 (Accessed 2018/04/04).

Chinomona, E. 2016. Xenophobia and Human Rights: Strengthening the spirit of "Ubuntu" Globally. *International Journal of Research in Business Studies and Management,* 3(111):22-32.

Chinomona, E. & Mazariri, E.T. 2015. Examining the Phenomenon of Xenophobia as Experienced by African Immigrant Entrepreneurs in Johannesburg, South Africa: Intensifying the Spirit of Ubuntu. *International Journal of Research in Business Studies and Management,* 2(6):20-31.

Choane, M., Shulika, L.S. & Mthombeni, M. 2011. An analysis of the causes, effects and ramifications of xenophobia in South Africa. *Insight on Africa,* 3(2):129-142.

Christensen, L.B., Johnson, R.B. & Turner, L.A. 2015. *Research Methods, Design and Analysis.* 12th ed. Great Britain. Pearson.

Claassen, C. 2017. Explaining South African xenophobia. *Afrobarometer Working Papers,* 173:1-22. Available:
https://www.africaportal.org/.../afropaperno173_xenophobia_in_south_africa%20(3).pdf
(Accessed 2018/04/04).

Congress, E.P. 2016. Legal and Social Work issues with immigrants. In Chang-Muy, F. & Congress, E.P. *Social work with immigrants and refugees: Legal issues, clinical skills & advocacy.* New York. Springer Publishing Company.

Consortium for refugees and migrants in South Africa. 2013: Johannesburg. Available: http://www.cormsa.org.za/ (Accessed 2018/04/04).

Creswell, J.W. 2014. *Research design: qualitative, quantitative and mixed methods approaches.* 4th ed. London: Sage.

Creswell, J.W. 2013. *Qualitative Inquiry and Research Design: Choosing among Five Approaches.* 3rd ed. London: Sage.

Crush, J. 2012. Linking Migration, Food security and Development. *Southern African Migration Programme;* 60: 1-49.

Department of Home Affairs. 2016. Refugee status and asylum. Available: http://www.dha.gov.za/index.php/immigration-services/refugee-status-asylum (Accessed 2016/02/13).

Department of Justice and Constitutional Development. 2015. National Action Plan to combat Racism, Racial Discrimination, Xenophobia and Related Intolerance (2016-2021) Draft for public consultation. Available: www.justice.gov.za/docs/others-docs/nap.html (Accessed 2017/11/17).

Dessah, M.O. 2015. Naming and exploring the causes of collective violence against African migrants in post-apartheid South Africa: Whither Ubuntu? *The Journal for Transdisciplinary Research in Southern Africa,* 11(4):127-142.

Dodson, B. 2010. Locating xenophobia: Debate, Discourse, and everyday experience in Cape Town, South Africa. *Africa Today*, 56(3):2-22. Geography Publications. 331. Available: https://ir.lib.uwo.ca/geographypub/331 (Accessed 2018/04/04).

European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights. 2016. *Fundamental Rights Report*. Schwarzenbergplatz, Austria. Available: https://fra.europa.eu/en/publication/2016/fundamental-rights-report-2016 (Accessed 2018/04/04).

European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia. 2006. Migrant's experience of racism and xenophobia in 12 EU member states: Pilot Study. Available:

file:///C:/Users/alinal.DCS/Downloads/224-Migrants-Experiences-web.pdf (Accessed 2018/06/09).

Fatoki, O. 2016. Problems Experienced by Immigrant Spaza Shop Owners in South Africa. *Journal of Economics,* 7(2,3):100-106.

Ferreira, D. & Perks, S. 2016. The influence of the political climate on South Africa's tourism industry. *The 2016 International Academic Research Conference in London-Zurich,* 1*:*263-286. Available: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/305984577_the_influence_of_the_political_climate_on_south_africa's_tourism_industry (Accessed 2018/04/04).

Fouché, C.B. & De Vos, A.S. 2011. Selection of a researchable topic. In De Vos, A.S., Strydom. H., Fouché, C.B. & Delport, C.S.L. *Research at Grass Roots for the social science and human service professions.* 4th ed. Pretoria: Van Schaik.

Fouché, C.B. & Delport, C.S.L., 2011. Introduction to the research process. In De Vos, A.S., Strydom. H., Fouché, C.B. & Delport, C.S.L. *Research at Grass Roots for the social science and human service professions*. 4th ed. Pretoria: Van Schaik.

Fouché, C.B. & Schurink, W. 2011. Qualitative research design. In De Vos, A.S., Strydom. H., Fouché, C.B. & Delport, C.S.L. *Research at Grass Roots for the social science and human service professions.* 4th ed. Pretoria: Van Schaik.

Fourchard, L. & Segatti, A. 2015. "Xenophobic Violence and the Manufacture of Difference in Africa: Introduction to the Focus Section". *International Journal of Conflict and Violence,* 9(1):4-11.

Greeff, M. 2011. Information collection: interviewing. In De Vos, A.S., Strydom. H., Fouché, C.B. & Delport, C.S.L. *Research at Grass Roots for the social science and human service professions.* 4th ed. Pretoria: Van Schaik.

Gopal, N. 2013. 'They call us Makwerekwere'- Foreign learners speak out against xenophobia. *Alternation Special Edition*, 7:125-144. Available: http://alternation.ukzn.ac.za/Files/docs/20.4/08%20Gop.pdf (Accessed 2018/04/04).

Gordon, S. 2015. Xenophobia across the class divide: South African attitudes towards foreigners 2003-2012. *Journal of Contemporary African Studies,* 33(4):494-509.

Hayem, J. 2013. From May 2008 to 2011: Xenophobic violence and National subjectivity in South Africa. *Journal of Southern African Studies,* 39(1):77-97.

Hendricks, C.O. & Congress, E.P. 2016. Culturally Competent Social Work Practice within Immigrant Population. In Chang-Muy, F. & Congress, E.P. *Social work with immigrants and refugees: Legal issues, clinical skills & advocacy.* New York. Springer Publishing Company.

Hickel, J. 2014. Xenophobia in South Africa: Order, Chaos, and the Moral Economy of Witchcraft. *Cultural Anthropology,* 29(1):103-127.

Hölscher, D. 2014. Considering Nancy Fraser's Notion of Social Justice for Social Work: Reflections on Misframing and the Lives of Refugees in South Africa. *Ethics and Social Welfare,* 8(1):20-38.

Horsburgh, D. 2003. Evaluation of Qualitative Research. *Journal of Clinical Nursing*, 12(2): 307-312.

Hovhannisyan, S., Baum, C.F., Ogude, H.R.A. & Sarkar, A. 2018. *Mixed-migration, forced displacement and job outcomes in South Africa (vol. 2): main report (English). Washington, D.C.: World Bank Group.* Available: http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/247261530129173904/main-report (Accessed 2018/04/04).

Human Rights First, 2011. Combating xenophobic violence: a framework for action. Available:https://www.humanrightsfirst.org/wpcontent/uploads/pdf/UNHCR_Blueprint.pdf (Accessed 2016/09/15).

Ife, J. 2016. Human Rights and Social Work: Beyond Conservative Law. *Journal for Human Rights Social Work,* 1:3-8.

Ilevbare, F.M & Adedanya, A.A. 2008. Away with xenophobia and lessons for sustenance of brotherhood for Africa development. *IFE Psychologia: An International Journal,* 16(2):199-206.

International Organisation for Migration. 2011. World Migration Report. Available: https://publications.iom.int/system/files/pdf/wmr2011_english.pdf. (Accessed 2018/07/23).

Islam, G. 2014. *Social Identity Theory*. France. Institute for Education and Research.

Jansonn, B.S. 2016. *Social Welfare Policy and Advocate: Advancing Social Justice through 8 policy sectors*. University of Southern California. Sage

Kavuro, C. 2015. Refugees and asylum seekers: Barriers to accessing South Africa's labour market. *Law Democracy and Development,* 19:232-260.

Klotz, A. 2016. Boarders and the Roots of Xenophobia in South Africa. *South African Historical Journal,* 68(2):180-194.

Kumar, 2014. *Research Methodology: A step by step guide for beginners*. 4th ed. London: Sage.

Kumar, R. 2011. *Research Methodology: A step by step guide for beginners*. 3rd ed. London: Sage.

Liederman, R. Charman, A, Piper, L. & Pietersen, L. 2013. Why are foreign-run spaza shops more successful? The rapidly changing spaza sector in South Africa. *Sustainable Livelihood Foundation.* Cape Town. Available: http://www.econ3x3.org/article/why-are-foreign-run-spaza-shops-more-successful-rapidly-changing-spaza-sector-south-africa (Accessed 2018/04/04).

Lietz, C.A., Langer, C.L. & Furman, R. 2006. Establishing Trustworthiness in Qualitative Research in Social Work. *Qualitative Social Work*, 5(4):441-458.

Lietz, C.A. & Zayas, L.E. 2010. Evaluating Qualitative Research for Social Work Practitioners. *Advances in Social Work,* 1(2):188-202.

Long, K. & Crisp, J. 2011. In harm's way: the irregular movement of migrants to Southern Africa from the Horn and Great Lakes regions. *New issues in Refugee Research.* 2000. United Nations Human Commission for Refugees. Available: http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/38311/ (Accessed 2018/04/04).

Mabera, F. 2017. The impact of xenophobia and xenophobic violence on South Africa's developmental partnership agenda. *Africa Review*, 9(1):28-42.

Madue, S.M. 2015. South Africa's foreign and migration policies missteps: fuels of xenophobic eruptions? *The Journal for Transdisciplinary Research in Southern Africa*, 11(4):60-70.

Mafukata, M.A. 2015. Xenophobia – The evil story of the beginnings of Fascism in Post-Apartheid South Africa. *The International Journal of Humanities and Social Studies* 3(3):30-44.

Manyaka, R.K. & Madzivhandila, T.S. 2015. "Xenophobic" Attacks in South Africa: A competition for the local socio-economic space? *SAAPAM 4th Annual Conference Proceedings-Limpopo*, 2:61-72.

Mapps, S.C. 2014. *Human Rights and Social Justice in a Global Perspective: An Introduction to International Social Work.* London: Oxford University Press.

Mathebula, N.E. 2015. Xenophobia and migration: Undesirable attitudes and attacks on foreign nationals in South Africa. *SAAPAM 4th Annual Conference Proceedings-Limpopo*, 2:197-209.

Matthee, M., Krugell, W. & Mzumara, M. 2015. Microeconomic competitiveness and post-conflict reconstruction: firm-level evidence from Zimbabwe. *International Business & Economics Research Journal*, 14(3):525-536.

Mensah, S.N. & Benedict, E.E. 2016. Managing root causes and effects of xenophobic attacks in South Africa: A Relative Deprivation Approach. *Journal of Contemporary Management,* 5(4):68-82.

Misago, J.P., Landau, L. & Monson, T. 2009. *Towards tolerance, law and dignity: Addressing violence against foreign nationals in South Africa*. Pretoria: IOM. Available: http://discovery.ucl.ac.uk/1481601/ (Accessed 2018/04/04).

Misago, J.P., Freemantle, I. & Landau, L.B. 2015. *Protection from Xenophobia: An Evaluation of UNHCR's Regional Office for Southern Africa's Xenophobia Related Programmes.* The African Centre for Migration and Society. Johannesburg: Wits University Press. Available:
https://www.unhcr.org/research/evalreports/55cb153f9/protection-xenophobia-evaluation-unhcrs-regional-office-southern-africas.html (Accessed 2018/04/04).

Misago, J.P. 2017. Politics by other means? The political economy of xenophobic violence in post-apartheid South. *The Black Scholar,* 47(2):40-53.

Mokoena, S.K. 2015. Local economic development in South Africa: Reflections on foreign nationals' informal businesses. *SAAPAM 4th Annual Conference Proceedings-Limpopo*, 2:102-115.

Monson, T. & Arian, R. 2012. Media Memory: A critical Reconstruction of the May 2008 Violence. In Landau, B.L. *Exorcising the Demons within*. Johannesburg: United Nations University Press.

Mosselson, A. 2015. 'There is no difference between citizens and non-citizens anymore': Violent Xenophobia, Citizenship and the Politics of Belonging in Post-Apartheid South Africa. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 36(3):641-655.

Mothibi, K.A., Roelofse, C.J. & Tshivhase, T. 2015. Xenophobic attacks on foreign shop owners and street vendors in Louis Trichardt Central Business District, Limpopo Province. *The Journal for Transdisciplinary Research in Southern Africa,* 11(4):151-162.

Moyo, A. [sa] The Impact of xenophobia on refugees and asylum seekers in South Africa. Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation (CSVR). Available: https://www.issafrica.org/uploads/Xenophobia-Presentation-Annah-Moyo.pdf (Accessed 2018/04/01).

Mudzanani, T. 2016. A thematic analysis of newspaper articles on xenophobia and tourism in South Africa. *African Journal for Physical Activity and Health Science,* 22(1:2): 335-343.

Munzhedzi, P.H. 2015. The phenomenon of migration and immigration in South Africa: The good, the bad and the ugly. *SAAPAM 4th Annual Conference Proceedings-Limpopo*, 2:21-34.

Mutanda, D. 2017. Xenophobic violence in South Africa: mirroring economic and political development failures in Africa. *African identities,* 15(3):278-294.

Neuman, W.L 2011. Social *Research Methods: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*. 6th ed. Boston: Pearson Education, Inc.

Ndou, C. 2015. Foreigners must go home – King Zwelithini. Available: http://citizen.co.za/349347/foreigners-must-go-home-king-zwelithini/ (Accessed 2017/03/19).

Niewenhuizen, C. & Nieman, G. 2009. The nature and development of entrepreneurship. In Nieman, G. & Niewenhuizen, C. Ed. *Entrepreneurship. A South African perspective.* 2nd ed. Pretoria: Van Schaik.

Nowell, L.S., Norris, J.M., White, D.E. & Moules, N.J. 2017. Thematic analysis: Striving to meet the trustworthiness criteria. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods,* 16:1-13.

Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development. 2018. Immigration and economic growth. *How immigrants Contribute to Developing Countries' Economies,* ILO, Geneva/OECD Publishing, Paris.

Oluwu, O. 2008. Xenophobic violence in South Africa: An International and Domestic Legal Perspective. *IFE Psychologia: An International Journal*, 16(2):296-318.

Onoma, A.K. 2013. *Anti-Refugee Violence and African Politics*. New York. Cambridge University Press.

Orago, N.W. 2015. Socio-economic rights and the potential for structural reforms: A comparative perspective on the interpretation of the socio-economic rights in the

Constitution of Kenya, 2010. In Mbondenyi, M., Asaala, E., Kabau, T. & Waris, A. *Human Rights and Democratic Governance in Kenya: A post-2007 appraisal*. Pretoria. Pretoria University Law Press.

Organisation of African Union Charter. 1963. Available: http://www.au.int/en/sites/default/files/treaties/7759-sl-oau_charter_1963_0.pdf (Accessed 2018/03/19).

Organisation of African Union Refugee Convention. 1969. Available: www.achpr.org/files/instruemts/refugee-convention/achpr_instr_conv_refug_eng.pdf (Accessed 2017/05/30).

Orme, J. & Briar-Lawson, K. 2010. Theory and knowledge about social problems to enhance policy development. In Shaw, I. Briar-Lawson, K. Orme, J. & Ruckdeschel. R. *The Sage Handbook of Social Work Research.* London: Sage.

O'Rilley, K. 2015. The role of law in curbing xenophobia. *De Rebus*, (557):18-19.

Oyelana, A.A. 2016. Effects of xenophobic attacks on the economic development of South Africa. *Journal of Social Science,* 46(3):282-289.

Patel, K. & Essa, A. 2015: No place like home: Xenophobia in South Africa. Available: https://interactive.aljazeera.com/aje/2015/xenophobiasouthafrica/index.html (Accessed 2018/09/29).

Pillay, V. 2015. Our nation's ugly moment of xenophobia is almost incomprehensible. Available: http://mg.co.za/article/2015-04-21-our-nations-ugly-moment-of-xenophobia-is-almost-incomprehensible (Accessed 2016/04/02).

Pineteh, E.A. 2017. Illegal aliens and demons that must be exorcised from South Africa: Framing African migrants and xenophobia in post-apartheid narratives. *Cogent Social Science,* 3:1391158.

Rasila, B.N. & Musitha, E.M. 2016. The Lack of Effective Communication Influences Xenophobic Attacks in South Africa. *British Journal of Education, Society & Behavioural Science,* 13(3):1-11.

Republic of South Africa, 1996. *Constitution of South Africa.* Pretoria: Government Printers.

Republic of South Africa [RSA] Department: The Presidency. National Planning Commission. *National Development Plan.* Executive Summary. Available: http://www.dac.gov.za/sites/default/files/NDP%202030%20-%20Our%20future%20-%20make%20it%20work_0.pdf (Accessed 2018/04/04).

Rukema, J.R & Khan, S. 2013. "Chronicling the effects of the 2008 xenophobic attacks amongst a select group of Congolese and Burundian women in the city of Durban". *Alternation Special Edition,* 7:176-196.

Rulashe, P. 2015. UNHCR mulls solutions for refugee affected by xenophobia. Available:
https://www.unhcr.org/news/latest/2015/5/55647ddc6/unhcr-mulls-solutions-refugees-affected-xenophobia.html (Accessed 2018/09/27).

Saleh, I. 2015. Is it really xenophobia in South Africa or an Intentional Act of Prejudice? *Global Media Journal,* 9(2):268-313.

Schuller, S. 2013. The Effects of 9/11 on Attitudes Toward Immigration and the Moderating Role of Education. *German Socio-Economic Panel Study (SOEP)* Germany, DIW Berlin. Available:

https://www.diw.de/documents/publikationen/73/diw_01.c.415405.de/diw_sp0534.pdf
(Accessed 2018/04/04).

Schurink, W., Fouché, C.B & De Vos, A.S. 2011. Qualitative data analysis and interpretation. In De Vos, A.S., Strydom. H., Fouché, C.B. & Delport, C.S.L. *Research at Grass Roots for the social science and human service professions.* 4th ed. Pretoria: Van Schaik.

Sebola, M. 2011. The socio-economic impact of illegal immigrants: A case of Zimbabweans in the city of Polokwane. *Journal of Public Administration*, 46(3):1055-1072.

Shai, K.B. & Mothibi, K.A. 2015. Describing pre-2009 xenophobic violence in South Africa: A human right perspective. *SAAPAM 4th Annual Conference Proceedings-Limpopo*, 2:261-275.

Solomon, H. & Kosaka, H. 2013. Xenophobia in South Africa: Reflections, Narratives and Recommendations. *Southern African Peace and Security Studies*, 2(2):5-30.

South African Council for Social Service Professions. 2018. The e-Bulletin. Available: https://www.sacssp.co.za/content/documents/SACSSP_MONTHLY_eBULLETIN_MARCH_2018.pdf (Accessed 2018/04/13).

South Africa Yearbook. 2016/17. Tourism. Available: https://www.gcis.gov.za/sites/default/files/docs/resourcecentre/yearbook/Tourism2017.pdf (Accessed 2018/04/10).

Staub-Bernasconi, S. 2016. Social Work and Human Rights-Linking to traditions of human rights in social work. *Journal of Human Rights Social Work*, 1:40-49.

Steyn, L. 2015. Migrant policy in the crosshairs. *Mail & Guardian*. 24-29 April: 24.

Solomon, H. & Kosaka, H. 2013. "Xenophobia in South Africa: Reflections, Narratives and Recommendations". *Southern African Peace and Security Studies*, 2(2):5-30.

Statistics South Africa. 2011. Available:
http://www.statssa.gov.za/?page_id=4286&id=11387 (Accessed 2016/04/03).

Strydom, H. 2011. Ethical aspects of research in the social sciences and human service professions. In De Vos, A.S., Strydom. H., Fouché, C.B. & Delport, C.S.L. *Research at Grass Roots: For the social science and human service professions*. 4th ed. Pretoria: Van Schaik.

Strydom, H. & Delport, C.S.L. 2011. Sampling and pilot study in qualitative research. In De Vos, A.S., Strydom. H., Fouché, C.B. & Delport, C.S.L. *Research at Grass Roots: For the social science and human service professions*. 4th ed. Pretoria: Van Schaik.

Tajfel, H. 2012. *Social Identity and Intergroup relations*. Cambridge University Press.
Tewari, D.D. 2015. The xenophobic attacks in South Africa: Reflections and possible strategies to ward them off. *SAAPAM 4th Annual Conference Proceedings-Limpopo*, 2:1-20.

Tlhabye, G. 2016. Township with a proud heritage. A'ville a cool place to live and visit. *Pretoria News weekend.* 28 May: 4.

Trepte, S. [sa]. *Social Identity Theory*. Universität. Hamburg.

Tshishonga, N. 2015. The impact of xenophobia-Afrophobia on the informal economy in Durban CBD, South Africa. *The Journal for Transdisciplinary Research in Southern Africa,* 11(4):163-179.

United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. 2015. Global Trends: Forced Displacement in 2015. Geneva UNHCR. Available: http://www.unhcr.org/gr15/index.xml (Accessed 2017/08/16).

United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights. 1948. Available: http://watchlist.org/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/Universal-declaration-of-human-rights.pdf (Accessed 2016/03/16).

United Nations. 2015. *Transforming our World: The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development.* New York: UN.

Van der Westhuizen, M. 2015. Social work services to victims of xenophobia. *Social Work/Maatskaplike Werk,* 51(1):115-134.

Vromans, L. Schweitzer, R.D., Knoetze, K. & Kagee, A. 2011. The Experience of Xenophobia in South Africa. *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry,* 81(1):90-93.

Vrsanska, I., Kavicky, V. & Jangl, S. 2017. Xenophobia – The cause of terrorism in a democratic society. *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science,* 7(4):168-171.

Wicks, J. 2015. Several dead as xenophobic violence boils over in Durban. Available: http://mg.co.za/article/2015-04-14-several-dead-as-xenophobic-violence-boils-over-in-durban (Accessed 2016/04/05).

Wose-Kinge, T.G. 2015. *International diversion of xenophobic attacks on foreign nationals in South Africa.* Mafikeng: University of North-West. (B.A. (Hons) Mini-Dissertation).

Zong, J. & Batalova, J. 2017. Refugees and Asylees in the United States. Migration information source, June. Available: http://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/refugees-and-asylees-united-states (Accessed 2017/11/20).

APPENDIX A

Interview Schedule

Date of interview:……………… Duration of interview:…………………….

1.   Personal details

Age:…………..

Nationality:………….

Gender:………..

Country of origin:………………………..

Number of years living in Atteridgeville:……………

Type of business:……………………………………………

2.   Experience of xenophobic attacks

2.1   Please discuss the causes of xenophobic attacks.

2.2   Describe your experience of xenophobic attacks that transpired in Atteridgeville.

2.3   Describe how the xenophobic attacks have affected you in relation to:

❖ Personal safety
❖ Financially or economically
❖ Business outcome and sustainability
❖ Socially
❖ Family well-being

2.4   Describe the types of services that are provided to people who have experienced xenophobic attacks.

2.5   Describe the types of service may be required by people who have experienced xenophobic attacks.

2.6   Describe the services that should be provided to people who have experienced xenophobic attacks.

2.7   What suggestions and/or recommendations can you offer to the following institutions/persons to prevent future xenophobic attacks:

❖ Refugees themselves
❖ Communities at large
❖ Government departments and politicians
❖ Non-government organisations
❖ Faith-based organisation

Thank you for your participation.

APPENDIX B

Researcher: Ms. Alinah Lelope

Tel: 0722371488

E-mail: alinahlelope@gmail.com

No 59 Palomino Complexes

49 Ouklipmuur Avenue

Equestria

0184

INFORMED CONSENT FORM

Title of study: The socio-economic effects of xenophobic attacks on refugee entrepreneurs in Atteridgeville.

Purpose of the study: The purpose of the study is to explore and describe the socio-economic effects of xenophobic attacks on refugee entrepreneurs in Atteridgeville.

Procedure: I understand that I have to participate in an interview for the purpose of the research study. The estimated time for the interview is forty five minutes to an hour.

Risk and Discomfort: I understand that there are emotional risks, such as reliving the experience of xenophobic attacks during the interview; the research has made arrangements with the social worker (Ms Siphiwe Matsimela) at Department of Social Development to provide counselling and support. Alternatively, if I experience any discomfort at any time during the research study, I will inform the researcher and withdraw from the study. I understand that my involvement in the study is purely voluntary.

Benefits: I understand that there are no benefits for participating in the study. My participation is purely voluntary. My participation in this study will assist the researcher to explore and describe the socio-economic effects of xenophobia on refugee entrepreneurs.

Participant's Rights: My participation in this study is voluntary and I may withdraw from participation at any time without suffering any negative consequences.

Confidentiality and anonymity: I give permission to the researcher to use a digital tape recorder in order to record the process of interview for accurate recording of the information. The recordings will only be listened to by the researcher and authorised members of the research team. The information received will be treated with confidentiality and my identity will not be revealed.

Publication: I take note that the researcher will publish the results in the format of a research report and my identity will remain anonymous and will only be revealed unless required by law. I am further aware that the information shared with the researcher will be archived in the Department of Social Work/Criminology at the University of Pretoria.

Person to contact: In case of any queries or concerns, I understand that I can contact Ms Alinah Lelope on 072 237 1488 at any time.

I understand my rights as a research participant and I voluntarily give my consent to participate in this study. I understand what the study is about and how and why it is conducted. I have received a copy of this consent form.

Declaration

I, …………………………………..hereby voluntarily give my consent to participate in this study. I understand what the study is about and how and why it is being conducted.

………………… …………………………. ………………………………
Date Place Participant's signature

………………… …………………………. ………………………………
Date Place Researcher's signature

APPENDIX C

UNIVERSITEIT VAN PRETORIA
UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA
YUNIBESITHI YA PRETORIA

Faculty of Humanities
Research Ethics Committee

5 October 2018

Dear Ms Lelope

Project:	The socio-economic effects of xenophobic attacks on refugee entrepreneurs in Atteridgeville
Researcher:	LA Lelope
Supervisor:	Ms KP Masinga
Department:	Social Work and Criminology
Reference Number:	15263691 (GW20171122HS)

Thank you for your response to the Committee's correspondence.

I have pleasure in informing you that the Research Ethics Committee formally **approved** the above study at an *ad hoc* meeting held on 5 October 2018. Data collection may therefore commence.

Please note that this approval is based on the assumption that the research will be carried out along the lines laid out in the proposal. Should your actual research depart significantly from the proposed research, it will be necessary to apply for a new research approval and ethical clearance.

We wish you success with the project.

Sincerely

Prof Maxi Schoeman
Deputy Dean: Postgraduate and Research Ethics
Faculty of Humanities
UNIVERSITY OF PRETORIA
e-mail: PGHumanities@up.ac.za

cc: Prof A Lombard (HoD)

Fakulteit Geesteswetenskappe/
Lefapha la Bomotho/

Research Ethics Committee Members: Prof MME Schoeman (Deputy Dean); Prof KL Harris; Mr A Bizos; Dr K Booyens; Dr A-M de Beer; Ms A dos Santos; Dr R Fassett; Ms KT Govinder Andrew; Dr E Johnson; Dr W Kelleher; Prof D Marr; Mr A Mohamed; Dr C